

IN THE RAINS

By courtesy of the artist, Mr. Gaganendranath Tagore.

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AT THE CROSS ROADS

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

N.6.

AT the present moment the World Drama is at the change of its acts, and we do not know towards what denouement it is moving. This uncertainty has given rise to a universal perturbation of mind, from which India is not free. But having remained for long outside the arena of living and creative history, we are now, in this crisis, at a loss to know what to do, or how to think. Our mind is engulfed in the dust-storm of exaggerated hopes and fears, and this blinds us to the relation of facts. When the promise of self-government suddenly showed signs of fulfilment, we failed to see clearly what it meant to us and how to claim it with justice. The hope of it was spread before us like a feast before the famine-stricken, and we did not know whether there was more danger in gorging ourselves or in desisting from it. The cruelty of the situation lies in the abnormal condition to which we have come through long years of deprivation.

I am fully aware that we have not had the training of taking up the tremendous responsibility of governing our country. The present upheaval in the West clearly shows what terrible power has gradually been concentrated in certain parts of the world, and what a menace it is to those who never had the opportunity or foresight to prepare to meet it. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind as to what would follow if India were completely left to herself. If the birth-throes of the new Japan were to happen at the present time, we know it would be throttled at its birth even as New Persia was.

But our problem is, how are we to receive our lessons in political wisdom discreetly gradual? When an Englishman in England discusses this, he bases his discussion on his full faith in his own countrymen. Personally, I myself

have a great admiration for the English people. But it is not the ideals of a people that govern a foreign country. The unnaturalness of the situation stands in the way, and everything tending to encourage the baser passions of man,—the contemptuous pride of the poor, the greed of acquisition,—comes to the most. The responsibility of the weak is tremendous. They keep themselves obscure to be able to claim human consideration, and the conscience of the strong grows inactive for want of proper stimulus. It is sure to cause moral degeneration in men to exercise habitually authority upon an alien people and therefore no encounter the checks that arise from relationship of natural sympathy. This is evident to us, not only in the callous arrogance of the bureaucracy, but also in the policy of most of the Anglo-Indian newspapers, whose consistent chorus of mourn against the least expression of Indian aspiration, or the possibility of our gaining the slightest privilege now held by rulers, becomes virulently cruel. It creates a vicious circle,—the helplessness of the governed sapping the moral manliness of the governors, and that again reacting upon the governed, prolonging and deepening their helplessness.

This is the reason why most of our countrymen find small consolation when they are told that the rights and power of the government of their country will come to them gradually, as they are being made fit, from the hands which hold that power now. The gift is to be cautiously doled out to us by somebody who is critic, judge and donor combined, and, naturally, not an over-enthusiastic donor. If we could be certain of a gently sympathetic guidance we would be content with very little at the commencement

that there are things for which he can afford to die. To ask him to lay down his life for some political good, and at the same time to be miserly where the moral good of humanity is in view, is to ask him to pay the highest price yet refuse to accept the thing of the highest value.

There are things in which men do go to extremity in the teeth of practical common sense. We have heard of instances where men, set adrift on the sea without provisions, have looked upon each other as possible food in case of emergency. But those exceptions among them who could not think of such an enormity in any conceivable circumstance, have done more permanent service to man by refusing to eat human flesh and dying, than those who survived by following the contrary course. And for nations also, it is wise not to indulge in cannibalism even at the risk of non-survival. For true survival is to live beyond life.

We must bear in mind that European civilisation, which is based on militant Nationalism, is on its trial in this war. We do not know what is going to be the end of it; for this may not be the last of such wars in Europe. But one thing has been made quite evident, that the attainment of political power has not the moral ideal behind it which can give it the true permanence of finality. Greece still lives where she was truly great, not in her possessions, but in her mind, and Rome survived the wreck of Empires where she attained the immortal. For centuries the Jews have had no political existence, but they live in the best ideals of Europe leavening its intellectual and spiritual life. The political ambitions of fighting races leave no other legacy to humanity but the legacy of ruins; and the power which grows tremendous, following its narrow channel of self-seeking, is sure to burst its bonds and end in a deluge of destruction.

And therefore, let us not seek the power which is in killing men and plundering them, but the moral power to stand against it, the moral power to suffer,—not merely in passive apathy, but in the enthusiasm of active purpose. This is an age of transition. The Dawn of a great To-morrow is breaking through its bank of clouds and the call of New Life comes with its message that man's strength is of the spirit, and not of the machine of organisation. It will be the greatest sign of weak-

ness in us,—the most abject defeat,—if we still cling to the atheistic faith that those nations who thrive upon their victims are great because they are powerful, and that sacrifices have to be brought to the altar of their false gods.

I know that an instinctive faith in the adequacy of moral ideals and the inner strength of the spirit for building up the world anew from its wreckage will be held as the sign of ignorance of world-politics; for it does not wholly tally with the experience of the past. But all the fearful danger of the present day has come from that experience hardening into a crust obstructing the growth of spiritual humanity,—the humanity which aspires after an infinite inner perfection. The present-day Civilised Man, disillusioned and doubting, suffers from the moral senility of prudent worldliness, that knows too much but does not believe. Faith is of the future; it may lead us into danger or apparent futility; but Truth waits there for us to be courted at the risk of death or failure.

The immense power of faith which man possesses has lately been concentrated on his material possibilities. He ignored all checks from his past experiences when he believed that he could fly in the air; and even repeated failures and deaths have not deterred him from attaining this seeming impossibility. But he has grown cynically sceptic concerning the infinite reality of the moral laws.

The time for this prudent man has come near its end. The world is waiting for the birth of the Child, who believes more than he knows, who is to be the crowned King of the future, who will come amply supplied with provisions for his daring adventures in the moral world, for his explorations in the region of man's inner being.

We have heard that Modern Russia is floundering in its bottomless abyss of idealism because she has missed the sure foothold of the stern logic of Real Politik. We know very little of the history of the present revolution in Russia, and with the scanty materials in our hands we cannot be certain if she, in her tribulations, is giving expression to man's indomitable soul against prosperity built upon moral nihilism. All that we can say is that the time to judge has not yet come,—especially as Real Politik is in such a sorry plight itself. No doubt if Modern

But not having that full confidence in the bureaucratic agency of our donors, our people at the very outset claim those powers which, consciously or unconsciously, may be set against them in making it impossible for them to prove their fitness. No one can pretend to say that the British Government in India has been or ever can be disinterested. It is a dependency upon which depends the prosperity of England, though time may some day prove that such prosperity has not been for the good of the ruling country. But so long as the present cult of the self-worship of the Nation prevails, the subject races can only expect the fragmentary crumbs of benefit, and not the bread of life, from the hands of the powerful. It will ever be easy for the latter to find plausible arguments to keep the real power in their own hands and to prolong that state in which such arguments cannot effectively be refuted. For the ideal of the Nation is not a moral one, —all its obligations being based upon selfishness with a capital S. It principally recognises expediency in its own conduct and power in that of its neighbours. And as expediency, in God's world, cannot wholly be dissociated from a moral foundation, it finds its place in the Nation's government of the alien people: but it is there on sufferance, it is only secondary, and therefore the Nation's relationship with the non-Europeans easily breaks out into rampage, which is, to speak mildly, not Christian.*

The question remains, what are we to do? Clarity, on the one side, self-congratulatory and superior: humble acceptance of small favours on the other side, laudatory and grateful,—this is not the proper solution. We must have power in order to claim justice which is real. It is a blessing that we have the opposition of the powerful to overcome, that a boon cannot easily be given to us, even when there is some amount of willingness on the part of the giver. We must gain it through victory and never otherwise.

But whenever we speak of power and victory, the words at once conjure up pictures in our minds of Dreadnoughts, long-range guns and massacre of men by millions; because these belong to the great festival days of the religion of Nation-worship,

when human sacrifices must be without limit. For political and commercial ambition is the ambition of cannibalism, and through its years of accumulation it must get ready for its carnival of suicide.

I cannot imagine that we shall ever be able to enter into competition about their own methods and objects with these Nation-worshippers, and the boon of their power which they get from their gods is not for us. We must confess that, in spite of considerable exceptions, the Hindu population of India does not consist of martial races. We do not have any natural pleasure or pride in indulging in orgies of massacre for the sake of its glory. Some of our modern disciples of the West may blush to own it, but it is true that the religious training which we have got for ages has made us unfit for killing men with anything like a zest. No doubt, war was held to be a necessity, but only a particular body of men was specially trained for this work, for the rest of the members of society, the killing of animals was held to be a sin. There is something very harshly unnatural and mock-heroic in the shrill pitch to which we have tuned our voice while vociferating that we are fighters and we must be fighters. I do not mean to say that by training and proper incentives a large number of us cannot be made into soldiers, but at the same time it will serve no good purpose if we delude ourselves into thinking that this is a vocation of life in which we can excel. And if, for the want of natural ferocity in our blood, we cannot excel in this the Europeans, who at present hold the world in their grasp, our soldiers' training will merely entitle us to fight in a subordinate position, which, from a material point of view, will bring us meagre benefits and from a higher one will be productive of evil.

I have been accused of going to the absurdity of the extreme for insisting upon an idealism which cannot be practical. But I assert that the absurdity is not in the idealism itself, but in our own moral shortsightedness. What they mean by saying that we must be practical is that we must live, and in this one cannot but agree, for suicide can never be an ultimate object for any creature. But fortunately for man his existence is not merely physical or even political. Man has attained all that is best in him by strongly believing

* See passages quoted from M. Anatole France in "Gleanings" in this number.

Russia *did* try to adjust herself to the orthodox tradition of Nation-worship, she would be in a more comfortable situation to-day, but this tremendousness of her struggle and hopelessness of her tangles do not, in themselves, prove that she has gone astray. It is not unlikely that, as a nation, she will fail; but if she fails with the flag of true ideals in her

hands, then her failure will fade, like the morning star, only to usher in the sunrise of the New Age. If India must have her ambition, let it not be to scramble for the unholy feast of the barbarism of the past night, but to take her place in the procession of the morning going on the pilgrimage of truth,—the truth of man's soul.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER VII.

SANDIP'S STORY.

(6)

WE are men, we are kings, we must have our tribute. Ever since we have come upon the Earth we have been plundering her; and the more we claimed, the more she submitted. From primeval days have we men been plucking fruits, cutting down trees, digging up the soil, killing beast, bird and fish. From the bottom of the sea, from underneath the ground, from the very jaws of death, it has all been grabbing and grabbing and grabbing,—no strong box in Nature's store room has been respected or left unripped.

The one delight of this Earth is to fulfil the claims of those who are men. She has been made fertile and beautiful and complete through her endless sacrifices to them. But for this, she would be lost in the wilderness, not knowing herself, the doors of her heart shut, her diamonds and pearls never seeing the light.

Likewise, by sheer force of our claims, we men have opened up all the latent possibilities of women. In the process of surrendering themselves to us, they have ever gained their true greatness. Because they had to bring all the diamonds of their happiness and the pearls of their sorrow into our royal treasury, they have found their true wealth. So for men to accept is truly to give: for women to give is truly to gain.

The demand I have just made from Bimala, however, is indeed a large one!

At first I felt scruples; for is it not the habit of man's mind to be in purposeless conflict with itself? I thought I had imposed too hard a task. My first impulse was to call her back, and tell her I would rather not make her life wretched by dragging her into all these troubles. I forgot, for the moment, that it was the mission of man to be aggressive, to make woman's existence fruitful by stirring up ~~disquiet~~ the depth of her passivity, to make the whole world blessed by churning up the immeasurable abyss of suffering! This is why man's hands are so strong, his grip so firm.

Bimala had been longing with all her heart that I, Sandip, should demand of her some great sacrifice,—should call her to her death. How else could she be happy? Had she not waited all these weary years only for an opportunity to weep out her heart,—so satiated was she with the monotony of her placid happiness? And therefore, at the very first sight of me, her heart's horizon darkened with the rain clouds of her impending days of anguish. If I pity her and save her from her sorrows, what then was the purpose of my being born a man?

The real reason of my qualms is that my demand happens to be for money. That savours of beggary, for money is man's, not woman's. That is why I had to make it a big figure. A thousand or two would have the air of petty theft. Fifty thousand has all the expanse of romantic brigandage.

Ah, but riches should really have been

mine! So many of my desires have had to halt, again and again, on the road to accomplishment, simply for want of money. This does not become me! Had my fate been merely unjust, it could be forgiven,—but its bad taste is unpardonable. It is not simply a hardship that a man like me should be at his wit's end to pay his house rent, or should have to carefully count out the coins for an Intermediate Class railway ticket,—It is vulgar!

It is equally clear that Nikhil's paternal estates are a superfluity to him. For him it would not have been at all unbecoming to be poor. He would have cheerfully pulled in the double harness of indigent mediocrity with that precious master of his.

I should love to have, just for once, the chance to fling about fifty thousand rupees in the service of my country and to the satisfaction of my self. I am a nabob born, and it is a great dream of mine to get rid of this disguise of poverty, though it be for a day only, and see myself in my true character.

I have grave misgivings, however, as to Bimala ever getting that Rs. 50,000 within her reach, so it will probably be only a thousand or two which will actually come to hand. Be it so. The wise man is content with half a loaf, or any fraction for that matter, rather than no bread.

I must return to these personal reflections of mine later. News comes that I am wanted at once. Something has gone wrong.

It seems that the police have got a clue to the man who sank Mirjan's boat for us. He was an old offender. They are on his trail, but he should be too practised a hand to be caught blabbing. However, one never knows. Nikhil's back is up, and his manager may not be able to have things his own way.

"If I get into trouble, Sir," said the manager when I saw him, "I shall have to drag you in!"

"Where is the noose with which you can catch me?" I asked.

"Have a letter of yours, and several of Amulya Babu's."

I could now see that the letter marked urgent to which I had been hurried into writing a reply was wanted urgently for this purpose only! I am getting to learn quite a number of things.

The point now is, that the police must

be bribed and hush money paid to Mirjan for his boat. It is also becoming evident that much of the cost of this patriotic venture of ours will find its way as profit into the pockets of Nikhil's manager. However, I must shut my eyes to that for the present, for is he not shouting *Bande Mataram* as lustily as I am?

This kind of work has always to be carried on with leaky vessels which let as much through as they fetch in. We all have a hidden fund of moral judgment stored away within us, and so I was about to wax indignant with the manager, and enter in my diary a tirade against the unreliability of our countrymen. But if there be a god I must acknowledge with gratitude to him that he has given me a clear-seeing mind, which allows nothing inside or outside it to remain vague. I may delude others, but never myself. So I was unable to continue angry.

Whatever is true is neither good nor bad, but simply true, and that is Science. A lake is only the remnant of water which has not been sucked into the ground. Underneath the cult of *Bande Mataram*, as indeed at the bottom of all mundane affairs, there is a region of slime, whose absorbing power must be reckoned with. The manager will take what he wants; I also have my own wants. These lesser wants form a part of the wants of the great Cause,—the horse must be fed and the wheels must be oiled if the best progress is to be made.

The long and short of it is that money we must have, and that soon. We must take whatever comes the readiest, for we cannot afford to wait. I know that the immediate often swallows up the ultimate; that the Rs. 5000 of to-day may nip in the bud the Rs. 50,000 of to-morrow. But I must accept the penalty. Have I not often twitted Nikhil that they who walk in the paths of restraint have never known what sacrifice is! It is we greedy folk who have to sacrifice our greed at every step!

Of the cardinal sins of man, Desire is for men who are *men*—but Delusion, which is only for cowards, hampers them. Because, delusion keeps them wrapped up in past and future, but is the very deuce for confounding their footsteps in the present. Those who are always straining their ears for the call of the remote, to the neglect of the call of the imminent, are like

Sakuntala* absorbed in the memories of her lover. The guest comes unheeded, and the curse descends, losing for them the very object of their desire.

The other day I pressed Bimala's hand, and that touch still stirs her mind, as it vibrates in mine. Its thrill must not be deadened by repetition, for then what is now music will descend to mere argument. There is at present no room in her mind for the question 'why?' So I must not deprive Bimala, who is one of those creatures for whom illusion is necessary, of her full supply of it.

As for me, I have so much else to do that I shall have to be content for the present with the foam of the wine cup of passion. O man of desire! Curb your greed, and practice your hand on the harp of illusion till you can bring out all the delicate nuances of suggestion. This is not the time to drain the cup to the dregs.

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Our work proceeds apace. But though we have shouted ourselves hoarse, proclaiming the Mussulmans to be our brethren, we have come to realise that we shall never be able to bring them wholly round to our side. So they must be suppressed altogether and made to understand that we are the masters. They are now showing their teeth, but one day they shall dance like tame bears to the tune we play.

"If the idea of a United India is a true one," objects Nikhil, "Mussulmans are a necessary part of it."

"Quite so," said I, "but we must know their place and keep them there, otherwise they will constantly be giving trouble."

"So you want to make trouble to prevent trouble?"

"What, then, is *your* plan?"

"There is only one well-known way of avoiding quarrels," said Nikhil meaningly.

I know that, like tales written by good people, Nikhil's discourse always ends in a moral. The strange part of it is, that with all his familiarity with moral precepts, he still believes in them! He is an incorrigible schoolboy. His only merit is his sincerity. The mischief with people like

him is that they will not admit the finality even of death, but keep their eyes always fixed on a hereafter.

I have long been nursing a plan which, if only I could carry it out, would set fire to the whole country. True patriotism will never be roused in our countrymen unless they can visualise the motherland. We must make a goddess of her. My colleagues saw the point at once. "Let us devise an appropriate image!" they exclaimed. "It will not do if *you* devise it," I admonished them. "We must get one of the current images accepted as representing the country,—the worship of the people must flow towards it along the deep-cut grooves of custom."

But Nikhil needs must argue even about this. "We must not seek the help of illusions," he said to me some time ago, "for what we believe to be the true cause."

"Illusions are necessary for lesser minds," I said, "and to this class the greater portion of the world belongs. That is why divinities are set up in every country to keep up the illusions of the people, for men are only too aware of their weakness."

"No," he replied. "God is necessary to clear away our illusions. The divinities which keep them alive are false gods."

"What of that? If need be, even false gods must be invoked, rather than let the work suffer. Unfortunately for us, our illusions are alive enough, but we do not know how to make them serve our purpose. Look at the Brahmins. In spite of our treating them as demi-gods, and untiringly taking the dust of their feet, they are a force going to waste."

"There will always be a large class of people, given to grovelling, who can never be made to do any thing unless they are bespattered with the dust of somebody's feet, be it on their heads or on their backs! What a pity if after keeping Brahmins saved up in our armoury for all these ages,—keen and serviceable,—they cannot be utilised to urge on this rabble in the time of our need."

But it is impossible to drive all this into Nikhil's head. He has such a prejudice in favour of truth,—as though there exists such an objective reality! How often have I tried to explain to him that where untruth truly exists, there it is indeed the truth. This was understood in our country in the old days, and so they had the

* Sakuntala, after the king, her lover, went back to his kingdom, promising to send for her, was so lost in thoughts of him, that she failed to hear the call of her hermit guest, who thereupon cursed her, saying that the object of her love would forget all about her. Tr.

courage to declare that for those of little understanding untruth is the truth. For them, who can truly believe their country to be a goddess, her image will do duty for the truth. With our nature and our traditions we are unable to realise our country as she is, but we can easily bring ourselves to believe in her image. Those who want to do real work must not ignore this fact.

Nikhil only got excited. "Because you have lost the power of walking in the path of truth's attainment," he cried, "you keep waiting for some miraculous boon to drop from the skies! That is why when your service to the country has fallen centuries into arrears all you can think of is, to make of it an image and stretch out your hands in expectation of gratuitous favours."

"We want to perform the impossible," I said. "So our country needs must be made into a god."

"You mean you have no heart for possible tasks," replied Nikhil. "Whatever is already there is to be left undisturbed; yet there must be a supernatural result."

"Look here, Nikhil" I said at length, thoroughly exasperated. "The things you have been saying are good enough as moral lessons. These ideas have served their purpose, as milk for babes, at one stage of man's evolution, but will no longer do, now that man has cut his teeth."

"Do we not see before our very eyes how things, of which we never even dreamt of sowing the seed, are sprouting up on every side? By what power? That of the deity in our country who is becoming manifest. It is for the genius of the age to give that deity its image. Genius does not argue, it creates. What the country imagines,—to it I only give form."

"I will spread it abroad that the goddess has vouchsafed me a dream. I will tell the Brahmins that they have been appointed her priests, and that their downfall has been due to their dereliction of duty in not seeing to the proper performance of her worship. Do you say I shall be uttering lies? No, say I, it is the truth—nay more, the truth which the country has so long been waiting to learn from my lips. If only I could get the opportunity to deliver my message, you would see the stupendous result."

"What I am afraid of," said Nikhil, "is, that my lifetime is limited and the result

you speak of is not the final result. It will have after effects which may not be immediately apparent."

"I only seek the result" said I "which belongs to to-day."

"The result I seek," answered Nikhil "belongs to all time."

Nikhil may have had his share of Bengal's greatest gift—imagination, but he has allowed it to be overshadowed and nearly killed by an exotic conscientiousness. Just look at the worship of Durga which Bengal has carried to such heights. That is one of her greatest achievements. I can swear that Durga is a political goddess and was conceived as the image of the *Shakti* of patriotism in the days when Bengal was praying to be delivered from Mussulman domination. What other province of India has succeeded in giving such wonderful visual expression to the ideal of its quest?

Nothing betrayed Nikhil's loss of the divine gift of imagination more conclusively than his reply to me. "During the Mussulman domination," he said, "the Maratha and the Sikh asked for fruit from the arms which they themselves took up. The Bengali contented himself with placing weapons in the hands of his goddess and muttering incantations to her; and as his country did not really happen to be a goddess the only fruit he got was the lopped off heads of the goats and buffaloes of the sacrifice. The day that we seek the good of the country along the path of righteousness, He who is greater than our country will grant us true fruition."

The unfortunate part of it is that Nikhil's words sound so fine when put down on paper. My words, however, are not for being scribbled on paper, but to be scored into the heart of the country. The Pandit records his Treatise on Agriculture in printer's ink; but the cultivator, at the point of his plough, impresses his endeavour deep in the soil.

(8)

When I next saw Bimala I pitched my key high without further ado. "How often have I told you," I began, "that had I not seen you I never would have known all my country as One. I know not yet whether you rightly understand me. The gods are invisible only in their heaven,—on earth they show themselves to mortal men."

Bimala looked at me in a strange kind of way as she gravely replied: "Indeed I understand you, Sandip." This was the first time she called me plain Sandip.

"Krishna," I continued, "whom Arjuna ordinarily knew only as the driver of his chariot, had also His universal aspect, of which, too, Arjuna had a vision one day, and that day he saw the Truth. I have seen your Universal Aspect in my country. The Ganges and the Brahmaputra are the chains of gold that wind round and round your neck; in the woodland fringes, on the distant banks of the dark waters of the river, I have seen your collyrium-darkened eyelashes; the changeful sheen of your sari moves for me in the play of light and shade amongst the swaying shoots of green corn: and the blazing summer heat, which makes the whole sky lie gasping like a red-tongued lion in the desert, is nothing but your cruel radiance.

"Since the goddess has vouchsafed her presence to her votary in such wonderful guise, it is for me to proclaim her worship throughout our land, and then shall the country gain new life. 'Your image make we in temple after temple.' But this our people have not yet fully realised. So I would call on them in your name and offer for their worship an image from which none shall be able to withhold belief. Oh give me this boon, this power."

Bimala's eyelids drooped and she became rigid in her seat like a figure of stone. Had I continued she would have gone off into a trance. When I ceased speaking she opened wide her eyes, and murmured with fixed gaze, as though still dazed: "O Traveller in the path of Destruction! Who is there that can stay your progress? Do I not see that none shall stand in the way of your desires? Kings shall lay their crowns at your feet; the wealthy shall hasten to throw open their treasure for your acceptance; those who have nothing else shall beg to be allowed to offer their lives. Oh my king, my god! I have seen the immensity of your grandeur in my heart. Who am I, what am I, in its presence? Ah, the awful power of Devastation! Never shall I truly live till it kills me utterly! I can bear it no longer, my heart is breaking!"

Bimala slid down from her seat and fell

at my feet, which she clasped, and then she sobbed and sobbed and sobbed.

This is hypnotism, indeed,—the charm which can subdue the world! No materials, no weapons,—but just the delusion of irresistible suggestion. Who says 'Truth shall Triumph'? Delusion shall win in the end. The Bengali understood this when he conceived the image of the ten-handed goddess astride her lion, and spread her worship in the land. Bengal must now create a new image to enchant and conquer the world. *Bande Mataram!*

I gently lifted Bimala back into her chair, and lest reaction should set in, I began again without losing time: "Queen! The Divine Mother has laid on me the duty of establishing her worship in the land. But, alas, I am poor!"

Bimala was still flushed, her eyes clouded, her accents thick, as she replied: "You poor? Is not all that each one has, yours? What are my caskets full of jewellery for? Drag away from me all my gold and gems for your worship. I have no use for them!"

Once before Bimala had offered up her ornaments. I am not usually in the habit of drawing lines, but I felt I had to draw the line there.† I know why I feel this hesitation. It is for man to give ornaments to woman, to take them from her wounds his manliness.

But I must forget my self. Am I taking them? They are for the Divine Mother, to be poured in worship at her feet. Oh, but it must be a grand ceremony of worship such as the country has never beheld before! It must be a landmark in our history. It shall be my supreme legacy to the Nation. Ignorant men worship gods. I, Sandip, shall create them."

But all this is a far cry. What about

* A quotation from the Upanishads.

† There is a world of sentiment attached to the ornaments worn by women in Bengal. They are not merely indicative of the love and regard of the giver, but the wearing of them symbolises all that is held best in wifehood,—the constant solicitude for her husband's welfare, the successful performance of the material and spiritual duties of the household entrusted to her care. When the husband dies, and the responsibility for the household changes hands, then are all ornaments cast aside as a sign of the widow's renunciation of worldly concerns. At any other time, the giving up of ornaments is always a sign of supreme distress and as such appeals acutely to the sense of chivalry of any Bengali who may happen to witness it. Tr.

* A line from Bankim Chatterjee's national song "*Bande Mataram*."

the urgent immediate? At least three thousand is indispensably necessary—five thousand would do roundly and nicely. But how on earth am I to mention money after the high flight we have just taken? And yet time is precious!

I crushed all hesitation under foot as I jumped up and made my plunge: "Queen! Our purse is empty, our work about to stop!"

Bimala winced. I could see she was thinking of that impossible Rs. 50,000. What a load she must have been carrying within her bosom, struggling under it, perhaps, through sleepless nights! What else had she with which to express her loving worship? Debarred from offering her heart at my feet, she hankers to make this sum of money, so hopelessly large for her, the bearer of her imprisoned feelings. The thought of what she must have gone through gives me a twinge of pain; for she is now wholly mine. The wrench of plucking up the plant by the roots is over. It is now only careful tending and nurture that is needed.

"Queen!" said I, "that Rs. 50,000 is not particularly wanted just now. I calculate that, for the present, five thousand or even three will serve."

The relief made her heart rebound. "I shall fetch you five thousand," she said in tones which seemed like an outburst of song,—the song which Radhika of the *Vaishnava* lyrics sang:

For my lover will I bind in my hair
The flower which has no equal in the three worlds!
—it is the same tune, the same song:
five thousand will I bring!

The narrow restraint of the flute brings out this quality of song. I must not allow the pressure of too much greed to flatten out the reed, for then, as I fear, music will give place to the questions, 'why?' 'what is the use of so much?' 'How am I to get it?'—not a word of which will rhyme with what Radhika sang! So, as I was saying, illusion alone is real,—it is the flute itself; while truth is but its empty hollow. Nikhil has of late got a taste of that pure emptiness,—one can see it in his face, which pains even me. But it was Nikhil's boast that he wanted the Truth, while

mine was that I would never let go Illusion from my grasp. Each has been suited to his taste, so why complain?

To keep Bimala's heart in the rarefied air of idealism, I cut short all further discussion over the five thousand rupees. I reverted to the demon-destroying goddess and her worship. When was the ceremony to be held and where? There is a great annual fair at Ruimari, within Nikhil's estates, where hundreds of thousands of pilgrims assemble. That would be a grand place to inaugurate the worship of our goddess!

Bimala waxed intensely enthusiastic. This was not the burning of foreign cloth or the people's granaries, so even Nikhil could have no objection,—so thought she. But I smiled inwardly. How little these two persons, who have been together, day and night, for nine whole years, know of each other. They know something perhaps of their home life, but when it comes to outside concerns they are entirely at sea. They had cherished the belief that the harmony of the home with the outside was perfect. To-day they realise to their cost that it is too late to repair their neglect of years, and seek to harmonise them now.

What does it matter? Let those who have made the mistake learn their error by knocking against the world. Why need I bother about their plight? For the present I find it wearisome to keep Bimala soaring much longer, like a captive balloon, in regions ethereal. I had better get quite through with the matter in hand.

When Bimala rose to depart and had neared the door I remarked in my most casual manner: "So, about the money..."

Bimala halted and faced back as she said: "At the end of the month, when our personal allowances are due..."

"That, I am afraid, would be much too late."

"When do you want it then?"

"To-morrow."

"To-morrow you shall have it."

(To be continued).

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY REFORM

I.

THE English education of India! It is one of the most momentous events the world has ever seen and most difficult problems the human brain has ever faced.

How to transplant the learning, method, and spirit of Western Europe to Middle Eastern Asia, among a subject race who have been denied the contact with the realities of life and the world which the responsibility of government imposes, who lack the sobering, levelling and co-ordinating influence that comes among brethren in arms from life in the camp and the gazing on death in the battle-field,—who habitually shrink from contact with foreigners, and ought to perform penances for visiting foreign lands,—who have no fleet of their own? How to transplant European knowledge among such a people and make it grow as native of the soil,—how to safeguard it during its period of acclimatisation and what modifications to allow its new environment to make in the exotic without sapping its strength and true character?

It is a problem more difficult than the European conquest of Asia or the economic exploitation of the whole globe by the white races. It is a more difficult achievement than the annihilation of time and space by modern science, the extinction of tropical diseases by European medical skill, or the placing of fabrics woven from Berar cotton in Manchester in the Berar market at a lower cost than cloth woven in Berar itself. It is a hundred times more difficult task than the victories of a Clive or a Pizarro over hundredfold odds. For, it is the conquest not of dead matter, not of Nature, not even of the human body, but of the mind,—and the mind of a race intensely proud of a glorious though far-off past, whose higher minds prefer to be plunged in thought of their ancient philosophy and theology in silent deep disdain of their hustling political and economic masters, who have rich sacred and vernacular literatures of their own that can still soothe the highest spirits and almost

satisfy the highest intellects. The fellow-countrymen of Kalidas and Sankaracharya, of Abul Fazl and Zahuri are a different class of raw material in the hands of the English educationist than the Basuto, the Maori and even the Algerine and the Cambodian.

II.

The difficulties in the path of the English educationist in India are clear to the commonest observer. Every winter tourist notices them, every Tory paper harps on them.

First, we have not one people,—even if we confine ourselves to one province of India instead of generalising about the whole country. We have to deal with a variety of races, creeds, and castes,—and to a lesser extent of tongues also. The modern school-master in India gets raw material which has not been standardised; which means variety of machinery and method and multiplication of labour and cost. The academic out-turn cannot have uniformity of finish and grade.

Then, unlike Japan, we have here a divorce between college and life. We read in our text-books that men are born equal and free, that the stars do not influence human life, that the properties of a substance can be exhaustively learnt by laboratory analysis alone. We give intellectual assent to these propositions, we prove them—in our answer papers,—so satisfactorily as to secure first class marks. But we do not translate them into action, we do not apply them to our life and society. Every Hindu or (Musalman) graduate regulates his marriages and very often his journeys by astrology, which, in the answer-paper, he has proved to be an exploded science. He often nurses a pigtail and believes in the occult power of *mahatmas*, even when he has discarded the old rigid rules of food and “touch” which stand as corollaries to these things in our sacred books. Even social reformers, who have celebrated widow-marriages in their families in the teeth of social opposition, still believe in their descent from mythical ancestors, and differentiate between members of the same

sub-caste in the same district according to an utterly false tradition of *pariyaya* and *gotra*. The Principal of a College (now no more) where chemistry was compulsory with all students, believes that he cured a case of cholera in his family by making the patient drink the washings of the butcher's knife in the temple of Kalighat. The Vice-Chancellor of a learned University kept a Senate meeting waiting for half an hour, because he had scalded his fingers in cooking his own meals in the absence of any other member of the sub-caste of Brahmans to which he belonged. The Vice-Chancellor of another University never lives in any house where the initial *pūja* (*griha-pravesh*) has not been performed. Yet another Vice-Chancellor abstained from taking his lunch before washing himself pure from the unholy touch of the High Court, where he adorned the Bench. In hardly any College can all the Hindu members of the staff be induced to take even light refreshments together, and yet they are not Sanskritists, not orthodox Pandits, but Masters of modern European subjects and even Masters of Science or Kantian Philosophy.

It is, therefore, patent that the true spirit of science—the fearless acceptance of proved truth—is still wanting among all but a small fraction even of our intellectuals. The ranks from which our colleges draw their recruits, both pupils and teachers, are still mediæval. Religious books still form the largest proportion of the works printed in India every year. European learning may have killed our ignorance, but not certainly our *impouissance de vivre* in the modern world.

The reason is, our society is afflicted with lateral paralysis. The whole of its left side (*ardhanga*) is inert. Our women are still mediæval, completely untouched by the spirit of modernism, ignorant of or indifferent to science. The action of the men must, therefore, follow an irregular vacillating line being the resultant of these two forces, the shastra-fugal M. Sc. or Ph.D. and the shastra-petal dead inertia of our better halves. The light that fails is the light of our harem. The woman is the cause of man's fall—from rationalism.

Nor can we ignore the economic factor. India is a very poor country, with an income per head which is only one-twenty-second of the average Britisher's income. Modern education, on the other hand, is very

expensive, because it is so very progressive. Progress implies that every three or four years the old books, the old machines, the old apparatus and even the old teachers must be scrapped up; such frequent loss of material must be endured as the inexorable condition of keeping our efficiency unimpaired. A poor population has to find the money for their renewal. Our general poverty adversely affects our education; we often want the necessary advanced books and journals which must supplement the text-books. We have few libraries worth the name, our centres of education often lack the civilised appliances and amenities of civilised life which alone can raise to a maximum the outturn of the (academic) workman.

The influence of our poverty is even worse on the intellectual side. If our University's efficiency depends upon the extent and value of the influence which the surrounding society exerts upon it, then the mediæval atmosphere in which it is planted, the cheap antiquated unreliable conditions of life and things around it must prevent its growth to the fullest possible height and strength.

Nor has this defect been compensated for by the type of the men within the University itself. Leaving out the few honourable exceptions, there has been a dearth of genuine scholars and earnest educational workers. The conditions of the Government Education Service seem to have been expressly designed to exclude all self-respecting and able Indians from it, while the rapid rise in our cost of living during the last 30 years and the low pay in unaided colleges, has driven the best Indian scholars to other professions. As for Europeans, the Government has by its own admission failed to attract first rate European talent to the cause of Indian education, in spite of its giving to I. E. S. officers, a salary incomparably higher than that paid in European universities, and a position of independence and domination over Indian teachers on the ground of race alone. No Oxford Ovid cares to banish himself among the Goths of Calcutta or Dacca even for twice the pay of the Master of Trinity. We have to face the fact that in our Government colleges—which are the richest and best in the land—as a rule second-class Indians are to-day keeping in countenance third-class European graduates, while the missionary and unaided colleges

cannot afford to do anything better. The highest type of work is impossible with such labourers and the raw materials we have described above.

A University must be a brotherhood of scholars, it must have a corporate intellectual life, or it will fall short of its true function. But our universities are mere groups of disjointed colleges, often placed at the opposite extremes of a province as large as France. Even the recently started University classes for post-graduate studies do not form a college or band of scholars living and working together. Their lecturers are either isolated educationists each ploughing his lonely furrow and with hardly a bowing acquaintance with his "colleagues," or professional lawyers, who come in the evening jaded from the dusty purlieus of the High Court, deliver their hour's lecture in the Darbhanga Buildings and are off to their homes. There is no regular organisation provided by the University, and existing social ideas stand in the way of any informal friendly gatherings, by which all the professoriate of the University itself (leaving the staffs of the affiliated colleges out of account) can meet together and exchange ideas. No educational journal, like the *Times Educational Supplement* or the *Athenæum* is widely read and eagerly contributed to by the University staff; many never read them from year's end to year's end. Thus our highest teachers (with a few exceptions) have no knowledge of the latest development of pedagogics, often no knowledge of the latest books on their subjects and of the present position of debateable points as treated in the journals of learned societies. M. A. candidates have to study the history of England under George III. The learned "University Lecturer" only lectures on it, i. e., he dictates notes consisting solely of a page-by-page epitome of Lecky, in blissful ignorance of the fact that Lecky's book is now forty years out of date and that it has to be supplemented by dipping into the Cambridge Modern History, the Political History of England, and the writings of Dr. Holland Rose. Napier's *Peninsular War* is still prescribed as a text-book, though it is ninety years old, and was written before the publication of Wellington's *Despatches*, the Spanish histories, and most of the French and English memoirs and state papers. While Oman's work on the sub-

ject, the latest and best, is not even mentioned by name. Such is the guidance in study which our highest students receive from the highest members of our University staff. No wonder if both fall into the same pit.

Nor should climatic conditions be forgotten in explaining the comparative barrenness of English education in India. Calcutta is a vapour bath for most parts of the year. It is free from malaria, no doubt; but strenuous mental toil is impossible within it. Every year we pay a heavy toll of the lives of some of the best intellects among our youth whom we force to grill here for six years; others escape with their degrees and lives, but carry only the empty shells of their brains into the outer world.

The handicap placed by a foreign medium of teaching and examination and the foreign language of all our text-books, advanced works and learned journals has been fully discussed in our January Number.

III.

Such is the educational position in India as it appears at a hurried view. It is gloomy enough to chill one's ardour and faith in the future. But we do not despair. We are hopeful not so much because some of the above generalisations require modifications considerably weakening their force; it is rather because the above picture does not tell the whole truth but leaves out certain elements of hope which are known only to deep thinkers and experienced observers among us. And these we shall here recount.

After all the atmosphere in Bengal is, mainly for historical and partly for racial reasons, more highly charged with the modern spirit than that of any other province of India. (We have in our view the average man, in this comparison.) It is unhistoric to say that the British Government (or missions) in Bengal have forced a foreign culture on an unwilling people. On the contrary, the Bengalis, for more than a hundred years past, have been willingly, eagerly taking to English education and mostly paying for it. (The state contribution, if we leave out the inspection and office expenses and the cost of buildings, amounts to a small fraction only of the annual cost per pupil.) The result is that we have long passed the

dangerous first stage of English education in India when the pouring of the new wine into the old bottles led to the bursting of the bottles. Bengal, first among the Indian provinces, has solved the problem of harmonising the East and the West in literature, thought and to a great extent in life, too, but not in the narrow circle of caste usage. (Here I speak of the higher minds who set the tone to society.) Bengal, in the person of her son Ram Mohun Roy, has evolved a philosophy for India in the new age. In the words of Tagore, 'he has built a bridge between the East and the West.' So, too, has Bankim Chandra done in literature and Vivekananda in monachism.

Secondly, the English educationist in Bengal must rejoice that he has the most keen-witted race in Asia to deal with. The people here have a tradition of learned poverty, of plain living and high thinking, which goes back for more than twelve centuries. No doubt circumstances have changed in our own days; but the outlook upon life which holds that Man liveth not by bread alone, has not ceased to be comprehensible to the Hindu. He is not dead to the things of the mind. The new fire of English knowledge does light upon combustible material here.

The Bengali students, especially the younger ones among them, are generally eager to earn and ready to work hard, (often too hard.) They have not to be baptised into a new life of the intellect; they only require true guides.

Then, again, though for economic causes one may deplore that boys of all ranks and incomes come to school, we must recognise the advantage that the college teacher has the entire youth of a nation to pick his pupils from. True, interdining and intermarriage among the castes are not yet prevalent in Bengal; but here, alone in the continent of India, the caste differences have almost reached the vanishing point as regards ways of life and thought; our population is homogeneous, which is far from the case in Bombay or Madras. And we have also only one vernacular for nearly 45 millions of souls living in one compact territory under one government and one University.

Even the poverty of the hitherto neglected and negligent castes, who are now sending their boys to our schools, is an asset to the educationist. It infuses

ardour into the work of the class and raises the intellectual tone of the whole school. As Mr. W. F. Rawnsley writes in the *Times*, "Boys in a good day school are much *more keen to learn* than the boys in a boarding school. It is *because* they all know that *they have to get their living by their brains.*"

Our strongest sign of hope is that a true Renaissance took place in Bengal about the middle of the 19th century, and influenced our life, thought, literature, art, and (secretly but steadily) our society too, to a degree comparable only with the effect of the Revival of Learning on Europe. It has produced a literature and an art that have fully assimilated the spirit of the West, while they have solved the more difficult problem of harmonising the East and the West, without rejecting what is good in either. There has been, among us, a real new birth of the intellect. The most recent examples of it are the many provincial and even district societies for conducting researches in our archaeology, history, philology, and ethnology. They are conducted exclusively by Indians and use the vernacular medium, but they are mostly inspired by western standards and follow the western scientific method of inquiry. The exotic *has* taken root in India's coral strand and *is* bearing fruit.

Even Hindu society itself is not unaffected by the new spirit imported from the west, though here the change has, necessarily, been the slowest. The majority are still conservative, but the minority of reformers and rationalists are no longer negligible and every year sees an increase in their number and the thinning of the ranks of the Old Guards of the *ancien regime* by the pitiless tireless hand of Time. Anglo-Indian officers who had retired to England, have, after every fresh visit to India, declared in public that the country is changing so rapidly that they could hardly recognise the land and the people they had known so well only five years before. The sleeper is awake.

For instance, the pig-tail of which there has been an atavistic revival of late, is now greeted with a grin from all sensible Hindus, whereas a generation ago it used to extort a *pranam*. Our women have been reading the terribly modern novels and vernacular magazines, though they are as yet afraid to take action as the mother-in-law is still the home ruler. But

she will be soon called to the realm of the blessed. Pandits' sons are declining to be paudits and becoming "gentlemen."

IV.

There is, then, no ground for despairing. The problem is really one of improvement; how to make the University more efficient, how to get the best value for the money now being spent on it or likely to be given to it in future? We shall here indicate the chief lines of progress required by indicating its chief defects to-day.

(1) The supreme need of the day is the education of the Indian professoriate in the science of education. How to bring the latest ideas in pedagogics circulating in Europe to bear promptly on the actual teaching work and influence the method of the professors and examiners of our University? This can be done in two ways: by making every university lecturer go through a period of probation as assistant to a University Professor of mature experience and standing in the world of scholarship, or by organising regular *symposia* on pedagogics and recent advances in each subject, at which all the teaching staff must attend and participate in the discussion. Our highest teachers in each Department must be deputed to make frequent visits to Europe to keep themselves abreast of the latest advances in knowledge. It is not enough that a professor has taken a high degree in India or Europe; he must refresh his knowledge by periodical visits to the most progressive centres of learning in the West or show by his original researches that he has kept touch with the latest research in his special department.

(2) To attract the best brains to the work of education, a progressive ladder to the highest rewards of the profession should be set up by the Universities. A young teacher ought to be made to feel that he will be promoted according to the work that he can place before recognised critics of his subject, and not according to colour or hole-and-corner jobbery. Every post in the University post-graduate colleges ought to be widely advertised at least four months in advance, and a statement of the qualifications and list of published works of the selected candidate should be published by the Board of Appointments. But what do we find in actual practice? A teacher of physics in a

technical college is superannuated from Government service after receiving two or three "extensions" beyond the age for compulsory retirement; he is, then, appointed Registrar of the University and renders his term memorable by three successive leakages of question papers, and gross mismanagement of office, and then, instead of retiring to sorely needed rest, is suddenly appointed University Professor of Botany! In many other cases the first notice the educational public have received of the creation of a lectureship at Calcutta has been the appointment of the incumbent! People have been known to be promised some post, and then posts have been specially created for them by expanding the courses and even by ousting older lecturers from their special subjects in order to give the young favourites some subject which they can teach! An assistant is forced upon the University Professor of Chemistry, who protests that he does not require one. When the young man joins his post it is found that in the special branch of Chemistry which he is fit to teach there are already enough teachers on the staff; but he must be provided with work "by order", and so the staff of the science college has to be reshuffled in order to carry out the mandate. The secret is that this young man, when adorning a mufassil college, had secured a promise of employment at Calcutta! Thus, men are not selected with a view to the posts, but posts are twisted and modified to suit the men. Square pegs are put into round holes, because the pegs have been purchased and cannot be thrown away. And this is the condition of an institution where every teacher ought to be a specialist. This utter want of principle and even common business method, this relegation of everything to the discretion or caprice of one dread dictator, is not only fatal to the "advancement of learning," but is the most effectual method that can be devised for keeping out men of real ability and character, and getting a shoddy self-advertising type of work—and a very small quantity of that too,—in return for the expenditure of lakhs of Rupees.

(3) A true university is a brotherhood of scholars. Its members must have an organic unity. To secure this end, and also to ensure the economy of talent or the arrangement under which a specialist

lectures on his own special branch and on nothing else, it is necessary to have concentration of the higher studies. Everywhere post-graduate studies are directly undertaken by the university and not left to its constituent colleges. Such is the trend of educational theory and practice in Europe.

But in Bengal it is not without grave dangers. The European Universities which follow this practice are small city-republics, in which the defects of one can be avoided and partly counteracted by its neighbours. But when we have only one university for a country half as large as France, the evils of centralisation are incurable, they infect the educational atmosphere of the entire nation, as there is no rival institution within reach. The megalomaniac truncates the constituent colleges by depriving them of the power of M. A. and Honours teaching; he robs the staffs of these colleges by luring away their best professors to his University College sometimes *at a day's notice*, he commandeers their scientific apparatus for advanced laboratory work for his Central College of science, leaving them only fit for the teaching of elementary science and their professors absolutely unable to do private research work in the comparative leisure which men enjoy in the mufassil. The big octopus of the Central University college with its silver tentacles sucks in the ambition, the brain, the energy of the professoriate of an entire country, and throws away to the other colleges the crushed and dead limbs. There cannot be a great University without great constituent colleges. The man who rolls in wealth while his sons starve in slums or live in work houses, has a very limited duration of greatness.

And the evil of such centralisation is intensified when the megalomaniac follows not fixed general principles but personal discretion and a special rule or violation of rule for each individual, when he shuns publicity and slow orderly procedure and prefers to act by sudden emergency strokes, which leave no time for deliberation, discrimination and public notification, when his activity is directed to whitewashing the exterior of the Temple of Athena, without purifying the interior, when he sends forth into the world pretentious courses of study and syllabuses of lectures, while the actual teaching is exactly like that of a cramming college or

lecture-institute,—and when he takes no step to exclude examiners liable to personal influence, personal bias or a mean jealousy of rival institutions and rival professors. The character of the examination of the papers (not the printed questions) and the means by which success is known to be attained under such examiners influence the studies of our highest graduates; the printed syllabuses and the names of the lecturers count for nothing, though they may serve as an “eye-wash” for foreign visitors. In this grove of Saraswati the trees expect to be judged by their leaves (self-fluttered) and not by their fruits.

But where lies the remedy? Nobody would suggest the closing of the University colleges and a return to the old state of things. But the present arrangement is admittedly defective; let these defects be cured. *First*, while certain branches of advanced study should be carried on under the university only, because only a few students select them and not more than one or two competent teachers of each of them can be found in all India,—there is no reason why in the more popular branches (such as History, Pure Mathematics, General Philosophy, Inorganic Chemistry, &c.) certain well-equipped colleges should not be allowed to carry on M. A. and Honours teaching. A specialist in a small subdivision of science or art may be allowed to carry on his teaching up to the highest degree in his own college and laboratory, and the University students who elect that branch ought to be sent to him, instead of the teacher being uprooted and transplanted to Darbhanga Buildings. The present arrangement leaves no place under the University for isolated scholars to do their work quietly, specialise, and follow their own line to finality. They must all come to Calcutta, conform to the same type, carry out the mandates of the megalomaniac, lose their thin small voice in the Babel of the Council of Post-graduate Studies, and have their individuality, their special gift, crushed out by the system.

Secondly, there should be some amount of decentralisation, and clearly defined delegation of powers in the body that conducts the post-graduate studies of the University. There is at present one-man rule, discretionary government, and not

the reign of law, privilege (in the Latin sense) and not fixed principle, closettings not public councils, special promotions not regular grading of the staff. It may do in emergency times, but ought not to be the normal condition of a respectable university with a sixty years' glorious history behind it. The Dictator ought to be replaced by the Senatus.

It may be argued that an inefficient or corrupt senate makes a dictator like Caesar necessary for the public good. Our answer is, Look at Mexico. It was a semi-barbarous country, torn by civil wars and subject to mediæval conditions. Porfirio Diaz made himself dictator of it; he unscrupulously restored order, introduced the amenities of civilised life, and for some years made Mexico take rank with third class European States—in newspaper reports. Then Diaz left his throne and Mexico is exactly where it was before, as if the interval of the reign of Diaz had been blotted out of its history! If, as you argue, a dictator was necessary in order to set our (senate) house in order, there is no knowing when he will cease to be necessary and those "disqualified zamindars,"—our Fellows,—will become capable of managing their own affairs. Our Porfirio Diaz cannot last for ever. How will the 26 Boards, half a dozen Faculties, and every sub-committee appointed by the university, of which he is now chairman, manage to do their work when, in the natural course of time, the beams of Saraswati are withdrawn from them? Is the "Universal monarch" (*Chakra-varti, Sam-bud-dha-gama*) training any successor, any vizier to take his place? If not, he will leave behind him worse chaos than before his rise to power.

Another sinister development of our University during the regime of Dr. Sarbadhikari has been the deposition of the Vice Chancellor from the control of its highest and special work. The University has now gigantic Arts and Science classes for the Mastership degrees, with several hundreds of lectures and a salary fund amounting to lakhs of Rupees. The whole of this department has been placed under the control of Sir Asutosh as President of the Council of Higher Studies; though he ceased to be Vice Chancellor 5 years ago, all this enormous power and *patronage* continues still in his hands, and the poor nominal Vice Chancellor presides over some clerks, small

colleges shorn of M.A. (—and in future of Honours teaching) and petty examinations for the U. A. or B. A. Pass degrees! Thus there are now two Kings in our Senate House: The Vice Chancellor *de jure*, Sir Lancelot Sanderson, and the Vice Chancellor *de facto* to whom all aspirants for office, degrees, chairs and even academic favours and pardons, look up. This is not a healthy state of things. Is it going to be continued by Dr. Sadler?

We insist upon publicity, fixed principles, corporate management and the rigid exclusion of the personal element in the government of the Higher Studies of the university, because we want to avoid the fate of Mexico. We want continuity of policy and action, and not the uncertainty, the wide variation, the jobbery that must inevitably spring from the discretionary government of one man subject to no public scrutiny, no advice of responsible counsellors, no audit by an independent board. If the good work done by Sir Ashutosh Mukherji is to be perpetuated, he must follow the more difficult art of training his successors and working in co-operation with associates (in public) who can carry on his work. In Europe a statesman is judged by the permanence of the fabric he has built and not by his individual brilliancy. How far is this test applicable to our dictator? The incessant changes going on in the method of work, staff and management of our "Higher Studies" prove that this showy crowning dome of our University can be kept standing only by feverish repair, buttressing, and no small amount of lime wash. This cannot go on for ever.

Therefore, control of University affairs, especially studies and examinations, ought to be vested in an academic council composed of the teachers themselves, as recommended by the Haldane Commission on the London University. But at Calcutta we have every thing left to the Senate, and our Senate is a body in which educationists form a small minority. Even in bodies, where a majority of educationists is necessary by statute, the letter of the law is saved by electing practising lawyers who also happen to lecture once or twice a week at the Law College or the University Arts College, and who thus elbow out the teachers by vocation. The

latter are at present nowhere in the management of the University.

A reference to the debates in the Imperial Legislative Council of Lord Curzon's time, when the present Universities Act was passed, shows that the proposal to allow the teachers of the affiliated colleges to elect a certain proportion of the Fellows, was opposed by the Hon'ble Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya. The most natural portal for teachers to University management has been thus shut. The result is that real academic opinion has no means of making itself heard in the conduct of the affairs of the University. Under the existing conditions independent and self-respecting teachers cannot get into the Senate in sufficient numbers, and the few that do are powerless to stem the tide. This is exactly the atmosphere that nourishes one-man rule. The Senate House is an annexe to the High Court.

The anonymous author of the recent Aberdeen pamphlet, *Reconstruction in the Universities*, very wisely remarks, "For what does a University exist if not to equip and train teachers, to create their standards and to inspire their ideals? Historically this is the most ancient of all its functions. To transmit and extend knowledge is but a part of the mission of a university. It must hold aloft the lamp of truth, and let its light shine. To it are entrusted the interests of knowledge and of culture within its bounds. Its teachers are representatives and propagandists of the higher learning, and should afford living illustration of its power, its beauty, and its worth."

How our university falls short of this ideal is well-known. Its teachers are power-less, spirit-less, ideal-less servants of a machine. Its professoriate should form a "general staff," composed of the brains of the teaching profession, deliberately and corporately organising the teaching, setting the standard, and realising the ideal. But at present it looks more like the Russian army, a chaotic mass of small regiments or companies, with a dictator at the top, but no respectable and responsible officers in command.

When we have set our house in order, as suggested above, the next reform would be the establishment of co-ordination and reciprocity among the different universities, in order to make the most of our ex-

isting talents and resources, and prevent needless duplication and waste of men and money. Books, professors, and (higher) students should be freely exchanged between them, and each of them asked to specialise in some branch for the benefit of all India. For the higher branches of study, India is not yet a continent; it would be wiser to treat it as a single unit.

The present attitude of one Indian University to another is that of armed neutrality,—“What the devil do you want here? Off my grass!” Their foolish rivalry often makes them as ridiculous as two Bengal zamindars owning parts of the same estate. The University Professor of Economics at Allahabad started a *Journal of Indian Economics*. His rival at Calcutta, not to be outdone, immediately afterwards started another. Both the papers are now about a year in arrears of publication, as there is not sufficient economic talent available in India for more than one high class economic paper. The transfer of students, even advanced workers, from one University to another, has to follow a cumbrous dilatory procedure, and is often as difficult as the migration of a criminal tribe from one district to another. The result is that we have an expert in a particular subject pining without students in his own University, while students of other universities who want to study that subject cannot do so, or have to be content with the third rate teaching of it. India as a whole is the loser by this enforced, unnatural, inter-provincial isolation.

Similarly, the highest technical institutions should be imperialised and thrown open to all the Indian provinces. It is no good multiplying small second-grade provincial institutions, unless they lead up to a centre of the highest teaching in the subject.

University reform in Bengal will be incomplete without the establishment of a hill college for post-graduate studies and research work. The Bengali intellect is no doubt very keen; but its dreamy imaginativeness, proneness to unscientific enthusiasm, and fondness for vague generalisation, require to be counteracted by uniform strenuous long-continued labour, the patient plodding observation and correct record of numerous minute particulars and scientifically ascertained facts, with-

out which all generalisations, all theories must be futile. It is only by slaving contentedly in the laboratory (or library) that the Bengali can hope to wipe out the reproach of intellectual barrenness and literary charlatanism after half a century of the highest European education.

Our countrymen do not sufficiently realise the immense amount of labour behind every advance, however slight, in European science or even technology. In Germany research scholars work 16 hours a day from year's end to year's end, and it is sometimes only after ten or even twenty years of such toil that they venture to publish the result to the world. In England the greatest scientists work, experiment and observe, and record for at least 12 hours a day. Such strenuous labour is not possible in the Bengal plains at any time, and continuous labour throughout the year is impossible here.*

If, therefore, the research work of our students and professors is not to be of mushroom growth and of mushroom duration, if India is again to take her place among the enrichers of the world's stock of knowledge, the necessary climatic conditions for doing such work must be supplied.

The scheme is not costly. Land may be acquired and houses built between Toong and Darjiling, say at Sonada, and

* When that scholar and veteran educationist, Sir Theodore Morrison, re-visited India as a member of the Public Services Commission and heard that new Universities for Bihar and the Central Provinces were under contemplation, he urged that these should be located in the hills in order to get the best intellectual results for the money and also ensure the development of health and character (through action) among the students. Another distinguished educationist, Principal N. N. Ghosh, pleaded for the establishment of a hill college for Bengalis in his paper, the *Indian Nation*, twenty years ago. *The Modern Review* has also done it before independently.

the highest University workers in certain departments of study transferred there. Only advanced students need go there; the bulk of our M.A. and M.Sc. candidates would study in the plains. The professors who would work in these bracing cool heights during eight months would descend to earth in the cold weather and give Darbhanga Buildings (or the Palit-Ghosh Institute) the benefit of the wisdom they have garnered and the secrets they have extorted from Nature in their Himalayan hermitage. A practical beginning can be made with only ten lakhs of Rupees, which would fully cover all initial expenses of land acquisition, (special) laboratory and library building, and quarters for 50 teachers and 300 students, but not the books and apparatus. The cost of living* and the recurring expenses would be about 50 per cent. higher than in the plains; but the result would pay it ten times over.

We require a great statesman or patriot to undertake the bold step of standing sponsor to this idea, and we can assure him of public support when the scheme is once launched. It can be done, and Bengal ought to do it.

K. V. A.

* The price of food stuffs will be considerably cheaper than in Calcutta; but being cured of Calcutta dyspepsia the boys will eat more and therefore cost more on the whole. Another point; Calcutta house-rent is prohibitive, at our hill college it will be nominal, being only 5 per cent. of the cost of the house.

Estimated initial expenditure :

Price of land	...	Rs. 2 lakhs.
Cost of levelling, roads, revetment	...	1½ "
Laboratory, library and lecture rooms	...	2½ "
50 family quarters at Rs. 5,000 each	...	2½ "
300 seats at Rs. 500 each (including kitchen and outhouses)	...	1½ "

Total 10 "

If Government grants the land free, the two lakhs may be devoted to the purchase of books and apparatus.

DUSK

The bird of daylight folds her yellow wings
Behind the violet-shadowed hills afar.....
From heights of peace, some secret poet

flings
On dusky streams, the poem of a star.

The sky, the silence, and the dusk are mine,
For they are Thine, and Thou art mine in
love.....

Ah God ! my heart is turning crystalline
Seeing Thee play at crystal stars above !

Deep in my soul, the voice of beauty lulls
My white-flame heart, and earth-enchanted
eyes.....

Through the dim-purpled dusk, my listen-
ing pulse

Throbs to the music of the dreaming skies.

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA., M.A., L.T.

IV. RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS
IN PEACE :*The Agents of a State in its International Relations.*

GENERAL FEATURES.

DIPLOMACY forms the most important division of peace in modern International Law and there is a large number of rules which regulate the appointment, qualifications, rights and duties of ambassadors in works on the subject. It has been already noted that in the case of India we have but meagre information derivable from the sources as regards rights and obligations in peace times. We are in a better position so far as this division of our subject is concerned.

Diplomacy in the sense in which it is generally understood in modern times is something that could not be met with as such in Ancient India. The system of accrediting ambassadors *permanently* from one court to another was a feature that did not exist in those ages. It has also to be noted that the same act of rules as regards this subject did not prevail in all the epochs of our political history. In works of modern International Law it is stated that the features of embassies and the regulations regarding them that were current in the Middle Ages were somewhat different from those that obtain in modern times. We are told that till the age of Louis XI the 'envoy' was merely a person who was sent by one sovereign to another to carry on a special mission. It was this king that began the system of stationing ambassadors permanently in foreign courts. The growth of international relations in later ages made 'diplomacy' an absolutely necessary department of statecraft.

In India gradual changes are visible as regards the character, qualifications and duties of diplomatic ministers, as we proceed from the Vedic to the 'historic' period of the ancient history of India. Even in the period of its latest development diplo-

macy never reached the advance of modern times. Permanent embassies were, it would appear, unknown and were probably unnecessary even in the time of Kautilya.¹ The diplomatic minister in his work was one sent as in the Middle Ages in Europe to carry on some special business. Yet he was entrusted with the intricate task of issuing ultimatum before war, declaring war, concluding treaties and in general keeping his sovereign informed of the state of the defences and the comparative strength and weakness of the country to which he was sent.² He performed very much the same functions as were performed by his prototype in the western world.

HISTORY OF DIPLOMACY IN INDIA.

In the age of the *Mantras* we meet with the term *duta* (दूत) employed in the sense of 'Messenger' to carry news. Agni is often mentioned in the Vedas as a *duta* who was supposed to perform the function of carrying the offerings made to the gods by the *Yajamana* (यजमान). He is used as the medium of communication between the Supreme and the sacrificer.³ The term here does not however signify any person who was to serve as an international agent.

The Yajur Veda Samhita⁴ discloses to

1. If as Megasthenes says, there was the second department of Chandra Gupta's administration which looked after the foreigners there was no necessity for the institution of a diplomatic office corresponding to that of the consul for instance.

2. Kautilya : *Arthashastra* Bk. I. 16 & II. 11 & 12. Also see *Manu* VII. 66, 67, & 68.

3. *R. V.*, I. 12. 1. The passage is

अग्निं दूतं वृणीमहे होतारं विश्ववेधसं अस्व यज्ञस्य रुद्रतं
etc.

Sayana in his gloss on the passage quotes the passage in the *Taitareya Brahmana* :—

अग्निदेवतानां दूत आसित् ।

4 *Taitareya Samhita* IV. 7. 1.

दूताय च प्रहिताय च

दूत is explained by Sayana as परमैव्यवृत्तान्त-
जायनकुशलः and प्रहित as स्वाभिना प्रेषितः पुरुषः ।

us another word to denote a messenger—*prahita* (प्रहित). Sayana in his gloss to the hymn distinguishes between the two terms *duta* and *prahita* as follows:—A *duta* is one skilled in obtaining intelligence regarding the condition of the enemy's army and a *prahita* is merely explained as 'one sent by his master'. The former apparently was more an international agent than the latter. We may hold the view that the term *duta* had acquired a technical sense in the Yajur Vedic period, while *prahita* was used to denote the *duta* of the Rig Vedic age.

An 'envoy', clearly used in the sense of an agent for international dealings, appears to be a development of the next epoch. Instances are by no means rare in this period of ministers despatched by one sovereign to another whether in peace or on the eve of the outbreak of hostilities. Naturally, we meet in the Epics with illustrations⁵ and elaborate regulations regarding the character of the embassies, their rights and duties, their immunities, etc. The Epics disclose to us some of the principles of equity and fairness regarding this branch of international law which are found in observance among European nations in their dealings with one another.

Diplomacy appears as a distinct and indispensable feature of international conduct from the 'historic period' when great importance was attached to the work of ambassadors in foreign courts. Information is by all means full on this topic alike in the works of religion and secular literature. In this department also the work of Kautilya throws good light and it is full of illustrations which go to show how in his time embassies had become of immense necessity. The political system of Kautilya, the structure of his empire, the relations between the various states in his time, and the great importance that was attached by him to the theory of 'balance of power' made embassies, treaties and alliances matters of great import.⁶

CLASSIFICATION AND FUNCTIONS OF DIPLOMATIC AGENTS.

International Law in Europe classifies the diplomatic agents of a state under various heads. It was at the Congress

⁵ Similar weight is given to the subject in later works such as *Sukraniti*, *Agni Purana* and *Nitivakya-mite*.

of Vienna⁶ that an attempt was made to give a definite classification of these ministers according to their rank and precedence. These were: (1) Ambassadors, Papal Legates, Nuncios—representing the person and dignity of the sovereign as well as the affairs of their kingdom; (2) Envoys, ministers, etc., accredited to sovereigns; (3) Charges D'Affairs accredited to foreign ministers; (4) Consuls, etc., who performed less important duties of a judicial and commercial nature. These differed much from one another in their dignity, functions and immunities. We find, however, that in general language the term ambassador was used to cover all these forms.

We find mention of various kinds of diplomatic ministers in the literature of ancient India. All these were generally styled *dutāh*, whatever their rank and the mission on which they were sent. This practice continued throughout the Epic period⁷ in which we are able to discern very little differentiation between one kind of diplomatic agent and another. In later ages⁸ we meet with different names given to different grades of ministers in accordance with their powers and precedence. In Kautilya's time diplomacy had advanced enough to be recognised as a subject of international conduct worthy of detailed consideration. The number and functions of these agents, and the gravity of international relations had all become so complex as to necessitate their classification.⁹ These were:—(1) *Nisrishtārthāh*, (2) *Dūtāh*, (3) *Parimitārthāh*, (4) *Sāsana-hāra*.

The first class were left in charge of the most responsible duties such as issuing ultimatum before war, declaring war and concluding treaties. It was left to these to act in such a way as not to prejudice the interests of their own states and keep

⁶ Similar necessity for classification arose at the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) which marks the transition from the International Law of the Middle Ages to that of modern times and in the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle 1818.

⁷ In the Epics two kinds of agents are in evidence दूत and चार.

⁸ The *Sukraniti* has apparently only two kinds of international agents: Secret spy (चार) and open spy (दूत). See also *Agni Purana* (CCXLI, sloka 12).

⁹ *Arthasastra* Bk. I. Ch. 16.

up the 'balance of power'¹⁰ which in the age of Kautilya formed the most important point in statecraft, for, we read of the great importance to be attached by a king to the theory of the 'balance of power' among the twelve rulers who formed the *mandala* and with whom he had relations. A classical example of an ambassador of this type was Sri Krishna who was sent by the Pandavas to the Kauravas for negotiations with the latter just before the outbreak of the Great War.

Next in importance came the *duta*. This was a term that was used in general to cover all the forms. Kautilya makes special mention of this class¹¹, assigning to it special powers and functions. These, after they had been despatched to a country, were to live in friendly terms with the important officers and acquaint themselves with the situation there. They had to provide their states with detailed information as regards the defences of the state to which they went and the comparative strength of its army, navy, fortifications etc.

A minister of the third class performed less important functions and, as the term implies, was left in charge of the particular mission on which he was sent. He was invested with powers to bring his mission to a satisfactory conclusion.

The ministers of the last type acted merely in the capacity of 'carriers of messages' from one court to another.

ESPIONAGE.

Next we pass on to the consideration of the work of Spies and other 'news agents' who formed in themselves a type of international agents. Espionage was a very ancient custom in India, utilised not merely for purposes of internal administration but also for external purposes, e.g., for knowing the strength and weakness of the surrounding states. The spies acted as the secret agents of a state sent to the hostile country. In matters of internal administration they were used to provide the central administration with informa-

tion as to what passed in the country, as to the relations of the government with the governed, to report cases of mal-administration, in short to know the general state of public feeling.¹² In matters concerning foreign policy they were used to secretly collect information about the enemy country. The spy appeared in the guise of a trader, an ascetic, a quack, a cultivator or a recluse and furnished materials to his state about the enemy;¹³ and secrecy was the very feature that went to distinguish these from the ambassadors of the higher class. This is probably the reason why in some of the later works of literature the ambassador is considered merely as an 'open spy'.¹⁴ During the age of the Agni Purāṇa all the diplomatic agents whether 'secret' or 'open' were classed together and considered as performing duties not quite honourable in character.

The spies were of immense importance to a state and a kingdom is said to have its roots in spies and secret agents.¹⁵ Fleet as the wind, and energetic as the sun, they were to travel in the camp of the enemy to gather secret information.¹⁶ A king was to appoint such men as secret spies as are clever in understanding the movements of the enemy and subjects, as would faithfully deliver the information they may have received.¹⁷ Relating to the administration of espionage we read¹⁸ :—

(1) The king should examine the spies, before appointment as to their capacity and honesty.

(2) He should be well-protected while in their presence.

(3) He should hear from them at night.

(4) He should punish them when dishonest but carefully protect them during the period of work.

12. *Sukraniti*, I. ll. 262-265.

13. *Artha Sastra* II. 13.

Some of these spies were the special 'Reporters' who are known as पतिवेदका: (Rock Edict VI); 'supervisors' by the Greeks and पुलिसानि (king's men) in Pillar Edict VI.

14. *Agni Purana*, 241.12. In the *Sukraniti* also दूत is considered only as an अनुग of the other 8 departments (II. ll. 148-149).

15. *Mahābhārata*: *Santi*, Sec. 83.

16. *Kāmandaka*, XII. 39.

17. *Sukraniti*, (II. 377 and 378).

18. *Ibid.*, (I. ll. 670-681). See Sirkar's translation and notes.

10. *Arthasastra* Bk. VI. Ch. 2 and *Agni Purana* Chap. 240. sl. 1.

11. In the later works of literature we find only three classes mentioned and दूत is excluded. It is probably because the term दूत in their age was only a common term used to denote only diplomatic agent and hence was not given a special head.

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It has to be inferred from the above that though the term spy did not in general mean that contemptible person who betrays his own side to the enemy and who deserves to be put to death for his crime, betrayal was, it would appear, not altogether unknown. There was probably the lurking fear that in the employment of these secret agents the opposite camp might at any time win them over easily to its side.¹⁹ This suspicion and want of absolute confidence in these secret agents is in evidence in the *Mudrārākshasa* which is a drama involving a series of plots and counterplots.

The art of espionage reached its height under Kautilya²⁰ about whose government Mr. Smith remarks as follows²¹ :— "The government relied on a highly organised system of espionage, pervading every department of the administration and every class of the population." We are told that cipher-writing was used by these and pigeons were employed to convey secret intelligence²² and Megasthenes makes mention of this special department controlled by the 'five institutes of espionage.'

The system of espionage so far as it was utilised for international dealings may have implied as Mr. Smith remarks²³ 'inveterate and universal suspicion.' But such has been the case in all ages with all nations as regards dealings in international politics. It can by no means be asserted that this "inveterate and universal suspicion which regulated the dealings between every Rāja and his fellow-rulers governed the conduct of the prince to his officials and subjects." This sweeping generalisation of Mr. Smith is certainly of questionable validity. The spies were employed by kings not to safeguard their own interests to the oppression of the subjects, but they were utilised to perform more satisfactory and laudable functions. They have in fact to be regarded as instruments through whom public opinion was brought to bear on the king in his public activities. They served as a means by which the king could rectify some of his own vices and faults.²⁴ An apt illustra-

tion of such utilisation of espionage by the king with a view to reform himself is found in the *Ramayana* where Rama attached so much importance to public opinion voiced by a washerman as to put away his innocent queen.

The reports sent in by these secret agents were mostly authentic²⁵ but sometimes there was indeed room for undue reliance not being placed on their words, for the spies were agents of low rank and did not resort to quite honourable methods in the discharge of their duties. Kautilya says²⁶ verily 'that information may be relied upon which receives testimony from three different sources.'

FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN INDIA.

We have dealt in the above with embassies of one type—intended for external purposes—sent by one sovereign in India to another. Quite of a different type, being dissimilar in their general character, duties and privileges were those received by Indian monarchs from outside India. We have examples of such all through the period of our ancient history. Megasthenes, Dyonisius and Deimachus are examples of this type.²⁷ Through these the kings of ancient India kept friendly relations with foreigners. But there were very little of relations of a diplomatic or warlike character between India and the foreign countries and these embassies were mostly for show and grandeur.

QUALIFICATIONS OF DIPLOMATIC MINISTERS.

Because the diplomatic agents were very important statesmen and very responsible duties fell on them, it was necessary that careful attention should be given to the choice of these. The works of literature lay down various rules as regards the necessary qualifications and attainments which these agents were to possess. We read that they should be high-born, of

may be rendered thus :—The praiseworthy king should try to rectify his own faults on the opinion of his subjects, and should never punish them for their opinion.

25. That a comparatively high standard of honesty was observed by these is clear from the testimony of Arrian. See Max Muller: *India, what it can teach us*, p. 54.

26. *Arthasastra* II. 13, also *Agni Purana*, 220. 22.

27. Megasthenes was sent by Seleucus Nikator to the court of Chandragupta Maurya, and the other two were received at the court of Bindusara Maurya.

19. *Agni Purana*, 220-22.

20. See *Arthasastra* I. 11 and 12.

21. *Early History of India*, (3rd. Edn.) p. 139.

22. *Arthasastra* II. 11.

23. *Early Hist. of India*, p. 139. *op. cit.*

24. *Sukraniti* I. ll. 260-267. A portion of which

good family, eloquent, clever, sweet-speeched, faithful in delivering the message with which they are charged and endowed with good memory.²⁸ They should in addition be well-versed in Sastras, be of good personality, fearless in their actions, and have knowledge of the feelings, forms and activities of others and of the conditions of time and place.²⁹ Dignity, courtesy, tact, courage and resolution and moderation in action are laid down as other characteristics of ambassadors.³⁰ It is clear from the above that the envoy, if he was to perform his duties satisfactorily, had to possess large powers of head, hand and heart. His qualifications may be broadly classified under :—

(1) Hereditary—High birth, integrity, loyalty to the sovereign.

(2) Moral and Social—Freedom from vices, honesty, strength of character, courtesy, forgiveness and eloquence.

(3) Physical and Mental—Memory, boldness, resolution, activity, tact, power of rightly understanding men's thoughts and actions, and fearlessness.

The ambassador accredited to a foreign court was thus a person who was to combine in himself many statesmanly qualities. It is indeed a very high ideal that is proclaimed in the works of literature. It is not possible for us to know exactly how many kings were able to realise this ideal of the ambassador of whom Sri Krishna was a splendid example.

BEGINNING OF A DIPLOMATIC MISSION.

When once a diplomatic minister was chosen for a particular mission, it is necessary that he should be given certain credentials that he may be received kindly by the foreign court. It is natural that he should be invested with powers to act on behalf of his sovereign. He should have certain means of introduction and general instructions whether oral or written as to the line of action he was to take in the country to which he was accredited. We have no means of knowing what all credentials

were taken by an envoy in ancient India, corresponding, for instance, to the 'letters of credence,' 'full powers,' 'general powers,' 'passports' or the like. We can only say that some instructions oral or written and some means of identification were absolutely necessary and must have been given to the envoys before they departed with their mission to another country.

IMMUNITIES AND PRIVILEGES OF DIPLOMATIC MINISTERS.

Elaborate rules are laid down in the text-books on international law as regards the sacredness and inviolability of the person and property of diplomatic ministers. Ministers and their suite are, it is generally accepted, exempt from local jurisdiction. We find this has also been the practice current in the various epochs of the ancient history of India. There was the strong belief that any violence committed on the ambassador was in fact committed on the king who sent him, for he is the representative of his sovereign being only his mouthpiece.³¹ We read that a king should never slay an envoy under any circumstances. That king who slays an envoy sinks into hell with all his ministers.³²

A diplomatic minister enjoyed in the ordinary course great privileges in the foreign court. To put to death an envoy was opposed to the general conduct of kings and condemnable by the whole world.³³ The virtuous have always held that the ambassador was on no account and under no circumstances to be slain.³⁴ He was not to be put to death even if he be offensive and did some serious wrong.³⁵ Let him be armed with weapons, still he could not be killed.³⁶ Be he good or bad, being sent by others and representing another he did not deserve death.³⁷ Thus the ambassador could not be put to death.

But we find there were certain recog-

28. *Mahābhārata; Santi. Rajadharmanusasana parva. Sec. 85, v. 28.*

29. *Manu; VII. 63 & 64.* The same qualifications are met with in the *Sukraniti I. 174 & 175.*

30. *Kautilya: Arthashastra I. 16.*

31. *Ramayana: Sund. Kand. 52. sl. 19.*

ब्रह्मपराशं परवात्र दूतो वधमर्हति ।

32. *M. Bh. Santi. Rajadharma: 85, v. 26.*

33. *Ramayana: Sund. Kand. 52, 5 and 6.*

राजधर्मविद्वद् च लोकवृत्तेश्च गर्हितं

34. *Ibid. sl. 13.*

35 and 36. *Ibid. Yuddha: Sec. 25, 16 and 20.*

37. *Ibid. Sund. Sec. 52. 19.*

nised punishments³⁸ that could be meted out to an offending envoy—such as causing deformity of the limbs, mutilation, cropping off the hair, and lastly there was the last result—to send away the ambassador that had given offence and call for a more satisfactory one to carry on the negotiations. An instance, where the diplomatic minister, because he could not be put to death, had to be punished in one of the above ways, is met with in the Ramayana where Ravana gives the order for the mutilation of Hanuman for he was an ambassador and could not be slain.

TERMINATION OF EMBASSIES.

Naturally an embassy was terminated

38. वैश्यमङ्गेषु केशाभिघातो मौड्यं तथा लक्ष्य
सन्निपातः । एतान् हि द्वौ प्रवदन्ति दण्डान् etc.
(*Ram. Sund. Kand, 52. 15.*)

when the mission with which a minister was sent was satisfactorily settled. A particular embassy had necessarily to be terminated in the following cases :—

(1) When the particular minister died in the course of his diplomatic work.

(2) When the sovereign of the country which sent the minister died, there was perhaps the end of the old order and the old minister might be recalled.

(3) Similarly also on the death of the sovereign of the country to which he is accredited.

(4) Lastly on the eve of the outbreak of war, the diplomatic minister was invariably recalled. In fact, as in the case of modern nations war was always preceded by the recall of the ambassador.

We shall next pass on to the consideration of the other aspects of the subject—Alliances and Treaties.

HINDU ACHIEVEMENT IN EXACT SCIENCE

(Continued from the last number)

XII. MEDICINE.

SUPERSTITIONS die hard. The progress of rationalism is slow. Hippocrates and Galen held a knowledge of astronomy or rather astrology to be essential to physicians. In Europe, even so late as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, diseases were regarded as punishment of God, and the intervention of priests was requisitioned where one should call on a physician or a surgeon. (Pettigrew). Thus when after the return of Columbus's party from the newly discovered America to the Old World, venereal diseases created havoc in every country of Europe, people used to offer masses and prayers and alms to assuage the wrath of God. From the Popes and Cardinals down to the soldiers and traders, every rank of society was infected by the disease. It was, therefore, considered to be a visitation from heaven to punish the licentious and rectify the universal ribaldry of the times.

In fact, the pseudo-science of Galen (second century A. D.) continued long to be an incubus upon medical theory and

practice in Europe. Absurd formulæ held the ground in the Christian pharmacopæas of continental Europe to comparatively modern times. Another age of talismans, amulets, the fetish of royal touch, etc., is yet fresh in human memory. Really scientific medicine is very recent. (Meryon).

It is in the perspective of this history of medicine that Hindu contributions to its science and art have to be read. Hindu achievements in this field as in others have not only an "historical" importance, but have some "absolute" value also. Besides, from the standpoint of comparative chronology, Hindu medicine has been ahead of the European and has been of service in its growth and development.

Two great names in Hindu medicine are Charaka (c. from sixth to fourth century B. C.), the physician, and Sushruta (early Christian era), the surgeon. Both these schools were in existence about 500 B. C., according to Hoernle. They were not the founders of their respective sciences, but the premier organizers of the cumulative experience of previous centuries. In ob-

servations lay their great strength, the "natural history of Disease" was their special study. By the first and second centuries A. D. surgery was a well developed art. Many instruments were devised of which 127 are mentioned. The materia medica grew from age to age with the introduction of new drugs (vegetable, animal and mineral), of which the therapeutic effects were tested by the "experiments" of researchers.

(1) The Hindus have had hospitals and dispensaries since at least the third century B. C. Asoka the Great was an educator and propagandist. Through his Rock Inscriptions he popularized, among other things, some of the more common medical recipes for the treatment of both men and animals. The first Christian hospital was built in the fourth century A. D. under Constantine.

(2) The smoking of datura leaves in asthma, treatment of paralysis and dyspepsia by nux vomica, use of croton tiglium, etc., are modern in Europe, but have come down in India since very old times. (Royle).

(3) The Hindus were the first in the world to advocate the "internal use of mercury." Pliny knew only of its external use (first century). By the sixth century it was well established among Hindu practitioners. It is mentioned by Varahamihira along with iron (587). (Ray).

(4) The Greeks and Romans used metallic substances for external application. The Saracens are usually credited with their internal administration for the first time in the history of medicine. According to Le Clerc, the first physicians in Europe, who used mercury, lived in the fifteenth century, and were induced to do so from reading the works of Mesue of Damascus (750).

But in this as in other matters the Hindus anticipated the Saracens and in fact taught them. As Royle observes, the earliest of the Saracens had access to the writings of Charaka and Sushruta, who had given directions for the internal use of numerous metallic substances.

(5) In the prescriptions of Dr. Vagbhata mineral and natural salts had a conspicuous place. His book was translated into Arabic in the eighth century.

(6) From the sixth century on, every Hindu treatise on materia medica has more or less recommended metallic preparations

for internal use. It was only after Paracelsus at the end of the sixteenth century that these had a recognised place in European science. (Ray).

Hindu medicine has influenced the medical systems of other peoples of the world. The work of Indian physicians and pharmacologists was known in ancient Greece and Rome. The materia medica of the Hindus has influenced mediæval European practice also through the Saracens.

(1) Hippocrates (450 B. C.), "father of medicine" was familiar with Hindu drugs. Thus he mentions pepper, cardamom, ginger, cinnamon, cassia, etc. Theophrastus (350 B. C.) mentions ficus indica and others among medicinal plants. Dioscorides (first century A. D.), the most celebrated compiler of Greek materia medica, mentions valeriana hardwickii, calamus aromaticus, etc. Aetius (fifth century) mentions collyrium indiarum, santalum, and other characteristic Hindu medicaments. Similarly Paulus Aegineta (seventh century) prescribes the internal use of steel, cloves, rhubarb, tryphenum, etc.

Pliny, the Roman contemporary of Dioscorides, had also mentioned Indian medicinal plants and drugs. The preparations of the Hindu pharmaceutical laboratories were thus in use in Greece as well as in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman world.

The Hindu inventions were bodily incorporated in the European system. The Indian names, e. g., hardwickii, tryphenum, etc., were retained; also the original Hindu uses of the drugs. And all this before the age of Saracen intermediaries. (Royle).

(2) Hindu physicians were superintendents of Saracen hospitals at Bagdad. Introduction of Indian drugs by Moslems has been acknowledged by their own medical men.

Serapion, the earliest Saracen author of materia medica (eighth century), mentions the Hindu Charaka. So also his followers, Rhazes and Avicenna. (Wilson).

The Saracen physicians were surprised at the boldness with which Hindu practitioners prescribed the internal use of powerful metallic drugs. "Taleef Shareef" (Playfair's translation) is quoted by Udoychand Dutt to indicate the Moslem admiration of the Hindu practice:

"White oxide of arsenic: the Hindu physicians find these drugs more effectual, but I usually confine them to external application."

"Mercury: it is very generally used throughout India...it is a dangerous drug.

"Iron: it is commonly used by physicians in India, but my advice is to have as little to do with it as possible."

(3) The Chinese scholar-tourists studied Hindu medicine. Itsing "made a successful study" of the subject while in India (671-95), though it was not his special mission. (Takakusu's translation of the Chinese report).

(4) The later Greek physicians, e. g., Actuarius (twelfth century), Myrepsus, etc., were influenced by Saracen doctors. (Meryon). They used also Hindu medicaments. Thus like the pre-Saracen Paulus, Actuarius mentioned "tri-phala" or "three myrobalans." This traditional Hindu drug has a place in his *materia medica* under the name of "tryphera parva."

(5) The Persian (post-Caliphate) doctors of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, also made use of the original Sanskrit treatises as well as of the previous Arabic translations. Meer Mohammed Moomin has acknowledged his indebtedness to Hindu works in his "Materia Medica." (Royle).

XIII. SURGERY.

The ancient Hindu surgeons gave expression to the most modern views about the importance of their science. They declared:

"Surgery is the first and best of the medical sciences, less liable than any other to the fallacies of conjectural and inferential practices; pure in itself, perpetual in its applicability, the worthy produce of Heaven, and certain source of fame."

These ideas were prevalent among the medical practitioners during the first centuries of the Christian era, when the investigations of the Sushruta-cycle were being organized into a system.

Another very remarkably modern idea of these surgeons was that "the first, best, and most important of all implements is the hand." (Wise).

Surgery is one of the oldest branches of medical science in India. The Hindu term for it is "Shalya" or the "art of removing foreign substances from the body, especially the arrow." It seems to have had its origin in warfare and in the accidents of outdoor work, e. g., hunting and agriculture.

The Hindu surgeons performed lithotomy, could extract the dead foetus, and

could remove external matter accidentally introduced into the body, e. g., iron, stones, hair, bones, wood, etc. They were used to paracentesis, thoracis, and abdominis, and treated different kinds of inflammation, abscesses, and other surgical diseases. Hazardous operations, and the art of cutting, healing ulcers, setting bones, and the use of escharotics, were the forte of a section of India's medical men.

Dissection of the human body and venesection were normal facts in medical India. The doctors of the Sushruta school declared that dissection was necessary for a correct knowledge of the internal structure of the body. Dissection gave them an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which the body is liable. It also helped them in their surgical operations to avoid the vital parts. (Wise). It gave them, besides, an accurate knowledge of the human anatomy. (Hoernle).

The Hindu surgical laboratory consisted of at least 127 instruments. The operators were used to the manipulation of saws, lancets, needles, knives, scissors, hooks, pincers, probes, nippers, forceps, tongs, catheters, syringes, loadstone, rods, etc.

For laboratory practice students operated on wax, gourds, cucumbers, and other fruits. Tapping and puncturing were demonstrated on a leather bag of water or soft mud. Fresh hides of animals, or dead bodies, were used in the demonstration of scarification and bleeding. The use of the probe was practised on hollow bamboos. Flexible models of the human body were in use for practice in bandaging. Caustics and cauteries were used on animals. (Wilson).

Lest one should smile over this primitive stage of the science it is fair to remember the barber-surgeons of Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

One need, moreover, resist the temptation of comparing or contrast this ancient Hindu surgical theory and practice with the marvels of modern surgery. By the side of the latest discoveries and inventions, any achievements of the human brain in the past, whether in the East or the West, are simply child's play.

"So rapid has been our surgical progress that a Velpeau, a Sir William Ferguson or a Pancoast, all of whom died within the last thirty years, could not teach modern surgical principles nor perform a modern surgical operation;...Our modern operations on the brain, the chest, the abdomen and the pelvis

would make him wonder whether we had lost all our senses, until seeing the almost uniform and almost painless recoveries, he would thank God for the magnificent progress of the last half-century, which had vouchsafed such magical, nay almost divine, power to the surgeon." (Keen in "The Progress of the Century").

XIV. ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY.

Hippocrates, the founder of Greek medicine, was unacquainted with anatomy and physiology. "The ignorance was due to the superstitious respect which the Greeks paid to their dead" (Meryon). But the fathers of Hindu medicine were remarkably accurate in some of their observations and descriptions.

The Hindus have described 500 muscles—400 in the extremities, 66 in the trunk, and 34 in the region above the clavicle. They knew of the ligaments, sutures, lymphatics, nerve plexuses, fascia, adipose tissue, vascular tissue, mucous membranes of the digestive canal, synovial membranes, etc. (Sumant Mehta).

(a) OSTEOLOGY.

The anatomical system of the Hindus was almost modern. As Hoernle remarks: "Its extent and accuracy are surprising, when we allow for their early age probably the sixth century B. C. and their peculiar method of definition."

There are about 200 bones in the human body according to modern osteology, Charaka counted 360, and Sushruta 300. The former counted the 32 sockets of teeth and the 20 nails as separate bones. These were not admitted by Sushruta.

The additional 100 in Sushruta's count, however, has to be explained. This large excess is principally due to the fact that, like Charaka, he regarded the cartilages and the prominent parts of bones (the modern "processes" and "protuberances") as if they were separate bones. (Hoernle). In Europe the first correct description of the osseous system was given by Vesalius in 1543.

(b) THE DOCTRINE OF HUMOURS.

The physiology of humours, whatever its worth, is older in India than in Greece. At any rate, the Hindu and the Greek humoral pathologies are independent systems. Hippocrates counted four humours, viz., blood, bile, water, and phlegm; but Charaka propounded three, viz., air, bile, phlegm.

(c) DIGESTION.

The Hindu physicians knew the digestive system well and described it satisfactorily.

1. The function of different digestive fluids was understood. They were familiar with the acid gastric juice in the stomach. They knew also that in the small intestines there is a digestive substance in the bile.

2. They were familiar with, and explained, the conversion of semi-digested food (chyme) into chyle, and of that again into blood.

3. They explained the chemical changes by the action of metabolic heat.

(d) CIRCULATION OF BLOOD.

In Europe previous to Harvey's epoch-making discovery (1628), "the movement of the blood was believed to be confined to the veins, and was thought to be a to-and-fro movement." (Halliburton).

The Hindus knew that the heart (i) receives the chyle-essence, i. e., venous blood, (ii) sends it down to the liver, where it is transformed into red blood, and (iii) gets it back as red blood from the liver. There was thus the idea of a "chakra" or wheel, i. e., self-returning circle of "circulation." (Seal).

But the Hindus did not understand the process clearly. (1) They did not know that the pathway of the blood round and round the body is a "double circle", i. e., "systemic" circulation and "pulmonary" circulation. (2) Neither Charaka nor Sushruta therefore understood the function of the lungs in the oxygenation of blood. This was not known to the ancients in Europe also, i. e., to Galen (A. D. 130).

The Harveyan Circulation was thus not anticipated by the Hindus.

The Hindu conception of the vascular system is given below:

(1) There are two classes of blood-conductors (i) : "sira" or artery (?) and (ii) "dhamani" or vein (?).

(2) The heart is connected with the liver by both.

(3) The dhamanis bring the impure blood (venous) from the heart into the liver, and siras conduct the pure (arterial) blood from the liver into the heart.

(e) NERVOUS SYSTEM.

Neither in India nor in Europe did the ancients understand the nervous system.

Aristotle's error was committed by Charaka and Sushruta also. They all regarded the heart to be the central organ and seat of consciousness. The nerves (sensory and motor) were believed to ascend to and descend from the heart.

Later investigators, however, corrected this mistake both in the East and the West. Like Galen the Greek (second century A. D.), the Tantrists and Yogaists of India came to know the truth that the brain (and the spinal cord) is the real organ of "mind."

According to Surgeon-Major Bamandas Basu the nervous system is more accurately described in the mystical "Tantras" than in purely medical treatises. We get the following from "Shiva Samhita."

1 Familiarity with the brain and spinal cord. —

2 The idea that the central nervous system is composed of grey and white matters.

3 Familiarity with the central canal of the spinal cord, and its connexion with the lateral ventricles of the brain (through the fourth and third ventricles).

4. Familiarity with the ganglia and plexuses of the cerebro-spinal system.

5 The idea that the brain is composed of "chandra-kala" or convolutions resembling half-moons.

6. The idea that the six "chakras" are the vital and important sympathetic plexuses, presiding over all the functions of organic life. (Yoga or contemplation means control over the functions of these plexuses.)

According to Seal also, the enumeration by Yogaists of the spinal nerves with the connected sympathetic chain and ganglia, is a distinct improvement on the anatomical knowledge of Charaka and Sushruta,

(1) The "Susumna" is the central cord in the vertebral column. The two chains of sympathetic ganglia on the left and the right are named "Ida" and "Pingala" respectively. The sympathetic nerves have their main connection with Susumna at the solar plexus. There are 700 nerve-cords in the sympathetic-spinal system.

(2) The soul has its special seat within the "Brahma-randhra" above the foramen of Monro and the middle commissure, but traverses the whole cerebro-spinal axis, up and down, along the Susumna.

XV. EMBRYOLOGY.

It is desirable at the outset to remember two facts in connexion with modern embryology:

1. It is only in recent years, thanks to the most magnifying microscopes, that the science has made real progress through the study of cells ("cytology").

2. Even Darwin believed that the children resemble their parents because the parents contribute multitudes of minute particles from their own tissues to form the cells of their offspring. But this theory of "pangenesis" has been subsequently proved to be wrong. (Reid).

In the history of science Hindu embryologists deserve recognition (i) as having made precise observations, some of which are great approximations to the latest demonstrated truths, and (ii) as having guessed at theories, some of which are eminently suggestive. As for pseudo-biological hypotheses, India has not been more prolific than Europe from Hippocrates to Buffon. (Meryon).

Some of the facts observed and explained by Charaka and Sushruta are given below:

All the members of the human organism are formed at the same time, but are extremely small, as the first spring of the bamboo contains the leaves, etc., of the future plant. (Wise). This idea of the development of the fertilized ovum by "palingenesis" survived in India after a long struggle with rival theories. It is an established truth today that though we find cells of one type in glands, of another type in the brain, of another type in the blood, and so forth, nevertheless all of them sprang from one original single cell. (Thomson).

Weisman's theory of "germinal continuity" is the greatest discovery of modern embryology. It is now held that "somatic" cells contribute absolutely nothing to the original germ-plasm, that no parent ever produces a germ cell, that the individual inherits nothing from his parents, but both he and they obtain their characteristics from a common source, and that the line of descent or inheritance is from germ-cell to germ-cell, not from parents. (Leighton, and Thomson). This recent idea about the physical basis of inheritance depends on the distinction between germ-cells and body-cells (somatic). It was guessed to a

certain extent by the Hindu biologists also in their controversy regarding the transmission of congenital deformities and constitutional diseases of parents to offspring.

Atreya held that "the parental seed (germ-plasm) contains the whole parental organism in miniature or (in potentia), but it is independent of the parents' developed organs, and is not necessarily affected by their idiosyncrasies or deformities." The germ-plasm was described as an organic whole independent of the developed parental body and its organs. The physiological characters and predispositions of the offspring were explained as being determined by the constituent elements of this parental seed. The continued identity of the germ-plasm from generation to generation may be taken as a corollary to this, though nowhere expressly stated. (Seal).

The stages of foetal development described on the basis of postmortem operations and major operations in obstetric surgery have also much of the truth established in recent years.

XVI. NATURAL HISTORY.

Minerals, plants, and animals were objects of study among the ancients and mediævals in India as in Europe. But nothing approaching the "sciences" of mineralogy, botany, and zoology was achieved anywhere.

The discovery of the microscope in 1683 is the real beginning of the study of plant and animal anatomies and of the internal structure of minerals. The birth of modern chemistry in the work of Priestley and Lavoisier at the end of the eighteenth century started the physiology of plants and animals as well as the determination of the composition and constitution of minerals. In 1809 exact measurements of crystalline forms of many minerals were made. The perfection of the microscope in 1867 has given a great impetus to all these sciences during the last half-century. (Encyclopædia Britannica).

All previous studies in minerals had been under the thralldom of alchemy. The researchers were swayed by mythological and metaphysical notions. (Muir). Roger Bacon believed that the "philosopher's stone" was able to transform a million times its weight of base metal into gold. It was no unusual assertion that the

fortunate possessors of the "elixir of life" had been able to prolong their lives to 400 years and more. (Meyer). Even Libavius (1616), who combated the excesses of Paracelsus and the employment of "secret remedies", believed in the transmutation of metals and the efficacy of potable gold. (Ray).

Studies in plant life from Theophrastus (B. C. 370-286), "father of botany", down to the revival of learning in the sixteenth century were mere observations in agriculture, horticulture, forestry, pharmacy, etc. (Greene and Sachs). So also the investigations regarding animals did not go beyond the stage of "bio-nomics", i. e., the lore of the farmer, gardener, sportsman, and field-naturalist, including thremmatology or the science of breeding. (Ray; Lankester).

In this "pre-scientific" mineralogy, botany, and zoology the Hindu students of natural history also played a part. Considerable power of observation was exhibited, as well as remarkable precision in description, and suggestiveness in expression. Their nature study was harnessed to the practical needs of their socio-economic life. It was minute and comprehensive, and so far as it went, avoided the fallacies of mal-observation and non-observation. Whatever be the value of the results achieved, the investigation was carried on in a genuine "scientific" spirit.

(a) MINERALS.

The principal metals and gems were discovered, described, and utilized by the Hindus independently of any foreign help. In fact, in this branch of knowledge the people of India were the pioneers as in many others.

Mining has been in operation in India since the earliest times. The use of gems and precious stones as well as their identification also have a long history among the Hindus. (Saurindramohan Tagore; Ramdas Sen; and Yogeshchandra Roy).

1. The Hindus were the first to discover gold. (Roscoe and Schorlemmer).

2. The Hindus taught the world the art of extracting iron from the ores. (Roscoe and Schorlemmer).

3. Even in the Mosaic period (1491-50 B. C.) precious stones and gems were in use in India. (Ball).

4. Homer mentions tin probably by its Sanskrit name "kastira". (Birdwood).

5. The Hindus supplied gold to the Persian Empire in the fifth century B. C.; and the story of Indian "gold-digging ants" (miners) is famous in Greek literature through Herodotus and others.

6. At first the Hindus knew six metals—gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, and lead. They discovered zinc, the seventh metal, sometime during the fourteenth century. (It is mentioned by name as a separate metal in "Madana-pala-nighantu", 1374). In Europe it was discovered by Paracelsus in 1540.

7. The Hindu "doctrine of seven metals" was not, like the Greek and Saracen, influenced by the doctrine of the mystic influence of the seven planets. (Ray).

8. Examination of the genuineness of gems was an art even in the first century B. C. (cf., "The Toy Cart," a drama by Shudraka).

9. There have been different methods of enumeration and classification of the precious gems in different periods. The last important phase is embodied in the "doctrine of nine gems." These are ruby, pearl, coral, emerald, topaz, diamond, sapphire, gomedā (agate, or, zircon), and vaidurya (chrysoberyl, or lapis lazuli). This doctrine was enunciated probably in the tenth century by the astronomer Shreepati.

10. The nine gems are believed to have a mystic connexion with nine planets. Shreepati was the first to add "Rahu" (personification of the ascending node of the moon) and "Ketu" (moon's descending node) to the list of the generally recognized seven planets. (Roy).

(b) PLANTS.

Scientific observation was applied to the phenomena of the vegetable kingdom. The body of knowledge arrived at through the colligation of facts consisted, however, in mere guesses or hints of truth.

The following ideas of rudimentary plant-physiology have been credited to the experience of the "rhizotomi", pharmacologists, plant-physicians ("Brikshā-ayurvedists"), horticulturists, and industrial artists of ancient and mediæval India by Bhimchandra Chatterji:

1. Sexuality; flowers are the organs of plants.

2. Phosphorescence, and exudation of water.

3. Photo-synthesis: The sun is the source of energy in the fuel; (i) plants as-

similate potential energy from the sun, (ii) the less refractive rays (red, yellow, and orange) of the setting sun are specially adapted to assimilation by plants.

4. Plants are living organisms: They have among others the following phenomena of life: (a) sap-circulation, (b) power of movement, heliotropic, nyctitropic and other movements, sensitiveness to touch (bashfulness), etc., (c) growth and reproduction.

Characteristics of plant life as known to the Doctors of Nyaya (logic) are thus given by Seal:

(1) Udayana (c. A. D. 975) notices in plants the phenomena of life, death, sleep, waking, disease, drugging, transmission of specific characters by means of ova, movement towards what is favourable and away from what is unfavourable.

(2) Gunaratna (c. A. D. 1350) enumerates the following: (i) stages of infancy, youth and age; (ii) regular growth; (iii) various kinds of movement or action connected with sleep, waking, expansion and contraction, in response to touch; also movement towards a support or prop, (iv) withering on wound or laceration of organs; (v) assimilation of food according to the nature of the soil; (vi) growth or decay by assimilation of suitable or unsuitable food as prescribed in the science of the diseases of plants and their treatment (Brikshayurved); (vii) disease; (viii) recovery from diseases or wounds by the application of drugs; (ix) dryness, or the opposite, due to the sap which answer to the chyle ("rasa") in animals; and (x) special food favourable to impregnation.

Various classifications of plants (into groups with subdivisions) were attempted. These were, like the system of Jussieu, mostly based on properties. They were mainly useful hints for practical men interested in economic botany. Identification was thus rendered easier than in the systems of the early European botanists, which, according to Sachs, were too vague and insufficient for the purpose.

(c) ANIMALS.

Animals have had an important place in the medicine, dietetics, economic life, fine arts and religion of the Hindus. The people have thus had experience of the life-habits, habitats, external characteristics, etc., of animals, both domestic and wild.

This accounts for their intimate familiarity with the topics generally treated of in descriptive zoology.

1. Like the science of the diseases of plants, veterinary science also is very old in India. The Hindus had hospitals for animals in the third century B. C.

2. The Hindus could set fractures and dislocations in animals. They were perfectly acquainted with the anatomy of the goat, sheep, horse, and other animals used in sacrifices. (Gondal).

3. They were specialists in the science of horses and elephants, the two animals important in warfare. Shalihotra is the founder of the science of horses, and Palakapya of the science of elephants. There is a vast literature on the subject.

4. Equine dentistry: The changes in the development and colour of the six incisors of the lower jaw constituted, in Hindu practice, the guide to the age of the horse. This is modern European practice also.

5. Snake-poison has been used as an article in Occidental materia medica during the last two or three decades. But it has been a recognized drug in India since early times.

6. The toxicologists of the Sushruta school of medicine devoted special attention to the study of snakes. That study was followed up in some of the "Purana" schools.

(a) Five different genera or families are described by Sushruta-Nagarjuna. Of these one is non-venomous, and the others are venomous. One of the venomous families is hybrid. The varieties of each are mentioned as well as their longevity and other characteristics.

(b) The "Bhavisya Purana" records that the snakes (Naïce) gestate during the rainy months and bring forth about two hundred and forty eggs in November. Most of these are devoured by the parents, but those that are left break forth from the shell in about two months.

By the seventh day the young snakes turn dark; in a fortnight (or twenty days, according to another account) the teeth come out. The poison is formed in the fangs in three weeks, and becomes deadly in the twentyfifth night. In six months the snakes shed the skin. The joint on the skin (scales or scutes) are two hundred and forty in number (perhaps the sub-caudals were not counted). (Seal).

7. Various systems of classification were built up: (i) according to nature of generation, e. g., from placentalia, or egg, etc. (in the writings of the schools of medicine); (ii) according to habitat and mode of life, and usefulness to man; (iii) according to the number of senses possessed by animals. (This was the system of Uma-svati, 40 A. D.). (Seal).

8 Sushruta-school names (i) six varieties of ants, (ii) six varieties of flies, (iii) five varieties of mosquitoes (including one marine and one mountain kind), (iv) eight varieties of centipedes, (v) thirty varieties of scorpions, (vi) sixteen of spiders. (Seal).

9. Leeches have been used by Hindu surgeons from very early times. Sushruta gives a detailed account of their varieties, habits mode of application, etc. There are twelve varieties of leeches, six of which are venomous and six useful. The venomous are found near putrid fish or animals in foul water. The good are found in clear deep pools which contain water-lilies. (Dutt).

10. Ladyayana is quoted by Dalvana, the commentator of Sushruta, as a great authority on insects and reptiles. According to this ancient specialist, the various form of insects are to be distinguished from one another by the following marks:

(i) dottings, (ii) wings, (iii) pedal appendages, (iv) mouth, with antennae or nippers, (v) claws, (vi) sharp, pointed hairs or filaments, (vii) stings in the tail, (viii) hymenopterous character, (ix) humming or other noise, (x) size, (xi) structure of the body, (xii) sexual organs, (xiii) poison and its action on bodies. (Seal).

11. Dalvana's description of deer and birds are precise and complete.

12. The zoological lore of the Hindus is thus in all respects a good document of their general scientific interest in the facts and phenomena of the objective world. And some of their classifications were not less remarkable than those of Aristotle.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, a few general remarks may be made with regard to the cultivation of exact sciences among the Hindus:

1. Like the Greeks, as Whewell admits, the Hindus also "felt the importunate curiosity with regard to the definite application of the idea of cause and effect to visible phenomena," "drew a strong line between a fabulous legend and a reason

rendered," and "attempted to ascend to a natural cause by classing together phenomena of the same kind". (This scientific attitude of mind Whewell does not find in any non-Greek except the Hindu! He forgets altogether the claims of the Chinese).

2. Epoch by epoch, Hindu scientific investigation was not more mixed up with metaphysics and superstitious hocus-pocus than the European. It enlisted in its service the devotion of hosts of "specialists" in succession. Their sole object was the discovery of the positive truths of the universe or the laws of nature, according to the lights of those days.

3. There thus grew up in India a vast amount of specialized scientific literature, each branch with its own technical terminology. The positive sciences of the Hindus were not mere auxiliaries or hand-maids to the "architectonic" science of "neeti" or "artha" (i.e., politics, economics, and sociology). The sciences ("shastras") on plant and animal life, veterinary topics, metals and gems, chemistry, surgery, embryology, anatomy, symptomatology of diseases, arithmetic, algebra, astronomy, architecture, music (acoustics), etc., had independent status. Besides, like Piny's "Natural History," there have been scientific encyclopædias in Sanskrit, e.g., "Erihat Samhita" (sixth century A.D.).

4. Scientific investigation was not confined to any particular province of India or to any race or class of the Hindu population. It was a cooperative undertaking, a process of cumulative effort in intellectual advance. Thus among the heroes of Hindu medicine, Charaka (c 600 B.C.) belongs to the Punjab in the N. W., Sushruta (c 100 A.D.) is claimed by the Punjab as well as Benares in the middle-west, Vagbhata (c 700) belongs to Sindh (western India), Vrinda (900) to the Deccan (middle-south), Chakrapani (1050) to Bengal (eastern India), Saranga-dhara (1350) to Rajputana (further west), Visnudeva (1350) to Vijayanagara (extreme south), and Narahari (seventeenth century) is claimed by Kashmir (extreme north) but belongs most probably to Maharastra (western coasts).

5. No one hypothesis or theory dominated Hindu thought in any age, or monopolized the researches of all investigators in successive epoch. The intellectual universe of the Hindus was "pluralistic."

There were different schools criticizing, correcting, and modifying one another's inquiries.

The schools of abstract philosophy grew ultimately to sixteen in the time of Madhavacharya (1350), "though as a southerner," says Haraprasad Shastri, "he omits the two Shaiva schools of Kashmir and puts the school of Buddhist philosophy into one." There were fifteen different schools of grammar in the sixth century B.C., ten different schools of politics, and economics in the fourth century B.C., various schools of drama-turgy and dancing in the second century B.C., and also various schools of "kama" or sexology about the same time.

The diversity of scientific doctrines in India may be illustrated by the differences of views regarding the nature of life. The Charvakas (materialists and sensualists) held "that life (as well as consciousness) is a result of peculiar combinations of dead matter (or the four elements) in organic forms, even as the intoxicating property of spirituous liquors results from the fermentation of intoxicating rice and molasses." According to a second school (the Samkhya), life is neither bio-mechanical motion resulting therefrom: It "is in reality a reflex activity, a resultant of the various concurrent activities of the sensori-motor, the emotional and the apperceptive reactions of the organism." A third school (the Vedantist) rejects both these doctrines. According to this, "sensations do not explain life. Life must be regarded as a separate principle * * * prior to the senses." (Seal).

Another illustration may be given from Hindu physics. This relates to the various hypotheses of sound phenomena. One school held that the physical basis of audible sound is a specific quality of air, and that air-particles flow in currents in all directions. Another school, e.g., that of Shabara Swami, held that it is not air-currents but air-waves, series of conjunctions and disjunctions of the air-particles or molecules, that constitute the sound physical. A third school held that the sound-wave has its substrate not in air but in ether. Further, Prashastapada held the hypothesis of transverse waves and was opposed by Udyotakara who held that of longitudinal waves.

6. The story of scientific investigation among the Hindus is thus, like that among

other nations, the story of a growth and development in critical inquiry, sceptical attitude, and rationalism. Historically and statistically speaking, superstition has not had a deeper and more extensive

hold on the Oriental intellect than on the Occidental.

(Concluded.)

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THE VALUE OF PHONETICS TO THE LANGUAGE STUDENT

BY DANIEL JONES, M. A.,

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PHONETICS is the science of pronunciation, the science which has for its object the investigation of the formation of speech-sounds and the ways in which these sounds are combined so as to form words and sentences. It is a science which has numerous practical applications, the most important of which is its application to the study of modern spoken languages.

The advantages of having a perfect pronunciation of a foreign language are well known, and it is not necessary to enlarge upon them here. It is further common knowledge that the average person still speaks foreign languages with an atrocious pronunciation; and there still is in some quarters a disposition to regard the person who can pronounce a foreign language perfectly as a natural genius, 'a born linguist,' whose accomplishments it is useless to try to emulate. It is the work of the phonetician to demonstrate that the proper pronunciation of foreign languages is not the monopoly of a few geniuses, but is within the reach of the majority of language learners.

The secret of good pronunciation is: Learn it systematically; don't trust to 'picking it up' in a haphazard way. Find out the exact nature of every difficulty of pronunciation presented by the language you are studying; tackle the difficulties one at a time, and use the most appropriate means for overcoming each.

If the language to be studied has been phonetically analysed, the task of the learner is by no means a difficult one. The phonetician has discovered for him the exact nature of all or most of the difficulties of pronunciation, and he has formula-

ted for him the most suitable methods of surmounting each of them. All the student has to do is to follow the instructions.

In the case of languages which have not yet been phonetically analysed, the student has to make his own analysis, to discover the difficulties of pronunciation, and to devise for himself the means which will enable him to learn to pronounce correctly. He will be able to make the required analysis if he has a sound knowledge of phonetic theory and a specially trained ear; without such preparation his analysis, and consequently his pronunciation, is certain to be inaccurate.

We will now enumerate the main types of pronunciation difficulties, and indicate shortly the appropriate means of dealing with each.

1. *The student must learn to hear the foreign sounds properly, and to remember their acoustic qualities.* He must be able to distinguish them by ear from each other and from the sounds of his mother tongue. Inability to discriminate by ear between one sound of the foreign language and another will often lead to wholesale confusion of words. The difficulty of understanding the spoken language is in consequence greatly increased. Thus if, as sometimes happens, an Indian cannot hear properly the difference between *have* and *how* or between *form* and *farm*, he will necessarily find it difficult to understand sentences containing these words. Again English people who cannot hear the difference between the Urdu sounds *t*, *th*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, are bound to experience special difficulty in understanding a sentence containing such a word as *sāṭh* (which they may misunderstand as *sāt* or as *sāth*). If the stu-

dent cannot discriminate by ear between sounds of the foreign language and those of his mother tongue, he will substitute his own sounds for those of the foreign language when he speaks, and his words, if intelligible at all, will be hopelessly mispronounced. It is by no means difficult to cultivate the power of discriminating by ear between sounds and remembering the acoustic effect of foreign sounds. Systematic listening practice is what is required.

There is only one effective exercise for this purpose, viz., the dictation by the teacher of meaningless words to be written down phonetically by the pupil. These words should contain both sounds of the foreign language and sounds of the mother tongue, and the pupil should write the words down by means of a system which provides a distinct symbol for each sound dictated, i.e., a phonetic system. The teacher will see from what has been written whether the pupil has heard rightly or wrongly. If he has heard wrongly, the teacher should immediately pronounce the wrong sound and the right one in alternation a number of times, in order to impress the difference of sound on the pupil's mind. These ear-training exercises should precede any attempts on the pupil's part to produce the sounds himself.

The student should be on his guard against the pernicious lists of supposed correspondences between the foreign sounds and sounds of the mother tongue, which figure in so many grammars and other text-books. If an English learner of an Indian language sees in his text-book such a statement as 'The *o* of this language is pronounced as the English *o* in *go*,' he should immediately cross it out, and say to himself: 'The author of this book has evidently not been trained to hear sounds properly.'

The above statement about *o* is an absurd one, whatever the foreign language may be, and as long as the student puts any faith in it, the acquisition of a good pronunciation is an impossibility for him. The word *go* is pronounced in at least six easily distinguishable ways by different educated English people, so different readers interpret the statement in different ways; moreover it is in the highest degree improbable that the *o*-sound of the foreign language is the same as any one of the English varieties.

To grapple successfully with the pro-

nunciation of a foreign language, the student must begin by saying to himself: 'I know that the great majority of the sounds of this language will be different from anything occurring in my pronunciation of my native language; if any of the foreign sounds appear to me to resemble my own sounds, it is because my ear is at fault; I must do systematic listening practice, until I can hear the differences.' If the student is learning a 'tone' language, he must cultivate an ability to distinguish by ear minute shades of voice-pitch. He can do this by getting his teacher to give him systematic 'tone-dictations.'

It is worthy of note that ear-training cannot be properly done without the use of phonetic transcription. Unless the student is able to write the sounds (and tones) in an unambiguous manner, his teacher will never know whether he has heard rightly or wrongly.

2. *The student must learn to form with his organs of speech each sound of the foreign language.* Haphazard attempts at imitation will not as a rule enable him to do this properly. To ensure success, he should do appropriate exercises or 'mouth-gymnastics' based on the organic formation of the sounds. If the teacher of the foreign language is phonetically trained, he will prescribe suitable exercises. For instance, if an English pupil is to learn to make the French sound of *u* (as in *lune*), the phonetically trained teacher will say: 'Put your lips into a rounded position like this [showing him the position]; now, without moving them, try to say your English sound of *ee*.' The pupil should look at his lips in a little hand-mirror, so as to make sure that he gets them exactly into the position shown by the teacher. If the pupil is to learn to make Urdu *z*, the teacher will explain that the tongue-tip has to be curled backwards so as to touch a certain point of the palate, and he will make the pupil try different places until the right one is reached. If an Indian wants to learn to make the English vowel in *form*, *short*, etc., the teacher will tell him to put his lips into a certain "rounded" position.

If the teacher of the foreign language is not phonetically trained, the student must devise his own means of getting his organs of speech to perform the necessary actions. He will not be able to do this unless he has an acquaintance with the

principles of general phonetics; he must have been through a systematic course of ear-training, and he must have acquired a good general control over the movements of his organs of speech.

3. *The student must know what is the appropriate order in which to place the sounds, in order to make intelligible words and sentences.* Ability to pronounce foreign sounds with accuracy is not of much value unless the language learner uses the appropriate ones in the words he wants to say. In other words, he must use the right sound in the right place in connected speech. Thus if an Indian wants to learn to say the English word *rough*, he has to know that the appropriate sequence of sounds is (1) *r*, (2) the same vowel as in *up*, *much*, etc., (3) *f*. If an English person wants to say the Urdu word for "fort," he has to know that the proper sequence is (1) *g*, (2) the English vowel of *much* (approximately), (3) *r*, (4) *h*. A substitution of any other Urdu sounds would either make the word meaningless or turn it into another word.

How is the student to remember what the appropriate sequence of sounds is, and what the appropriate pitch is? The answer is that these things must be memorized. This task is much facilitated by calling in the visual memory to aid the auditive memory. The best way of doing this is to have a system of alphabetic writing in which a separate letter is assigned to each speech-sound of the language (and, in the case of a 'tone'-language, a special sign to each tone). When words and sentences are so written, the student cannot possibly be in any doubt as to which of the sounds of the language are the appropriate ones to use, and as to the order which they should be placed.

This kind of writing is said to be phonetic. The ordinary orthographies of such languages as are written alphabetically are mostly not phonetic. Ordinary English spelling is far from being phonetic. The spelling *rough* does not tell the student what sounds to use, nor do the spellings *what*, *all*, *many* (compare *that*, *shall*, *man*).

Again, ordinary spelling is often misleading to the person who wants to learn to talk the colloquial language; it often records a literary or archaic form of speech which differs considerably from

that used in everyday talk. An Englishman writes *bread and butter*, but he says *bredt butter*; he writes *miserable*, but says something like *mizrbhl*. A Frenchman writes *ce qu'il me faut*, but pronounces the expression colloquially *skimfo*. An Indian generally uses in colloquial talk a form of speech differing considerably from that which he would write.

The following will be found a useful maxim for students of spoken languages: Never learn the conventional writing of a language until you can talk the colloquial with some fluency. If you start by learning the conventional writing it will probably spoil your pronunciation for good. If you learn to speak first, you will have no difficulty whatever in learning the conventional writing subsequently. If you cannot memorize the sound-order without the aid of writing, use a phonetic transcription; and if phonetic texts are not to be had, make them yourself.

The plan of using a phonetic transcription quite independently of ordinary spelling has been adopted by numerous teachers, and with conspicuous success, for many years past in connexion with the teaching of French and other European languages. A beginning is now being made in this direction in connexion with languages of Asia and Africa.* It has been shown by innumerable experiments that the use of a phonetic transcription does not add to the difficulty of learning conventional spelling. Some teachers maintain that pupils who start with phonetic transcription make better spellers in the end than those who have only worked with conventional spelling.† They certainly make vastly better pronouncers.

4. *The student must learn the proper usage in the matter of the 'sound-attributes,' viz., length, stress and intonation.* In other words he must learn to pronounce each sound in every sentence with the appropriate length, and each syllable with the appropriate stress (force-accent); also he must learn the intonation of those languages which are not strict 'tone'-languages. When the student knows what

* See, for instance, the phonetic readers of Cantonese, Penjabi and Sechuana published by the University of London Press, and Gairdner's *Egyptian Colloquial Arabic* published by Heffer (Cambridge).

† See, for instance, Partington's *Transition from Phonetic to Ordinary Spelling* (published by the International Phonetic Association).

to do in the matter of the sound-attributes, it is not as a rule difficult for him to carry out the instructions. His chief difficulty is rather to remember what to do, to remember when to put the lengths and stresses, and when to use the different kinds of intonation.

Two ways of learning these things are possible. In some languages the sound-attributes are used in accordance with definite rules; such rules can generally be easily learnt and applied. In other languages there are no such rules; in such cases the necessary instructions must be given by means of marks in the phonetic transcriptions.

5. *The student must acquire ability to 'catenize' the sounds of the language.* In other words he must be able to join each sound on to the next in the sentence, and to say off the sequences of foreign sounds rapidly and without stumbling. In ordinary talking sentences are generally said at a rate of not less than five syllables per second. This is then the rate to be aimed at.

Ability to catenize properly is attained by systematic repetition practice on the part of the student. Any groups of sounds which he finds difficult must be repeated over and over again until the necessary speed is attained. Thus it sometimes happens that an Indian can pronounce *v* and *w* by themselves, but cannot keep them distinct when they occur close to each other in connected speech, as for instance in the word *equivalent* (phonetically *ikwivələnt*). To master the pronunciation of this word, he must begin by practising it very slowly, if necessary stopping between the sounds. Then he must gradually work it up to the proper speed.

It is important to note that the continued repetition of words or phrases will not teach the student how to make the sounds in them. The function of repetition exercises is to enable him to use readily the sounds he knows. Repetition exercises are worse than useless if the student has not learnt how to make the individual sounds.

Having now explained shortly how pronunciation should be learnt, it may be well in conclusion to say a word on the question where the necessary training in pronunciation should be done, and, in particular, whether the student who is going to a foreign country should study

pronunciation at home or whether he should defer such study till he arrives in the foreign country.

The answer to this question is: He must learn the pronunciation wherever he can find a phonetically trained teacher capable of giving him the instruction he wants.

The ideal teacher is a person of the same nationality as the learner, who has a practically perfect pronunciation of the language to be learned, who knows phonetics and is familiar with the modern methods of teaching spoken languages. Failing him, a phonetically trained native teacher is the best. With such teachers it is immaterial whether the instruction is given at home or in the foreign country, provided always that the instruction in the spoken language precedes instruction in the written language. If it is not possible to find any phonetically trained teacher who knows the language in question, the student will have to make his own phonetic analysis of the language by observing the speech of a native teacher. This will in most cases have to be done in the foreign country. But in order to be able to analyse the pronunciation properly, it is essential that the student should have a preliminary training in general phonetics.

I hope the foregoing remarks have made it clear that phonetics is not an abstract science of purely academic interest. On the contrary, the object of phonetics is strictly a practical one, viz., to help language learners to attain the best possible pronunciation in the shortest possible time.

The length of time that should be devoted to pronunciation will of course depend upon circumstances, and particularly upon the learner's object in studying pronunciation, and his natural aptitude for work of this kind.

His object may be simply to learn to pronounce properly a language, such as English or Urdu or Arabic, of which a complete or partial phonetic analysis has already been made. In such a case, if he can find a phonetically trained teacher, his task will be relatively an easy one. He will not have to learn much phonetic theory; he will simply have to carry out the exercises prescribed by the teacher. If he has natural aptitude, he should be able to acquire a thorough mastery of the

speech-sounds of the language in from ten to twenty lessons of one hour each. If he has only moderate aptitude, he may require thirty lessons or more.

On the other hand, his object may be to learn a language which has not been phonetically analysed, or to fit himself for writing down languages hitherto unwritten. In this case his task is necessarily more difficult. He will require to take a course of general preparation before he sets to work on the particular language in which he is interested. This course of preparation will probably entail twenty lessons or so, if he has natural aptitude for the work. A further ten to twenty hours' work should then be sufficient to get a mastery over the sounds of the particular language, unless it be one of special difficulty. Those who have no special linguistic gifts will require a proportionately longer course.*

* It must always be borne in mind that natural aptitude is a very variable factor. Thus in one case I was able in one lesson to teach a student to make all the Urdu dental and retroflex ('cerebral') consonants correctly, including the very difficult sound *r*, and including both aspirated and unaspirated forms of the plosive sounds. On the other hand, it once took me a whole hour to teach a student to make a properly 'voiced' *b*, a sound which many students can learn in a few minutes, if they are shown what to do. Again, I have fairly frequently come across

That it is in no way disproportionate to devote to pronunciation the amount of time above suggested may be judged from the fact, rightly insisted upon by Cummings in his *How to Learn a Language*,† that no learner is likely to attain any sort of fluency in the use of a foreign language without at least 750 hours' work. (Cummings regards forty minutes a day for six months as a suitable amount of time to devote to pronunciation exercises.)

It goes without saying that the student who is unable to attend a complete course of phonetics may nevertheless effect a considerable improvement in his pronunciation of foreign languages by going through a shorter course, or even by taking only a few lessons.

Further information as to the use of phonetics in practical language study will be found in Sweet's *Practical Study of Languages* (Dent) Chaps. II-VII, and in Jespersen's *How to Teach a Foreign Language* (Allen) Chap. X.

students who had to practise daily for many months in order to learn to make a properly rolled *r*. The phonetically trained teacher cannot turn an inapt pupil into an apt one, but he can show every pupil how to practise so as to master the pronunciation difficulties in the shortest possible time.

† New York, 1916.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

CREATIVE PSYCHICS by Fred Henkel. Los Angeles, California, U. S. A. 1917.

This little book is one more proof of the stirrings of spirituality among the most up-to-date products of Western civilisation, of which many signs are visible to-day. Religion was so long a cult of fear and superstition. We are of an age which wants to get free by all means. We have set our hearts on truth. All higher creativeness is occult and all demonstrate the fact of a separate psychic plane within the individual. Mind-building through development of mind power, mental healing, personal magnetism, are only a few of the most prominent features of mystical creative activity. The evolution of the human mind cannot stop either on a subnormal nor on an intellectual plane. High art will likewise pass with the advance of psychic development to mystical art expression. It ought to be the leading and regenerating spirit of the times. It ought not only to

mirror the times but ought to lead it to a higher plane of culture and civilisation. Every age ought to produce a higher vision of the Unseen. Metapsychics, like higher mathematics, makes use of certain unknown quantities in order to understand and interpret the Unknown and Unseen. "The excessive accumulation of energy produced in our age" must be directed aright through higher enlightenment on spiritual planes." Ours is an age of creative activity and not of ascetic ecstasy and spiritism, for which mystics have a proneness. Christ revealed the Creative Force as Love. The emancipating principle of the East is created out of reaction against fear of nature, in the West out of reaction against the fear of man. The mystic of to-day is the artist with a positive philosophy of life engendered by a deep insight into life and nature, an insight of psychic nature, which by necessity demands a critical enlightening of the intellect as well. It is not to be denied that intellect has played an important role in man's development. The mystic accepts the entire endowment

of the intellect, and starting from this base projects the tentacles of psyche, giving free rein to an intrepid inquisitiveness. He recognises in the awe-inspiring an invitation to explore. It is only in co-partnership with and under the guidance of psychic insight that the intellect becomes efficient. Rousseau, Maurice Maeterlinck, Tolstoy, Oliver Lodge, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Walt Whitman, Thomas Edison are conspicuous exponents of mystical insight. Oracles, clairvoyance, clair-audience, clair-sentence, telepathy and many other psychic phenomena all fall under the realms of mysticism, and though invaded by charlatanism, this need not deter anyone from developing his distinct psychic power. God, the World-Soul, is Unity and Harmony. We stand at the threshold of that "far-off divine event" when at length "the East and West shall meet."

These are some of the teachings of this suggestive booklet, which is well worth perusal, and is sure to strike a responsive chord in every Indian soul.

Q.

BENGALI.

TORA : (Bouquet) : by *Jatindra Mohan Sinha*. Mukherjea, Bose and Co., Cornwallis Buildings, Calcutta. Price annas eight. 1323.

In this little book the author has put together some of his lighter pieces. They are very interesting, and instructive too. The ridiculousness of some of the aspects of modern kindergarten teaching in Bengali schools has been well exposed; so also the weak side of the Bengali character both in orthodox and educated society. There are dissertations on the indigenous theatrical performances known as *Jatra* and on politics in relation to the masses which are well worth perusal. The book is well printed and bound, and may well form our companion where we have an idle half hour to spend, and don't know how to spend it.

ANUPAMA : (Social Story) : by *Jatindra Mohan Sinha Kaviranjam*. Gurudas Chatterjea and Sons, 201, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2. 1325.

Babu Jatindra Mohan Sinha needs no introduction to the public. His is no 'prentice hand, and his well-known novel, the *Dhrubatar*, is already in its fifth edition. His sketches of Orissa first established his fame as a powerful observer and delineator of society with a command of language which makes his pictures live in the memory. *Anupama* is a novel in which some of the burning social problems of the day, e.g., the elevation of the depressed classes, the improvement of rural sanitation, the remarriage of widows, &c., have been discussed. The author is conservative in his attitude, but he is not against the education of the artisans in their ancestral callings and is distinctly in favour of rural improvement and he tries to support his position by familiar arguments which he however presents with a clearness which reveals his power of vigorous thinking. He does not commit the common mistake of ignoring what is to be said on the other side, though naturally he is strongest in presenting his own side of the case. But it would be wrong to suppose that the novel before us is a social dissertation in disguise. There are well-drawn characters, and a mild touch of humour pervades his description of some of them, e.g., the Vedic Hindu, whose repertory of arguments consists in mere similarity of names. None can excel our author

in ease and gracefulness of diction, and even his most commonplace passages are endowed with a charm of style which no one can withstand. Those who love to retain all that is best and noblest in Hindu society cannot do better than go to the author for inspiration. The book is nicely printed and beautifully bound.

G.

HINDI.

JAMASEDJI NASARVANJI TATA KA JIVANCHARITRA, by *Pandit Waman Dwivedi Gajjar* and published by the *Hindi Pustak Agency*, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 55. Price—as. 4.

This is a life of the founder of the Tata Company. It shows how from his small beginnings the hero of the life rose to a very great position in industry and trade, though his father had left him nothing to start with. The book is certainly seasonable. Its get-up is excellent and it deserves encouragement.

SAMRAT AKBAR, translated by *Pandita from the Bengali of Babu Bankimchandra Lahiri*, B.L. and published by *Messrs. Haridas & Co.*, 201 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 504. Price—Rs. 2-8-0.

This again is a life of the great Musalman Emperor and a very well written life indeed. The method followed is an excellent one for writing lives. The author has made use of lots of books on the subject and his treatment is not merely historical—rather he has, after Macaulay, made use of his imagination and given a graphic colour to what he has written. His descriptions are very nice and the book reads something like a novel. The great hero of the book has been described in all his aspects. In the book we find besides a very valuable reproduction of the contemporary life. It has distinct superiority over all other books on the subject, some of them published long ago. We remember of a book published by the Hindi Bangabasi Office on the same subject and a comparison of the two brings to light the distinct superiority of the book under review in almost all respects. A large number of blocks and pictures etc., adorn the book. We would put this book on a high pedestal of the Hindi literature and recommend to other writers of lives the method followed in it.

STRIJAN KA PARADHINTA, by *Pandit Shivanarayan Dwivedi*, published by *Messrs. Haridas and Co.*, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 296. Price—Re. 1-4.

This is a translation of John Stuart Mill's book on the same subject. The language of the translation is excellent and the author has made the terse original interesting. We commend very much the way in which the author has rendered the original. There are a few notes attached to it here and there. The translation of such books from the English are very necessary for the development of the Hindi literature and the author deserves encouragement. The preface also would make a very interesting reading and there are besides notes thereto with reference to various English and Sanskrit books on the subject.

RAJA RAMMOHAN ROY, by *Pandit Shivanarayan Dwivedi*, published by *Messrs. Haridas and Co.*, 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 202. Price—as. 12.

The great founder of the Brahmo Samaj has been very graphically described by the same author in this

book. I find that the publishers follow a distinct method in their lives and this is really an improvement upon the way in which lives were written formerly in Hindi. The author has made use of the best books on the subject in Bengali, English and even Gujrati. The fight of the hero through every stage and against very incongruous elements for the improvement of the country and social development in it has been nicely described, and the author of the book has given due praise to the hero for the same. A tri-coloured block of the author adorns the frontispiece. Nobody can deny the very great utility of the book.

MAHATMA SHREE SWAMI NITYANANDJI KA JIVANCHARITRA, published by Saith Ranchhoddas Bhawan, Member Arya-pratinidhi Sabha, Bombay. Demy 8vo. pp. 151.

This is a life of Swami Nityanandji who passed his life in public good, roaming about the country and making speeches. The life is exhaustive and it is shown in it how the Swami was given ovations everywhere he went. His speeches range over social and religious topics; substances of most of them are given and the way in which he was held in reverence by men of various grades is also shown from the letters and other publications about him.

PATNIRATA VIPULA by Mr. Prabhatchandra Mukhopadhyay, M.A., LL.B. Vakil, High Court, Badaun. Crown 8vo. pp. 194. Price—*as.* 12.

The author of this publication is a Bengalee gentleman. He has made every attempt to eliminate other than pure Sanskrit and Hindi words from the book. Where these words have been still, he has given their translations in brackets. The story of the novel, though not very interesting, is certainly instructive. Though describing morality of a very high standard it has some tinge of ancient times and has not much of modernity in it. In an attempt towards the latter, there has been some incongruous blendings. How a faithful and chaste wife can do anything and can bring to life even her dead husband is depicted in the book. The book deserves considerable encouragement at least as proceeding from a Bengalee author. Some of the descriptions are really good and very instructive indeed.

MAHATMA SHAIKH SADI by Shree Prainchand and published by the Hindi-Pustak-Agency, 126, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 88. Price—*as.* 6.

In this book the life of the great Persian poet has been very graphically dealt with. Almost all his best stories have been reproduced, the details of his life have been systematically reproduced and the attempt in the direction have involved some researches. His best lines have also been quoted. This is certainly an excellent critique on the poet's life and we give the publication a very hearty reception.

BHAGINI-BHUSHAN by Mr. Gopalnarayan Sen Sinha, B.A., and published by the Ganga-Pustakmala Office, 36, Latouche Road, Lucknow. Crown 8vo. pp. 24. Price—*as.* 2.

The book contains very small and simple stories meant for little girls. The stories depict domestic lives and are very instructive, their very simplicity will teach much. They are also interesting and, though short, read better than novels. We think

that the book is very useful and any praise given to it would not be much.

BRAHMA YOGA-VIDYA by Babu Brajmohanlal, B.A., and published by Messrs. Haridas and Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 88. Price—*as.* 6.

In this publication the author has dealt in brief with almost all the aspects of Brahma Yoga,—theoretical and practical. He has shown how the ancient people of India could work marvels with the Brahma Yoga and his description has the tinge of reality in it. There is much truth in the statement that the science of Yoga was a very important one in this country in ancient times and it actually worked wonders and that its discontinuance is to be lamented. This book contains several illustrations.

SIVAMARG by Pandita Shreekrishna Datta Palival and published by the Manager, Sahitya-Ratna-Karyalaya, Chouk, Agra. Crown 8vo. pp. 174. Price—*as.* 12.

This is a translation of a very well-known and well received book in Gujrati on the same subject. Very practical and faithful hints as to the way in which volunteers and students who are working for the progress of the country should proceed have been given in the book.

It is a product of considerable experience and the very great utility of the book cannot be gainsaid. All the important matters bearing on the point have been given in brief and whatever a young man bent upon doing some good to his country might want in the shape of instructions from his elders has been given in a very handy form. The book must have a very wide reception as it had in the Gujrati original.

SUKE TATHA SAPHALTA by Mr. Triloknath Bhargav, B.A., and published by the Ganga-Pustakmala office, 36, La Touche Road, Lucknow. Foolscap 16mo. pp. 37. Price—*as.* 3.

This is a translation of James Allen's "Foundation Stone to Happiness and Success". The rendering is certainly very nice and the style is chaste and pure. The book will be very useful and the way in which the author has done the translation will make it still more useful.

KHANJAHAN by Pandit Roopnarayan Panday and published by the Ganga-Pustakmala office, 36, La Touche Road, Lucknow. Foolscap 16mo. pp. 208. Price—*as.* 14.

This is a drama which reproduces life in the days of Shah Jahan very graphically indeed. Some of its characters are really unique. The description of Sophia deserves special attention. It has some tinge of ancient Hindu characteristics of females with some accretions of Musalmanism. The translation of the book is from a Bengali original by Sree Kshirod Prosad Vidyavinod. The translator is a very well known author in Hindi. His preface in the beginning has made a new move in the Hindi publications on the drama after the way in which English dramas are introduced and it is certainly very well written. The drama itself is highly interesting. Khan Jahan has been depicted as a very bold and great Pathan. There are various characters in the book and there is considerable grandeur around them.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE NAN VYAKHYANO (गोपाळ कृष्ण गोखलेनां व्याख्यानो) Vol. I, translated by

Mahadev Haribhai Desai, and published by the All India Home Rule League, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 82. Price—As. 10. (1918).

This is a translation of the speeches made by the late Mr. Gokhale on Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Mehta, W. C. Bonerji, S. K. Ghosh, Sister Nivedita, Hume, Sir W. Wedderburn, and Lord Northbrooke and Home Charges, in different parts of India and England. It is embellished by fine portraits of some of these celebrities. The best part of the book is the short but most valuable introduction written by Mr. Gandhi, replete with his unbounded admiration for and devotion to Gokhale. It traces the history of their acquaintance which ripened into friendship, though Mr. Gandhi always maintained that he looked upon Gokhale as his master and guide, and sat at his feet as his pupil. The translation is very well done, and will surely supply a want long felt in the language.

KAVITA KALAP (कविता कलाप) by Champshi Vithaldas Udeshi, of 107-4 Lower Chitpur Road, Calcutta, printed at the Bombay Fine Arts Printing Works, Amratala Lane, Calcutta. Cloth bound, pp. 108. Price—As. 14. (1918).

Champshi Vithaldas Udeshi is long since known in this part of the country, though he resides in Calcutta, by the verse contributions he seems to have made a point of sending to several magazines, notably to the *Juan Sudha*, the organ of the Ahmedabad Prarthana Samaj. Hardly a single issue of it is published without some verses or other, good, bad, or indifferent, from Mr. Champshi. It must be said that his work is not of a high order, and in the volume under review, several liberties taken with the mechanical part of his work—i. e., rules of prosody—would be found. The dominating note in his verses is Devotion to God (प्रभुभक्ति), and in a subsidiary way, Patriotism. What we like most in the collection, rather most unremarkable, are the few lines on p. 8 of his preface, where he sets out the function of poetry,

INDU KALA, (इन्दु कला) translated by the late Nalinkant Narsinhrao Divatia, printed at the Union Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 168. Price—As. 10. (1918).

Professor Bain's Stories are two well known to need any mention. They deserve to be translated into each and every Indian vernacular. The present translator (now deceased) had already tried his hand at writing Gujarati prose before he launched into the scheme of translating this story, which by its English title, "A Digit of the Moon," has become such a favorite of all English-knowing readers. Nalinkant certainly did well in thinking of introducing Gujarati readers to this fine story, and he has

succeeded in his task, as we find that his work does not suffer in comparison with that of others who too had translated certain other of Prof. Bain's Stories, and who were equipped with far better educational qualifications than he was, who died young and without University education.

RAMAKRISHNA KATHAMRIT (रामकृष्ण कथामृत) PART I, by Narmadashankar Balashankar Pandya, published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, and printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 587. Price—Re. 1-2-0. (1918).

Shriji Mahendranath Gupta, one of the most devoted followers of Ramakrishna Paramhansa, has written so much about the saint and his life as almost to amount to a literature in itself. This *Kathamrit* narrates various episodes and incidents in the saint's life, together with the sentiments and opinions expressed by him. They remind one of the precision, assiduity and loyalty of Boswell. The translation is so happily done that it preserves all the spirit of the original, with its unflagging interest. The very simplicity and directness of the narrative are so well brought out, both by the author and the translator, that even one who is moderately educated can follow the trend of it.

ADWAITA SIDDHI NUN GURJAR BHASHAMAN VIVARANA (अद्वैत सिद्धि नुं गुर्जर भाषामां विवरण)

SECTION I: CHAPTERS I AND II: by Ratilal Chhotalal Desai, printed at the Indian Printing Works, Bhavnagar. Paper cover. Pp. 18. Unpriced (1918).

Pandit Madhusudan Saraswati has written in Sanskrit this great work on Vedant, and till now it is considered, in spite of various subsequent works, unsurpassed, in the way in which it has treated of this difficult branch of Indian metaphysics. The very laudable effort of the present writer is to take the Gujarati reader over the whole ground covered by the Sanskrit work in several instalments, the first of which he has published for private circulation. The whole subject is taboo to the mass in the street. Unless a good deal of spade work has been done, or as the writer puts it, one has placed oneself under a Guru, it is not possible to understand or follow such recondite subjects, so that it is only those who have made some progress in the path of Vedantic studies who can appreciate the *विवरण*; to others it would appear to be Sanskrit words transposed into Gujarati. Added to that drawback, we find that in some places, the specification could have been made more clear. However as we said, those who belong to the inner circle of Vedantins would find that they have got a work which they can profitably read.

K. M. J.

GLEANINGS

"Modern Civilisation."

The discovery of the West Indies, the exploration of Africa, the navigation of the Pacific Ocean, opened up vast territories to European avidity. The white kingdoms joined issue over the extermination of the

red, yellow and black races, and for the space of four centuries gave themselves up madly to the pillaging of three great divisions of the world. This is what is styled modern civilisation.—*The White Stone*, by M. Anatole France, p. 152.

"The Two Great Civilisations."

"The Two Great Civilisations, the yellow and the white, continued ignorant of each other until the day when the Portuguese, having doubled the Cape of Good Hope, settled down to trade at Macao. Merchants and Christian missionaries established themselves in China, and indulged in every kind of violence and rapine. The Chinese tolerated them, in the manner of men accustomed to works of patience, and marvellously capable of endurance; nevertheless, they could on occasion take life with all the refinements of cruelty. For nearly three whole centuries the Jesuits were, in the Middle Kingdom, a source of endless disturbances. In our own times, the Christian acquired the habit of sending jointly or separately into that vast Empire, whenever order was disturbed, soldiers who restored it by means of theft, rape, pillage, murder, and incendiarism, and of proceeding at short intervals with the pacific penetration of the country with rifles and guns. The poorly armed Chinese either defend themselves badly or not at all, and so they are massacred with delightful facility. They are polite and ceremonious, but are reproached with cherishing feeble sentiments of affections for Europeans. The grievances we have against them are greatly of the order of those which Mr. Du Chaillu cherished towards his gorilla. Mr. Du Chaillu, while in a forest, brought down with his rifle the mother of a gorilla. In its death, the brute was still pressing its young to its bosom. He tore it from this embrace, and dragged it with him in a cage across Africa, for the purpose of selling it in Europe. Now, the young animal gave him just cause for complaint. It was unsociable, and actually started itself to death. "I was powerless," says Mr. Du Chaillu, "to correct its evil nature." We complain of the Chinese with as great a show of reason as Mr. Du Chaillu of his gorilla.

"In 1901, order having been disturbed at Peking, the troops of the five Great Powers, under the command of a German Field Marshal, restored it by the customary means. Having in this fashion covered themselves with military glory, the five Powers signed one of the innumerable treaties by which they guarantee the integrity of the very China whose provinces they divide among themselves.

"Russia's share was Manchuria, and she closed Corea to Japanese trade. Japan, which in 1894 had beaten the Chinese on land and on sea, and had taken a part, in 1901, in the pacifying action of the Powers, saw with concentrated fury the advance of the voracious and slow-footed she-bear. And, while the huge brute indolently stretched out its muzzle towards the Japanese beehive, the yellow bees, arming their wings and stings together, riddled it with burning punctures.

"It is a colonial war," was the expression used by a high-placed Russian official to my friend Georges Bourdon.* Now, the fundamental principle of every colonial war is that the European should be more powerful than the peoples whom he is fighting; this is as clear as noonday. It is understood that in these kinds of wars the European is to attack with artillery, while the Asiatic or African is of course to defend himself with arrows, clubs, assegais and tomahawks. It is tolerated that he

should procure a few antiquated flint-locks and cartridge-pouches; this aids in rendering colonisation more glorious. But in no case is it permissible that he should be armed and instructed in European fashion. His fleet must consist of junks, canoes and 'dug outs.' Should he perchance purchase ships from European ship-owners, such ships shall naturally be unfit for use. The Chinese who fill their arsenals with porcelain shells conform to the rules of colonial warfare.

"The Japanese have departed from these rules. They wage war in accordance with the principles taught in France by General Bonnal. They greatly outweighed their adversaries in knowledge and intelligence. While fighting better than Europeans, they show no respect for consecrated usages, and act to a certain degree in a fashion contrary to the law of nations.

"'Tis in vain that serious individuals like Monsieur Edmond Thery† demonstrated to them that they were bound to be beaten, in the superior interest of the European market and in conformity with the most firmly established economic laws. Vainly did the proconsul of Indo-China, Monsieur Doumer himself, call upon them to suffer, and at short notice, decisive defeats on sea and on land. 'What a financial sadness would bow down our hearts,' exclaimed this great man, 'were Bezobrazoff and Alexeieff not to extract another million out of the Korean forests. They are kings. Like them, I was a king: our cause is a common one. Oh ye Japanese! Imitate in their gentleness the copper-coloured folk over whom I reigned so gloriously under Meline.' In vain Dr. Charles Richet,‡ skeleton in hand, represent to them that being prognathous and not having the muscles of their calves sufficiently developed, they were under the obligation of seeking flight in the trees when face to face with the Russians, who are brachycephalous and as such eminently civilising, as was demonstrated when they drowned five thousand Chinese in the Amur. 'Bear in mind that you are links between monkey and man,' obligingly said to them my Lord Professor Richet, 'as a consequence of which, if you should defeat the Russians or Finno-Letto-Ugro-Slavs, it would be exactly as if monkeys were to beat you. Is it not plain to you?' They heeded him not.

"At the present moment, the Russians are paying the penalty, in the waters of Japan and in the gorges of Manchuria, not only of their grasping and brutal policy in the East, but of the colonial policy of all Europe. They are now expiating, not merely their own crimes, but those of the whole of military and commercial Christianity. When saying this, I do not mean to say that there is a justice in the world. But we witness a strange whirligig of things, and brute force, up to now the sole judge of human actions, indulges occasionally in unexpected pranks. Its sudden starts aside destroy an equilibrium thought to be stable. And its pranks, which are ever the work of some hidden rule, bring about interesting results. The Japanese cross the Yalu and defeat the Russians in good form. Their sailors annihilate art-

† M. Edmond Thery, journalist, on the staff of *Le Figaro*. Has been entrusted by the French Government with several politico-economic missions; author of several works in this connection.

‡ Dr. Charles Richet, a noted physician, who has written plays, and is the author of several works on physiology and sociology.

* M. Georges Bourdon, journalist, on the staff of *Le Figaro*.

istically an European fleet. Immediately do we discern that a danger threatens us. If it indeed exists, who created it? It was not the Japanese who sought out the Russians. It was not the yellow-men who hunted up the whites. We there and then made the discovery of a Yellow Peril. For many long years have Asiatics been familiar with the White Peril. The looting of the Summer Palace, the massacres of Peking, the drownings of Blagovestchenk, the dismemberment of China, were these not enough to alarm the Chinese? As to the Japanese, could they feel secure under the guns of Port Arthur? We created the White Peril. The White Peril has engendered the Yellow Peril. We have here concatenations giving to the ancient Necessity which rules the world an appearance of divine Justice, and must perforce admire the astonishing behaviour of that blind queen of men and gods, when seeing Japan, formerly so cruel to the Chinese and Koreans, and the unpaid accessory to the crimes of Europeans in China, become the avenger of China, and the hope of the yellow race.

"It does not, however, appear at first sight that the Yellow Peril at which European economists are terrified is to be compared to the White Peril suspended over Asia. The Chinese do not send to Paris, Berlin, and St. Petersburg missionaries to teach Christians the Fung-Chui, and sow disorder in European affairs. A Chinese expeditionary force did not land in Quiberon Bay to demand of the Government of the Republic extra-territoriality, i.e., the right of trying by a tribunal of mandarins cases pending between Chinese and Europeans. Admiral Togo did not come and bombard Brest roads with a dozen battleships, for the purpose of improving Japanese trade in France. The flower of French nationalism, the elite of our Troublions, did not besiege in their mansions in Avenues Hoche and Marceau the Legations of China and of Japan, and Marshal Oyama did not, for the same reason, lead the combined armies of the Far East to the Boulevard de la Madeleine to demand the punishment of the foreigner-hating Troublions. He did not burn Versailles in the name of a higher civilisation. The armies of the Great Asiatic Powers did not carry away to Tokio and Peking the Louvre paintings and the silver service of the Elysee.

"No indeed! Monsieur Edmond Thery himself admits that the yellow men are not sufficiently civilised to imitate the whites so faithfully. Nor does he foresee that they will ever rise to so high a moral culture. How could it be possible for them to possess our virtues? They are not Christians. But men entitled to speak consider that the Yellow Peril is none the less to be dreaded for all that it is economic. Japan, and China organised by Japan, threaten us, in all the markets of Europe, with a competition frightful, monstrous, enormous, and deformed, the mere idea of which causes the hair of the economists to stand on end. That is why Japanese and Chinese must be exterminated. There can be no doubt about the matter. But war must also be declared against the United States to prevent it from selling iron and steel at a lower price than our manufacturers less well equipped in machinery.

"Let us for once admit the truth and for a moment cease flattering ourselves. Old Europe and new Europe—for that is America's true name—have inaugurated economic war. Each and every nation is waging an industrial struggle against the others. Everywhere does production arm itself furiously against production. We are displaying bad grace when we complain that we are witnessing fresh competing and disturbing products invade the market of the world thus thrown into confusion. Of what use are our lamentations? That might is right is our God. If Tokio is the weaker, it shall be in the wrong and it shall be made to feel it; if it is the stronger, right will be on its side, and we shall have no reproach to cast at it. Where is the nation in the world entitled to speak in the name of Justice?"—*The White Stone*, by M. Anatole France, pp. 157-65.

Japanese Caricature.

It has frequently been stated that one of the chief differences between Japanese drawing and that of the west is that the former is idealistic. Its lines are an outcome of Buddhist influence, being copied from the early religious pictures. It is said thus to lack the essential elements of caricature, and few Japanese artists have ever attempted this kind of drawing. One of the earliest to show any predilection for it was the Abbot Toba; and consequently the Japanese Mr. Punch is known as *Toba-e*. Toba, whose real name was Kakuyu, had for his father Minamoto Takakuni, the author or compiler of the *Koniyaku Monogatari*, a collection of legends. He in turn was a disciple of the priest Kakuyen, and in 1154 was made high priest, being head of the Tendai Sect of Buddhism with headquarters at the Enryakuji temple on Mount Hiei. Toba was as distinguished with his pencil and brush as he was in the priesthood, and indeed is now more famous for his art than his piety.

The style originated by Toba was so eccentric as to mark the beginning of caricature in Japanese art. Some of his art indeed startled the world of his time with its strange tendencies and designs. The most important works of Toba are to be seen in the Takayama temple at Toganowo near Kyoto. At present only four volumes of his drawings remain. The first two contain caricatures of monkeys, hares, foxes, frogs and so on, while the third volume is



Caricature of a Mochi-maker by Hokusai

taken up with caricatures of dragons, tigers, oxen, horses, cocks *et cetera*. It is said the fourth volume is concerned with human beings. Needless to say these ancient drawings are now state treasures of the empire.

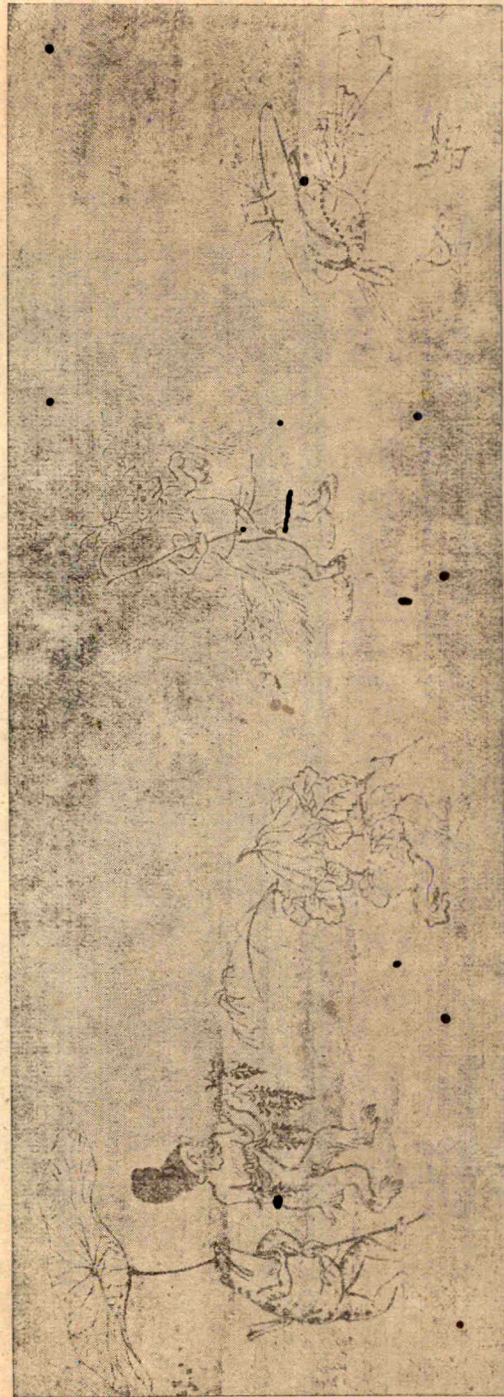
Some of the drawings of frogs wrestling and frogs fighting with hare are as amusing as they are interesting, revealing, as they do, a considerable degree of humour. A caricature of a hare preaching from a sacred book is well done, while the audience of hares listening to the sermon is very suggestive and funny.

In discussing this subject, Mr. Nakamura Fusetsu, one of the greatest of Japan's modern painters, says: "One of the most conspicuous defects of Japanese art is its imperfect representation of birds and beasts, as these are drawn more from imagination than from life. Toba, however, has the distinction of drawing his animals from life, and therefore his work is more perfect than that of most of his successors. He is indeed so realistic as to bring out well the sentiments and special characteristics of each animal, even their joys and sorrows, frolic and fun, being freely expressed by a line in the right way. Words fail to convey the merits of the art of Toba."

Toba's treatment of human beings was a little too real for modern taste, as he does not hesitate to caricature them in the most awkward moments under the most private misadventures. His work but proves that subjects not mentionable in good society to-day were freely subjects of joking in times of old. That such subjects appealed to the priestly painter as fit for treatment in a humorous way shows that he too was very human and not above appealing to the commonality of his time. Thus the caricaturist of ancient times had at hand a field of humour absolutely prohibited to-day. In one of Toba's drawings rice bags are depicted as being blown up in the air by a high wind; and when the Emperor was shown the picture he remarked that it was unnatural for such heavy objects to act in such a manner; but from the reply of the painter the Emperor took the hint that in the hands of dishonest officials the rice bags were not so heavy as his Majesty imagined. This genius for implied wit was very characteristic of Toba. It is said that after seeing the picture the Emperor had an investigation carried out and the officials who dealt in rice bags that were not full weight he had punished.

One of Toba's pupils, in an attempt to imitate his master, attempted to draw the picture of murder in which the hand of the assassin followed the sword into the victim's back; and when his master remonstrated with him he simply explained that he was adopting the principle of exaggeration used by Toba. Toba, however, contended that there must be a limit, and that no thrust, however powerful, could send the sword into a body beyond the hilt.

Toba-e or caricatures are now a common feature of press and periodical literature in Japan. All are the disciples of the first master, Toba. After the death of Toba there appeared no one of conspicuous genius in his line until the Tokugawa era, when caricature came strongly into vogue again, yet none of those who attempted it won high fame. The drawings of Oka Shunboku and Utagawa Kuninobu attracted considerable attention, though they could not be regarded as worthy of any special distinction as caricatures. Indeed they were no more than attempts to popularize the *ukiyo-e* paintings. Hokusai and Gysai did the best work in caricature during the period, the *Meeting at Shishi-ga-tani* being one of Hokusai's best efforts in this direction. The



A Caricature by Toba Sojo, the first Japanese Cartoonist.

drawing represents Narichika Fujiwara and other nobles assembled at Shishi-ga-tani to discuss how to overthrow the Heike clan, advertising it as a meeting to talk over class distinctions, all class distinctions for the time being discarded and all joining in merry-making. Hokusai, like his master Toba, did not



Caricature of Frogs, Hares and Monkeys by Toba Sojo.

hesitate to utilize what would be now regarded as unavailable subjects for treatment, though it cannot be said they are without true humour.

Gyosai often takes for treatment such themes as ghosts and fairies, but he was too fond of the bottle

to be much in a mood for caricature. His own conduct naturally furnished him with most of the occasions used for humorous treatment. Some of his drawings of drunkards and other disabled members of the human race are witty and fantastic.

Among the modern caricaturists of Japan none is more distinguished than Kobayashi Kiyochika. He was a master of both native and foreign painting and the first to introduce the occidental style of caricature into Japanese art. Another artist of some distinction in this line is Kitazawa Rakuten, who draws for the famous Tokyo daily, the *Jiji Shimpō*. Okamoto Ippei of the *Asahi Shimbun* is another skilled artist in humour. Indeed the comic papers of Japan show that the number of would-be caricaturists is now legion, and some of them are crude beyond words, not to say extremely vulgar. One of the more successful of these amateurs is Shimidzu Taigakubo of the *Yorozu Chōhō*. The most noted comic sheet of Tokyo is *Tokyo Puck*, and there is an *Osaka Puck* also. The *Manga* and the *Kokkei* are also comic papers. At the beginning of the new Japan there was but one comic paper, the *Marumaru Chimbun*, and now there are a great many. The fact that most of the artists working for the comic papers are of the western school shows how occidental art lends itself more easily to caricature than does Japanese drawing.—*Japan Magazine*.

The Toy Trade of Japan.

No department of Japanese industry has made more progress since the outbreak of the European war than the toy trade. Four years ago the export of Japanese toys was limited to a few varieties, such as dolls, bamboo models and so on, the total export being quite insignificant. Now, however, a great change has taken place. Last year the total value of exports in toys from Japan amounted to as much as 8,400,000 yen, and the total for the present year is expected to reach over 10,000,000 yen. Thus the country of dolls and flowers, as Japan has been facetiously called, has suddenly been transformed into a country making play-things of almost every description used in foreign lands. Those who looked upon the tiny Japanese themselves as but dolls, are now surprised to find that the country is really the largest source of dolls for western markets.

As Labour and material for the making of toys are both plentiful and cheap in Japan, it might have been supposed that long ago Japan would have become the largest source of supply for the toy trade. But until the beginning of the present war, when the demand for toys increased owing to cutting off of supplies from Germany and Europe generally, the Japanese toy-makers never attempted to enter foreign markets. The toy-makers were very conservative and did not try to appeal to foreign markets. The present increase in export of toys is due wholly to the efforts put forth by the government authorities to find an opening for Japanese toys in foreign markets. The officials connected with the trade departments of the Government soon saw that in the toy business lay great possibilities for Japan; and they did their best to interest the toy-makers, and with what success we have just seen. It was the Government that supplied the samples which the toy-makers have so successfully imitated; and in addition many toys peculiar to Japan have found favour abroad.

It is in the markets of England and the United States that Japanese-made toys find their largest

sale; and the demand is scarcely less steady in the Orient. The toy market in these regions had been monopolized by the Germans before the war. Stimulated by the shortage, after the cessation of supplies from Germany, the Japanese toy-makers have risen to the emergency with remarkable facility and efficiency, meeting in a short time the special demands of the western markets. In addition to the common toys made of wood, earthenware and cotton, the Japanese now make toys of rubber, metal and celluloid; and are especially clever at making mechanical toys, though the Japanese mechanical toy is not so durable as that made in the West.

Naturally with the immense increase in the making and export of toys in Japan, imports of toys have correspondingly decreased. The following table shows the progress of exports of toys during the last five years:

1913	...	...	Y 2,489,792
1914	...	...	2,591,715
1915	...	...	4,533,486
1916	...	...	7,640,020
1917	...	...	8,409,518

In 1897 the export of toys from Japan amounted in value to no more than 242,764 yen; and in 1907, it was only 789,819 yen; and now it is more than ten times what it was ten years ago. Exports of toys have thus grown thirty-two-fold in twenty years.

The story of imports of toys is in reverse order. From a value of 108,813 yen in 1906 exports decreased to 42,091 yen in 1916, and the figures for the year 1917, though not yet available, are much less. It is safe to say that now Japan may regard herself as one of the leading toy countries of the world. And it is a trade that may be expected to continue. In various other lines Japan has also gained a leading place during the war: but whether this prosperity will continue when competition revives after the war is another question. In toys, however, it is not likely that Japan will have any serious rivals. The toy trade has been created by the war for Japan; but it will not be destroyed by the cessation of the war. The reason, as already suggested, is that material and labour are much cheaper in Japan than can be possible in any western country.

Most of the wooden toys in Japan are manufactured by hand in the mountain regions of the country, where wood is plentiful at low cost. Individuals or families make them in their houses for the dealers. The chief centers for toys made in factories are Tokyo, Kyoto, Nagoya and Kanagawa. Of course the great increase in freight rates caused by shortage of tonnage has had a bad effect on the trade in cheap goods like toys; and for this reason the Japanese toy-makers have in some cases been unable to accept orders. But they are ready to

meet all demands where there is a willingness to pay for them. Exports of toys, though checked by freight conditions, continue still to increase, as the above returns tend to prove. It is probable that the export of Japanese toys to the United States this year will not be so extensive as last year, owing to the busy war conditions in that country. But considerable increase is expected in other directions, which will compensate for the falling off in exports to America; and after the war, when freight rates return to normal figures, the export of toys from Japan will vastly increase.

Some complaints have been received as to the comparative frailty of Japanese-made toys. Every attention has been paid to remedying this defect, and in future no such complaints may be justified. Toys are now being made in a more durable manner and of better materials; and great improvements have been made in designs and finishings. The value of exports in toys sent out by the various ports may be seen as follows:

Yokohama	...	...	Y 4,615,191
Kobe	...	...	2,699,172
Osaka	...	...	529,029
Nagasaki	...	...	2,343
Others	...	...	500,783
			8,409,518

Viewing the destination of exports of toys from Japan more in detail it may be said that the largest supplies have gone to the following countries: British India, Straits Settlements, China, Dutch East Indies, England, France, United States, Canada and the Argentine Republic. Australia, New Zealand and South Africa have also taken considerable quantities of Japanese toys; but the largest export has been sent to the United States, amounting in value to 2,432,061 yen last year; and England comes next, taking a total value of 1,318,924 yen in 1917. The value of exports to British India and the Straits Settlements is 934,971 yen and to Australia 895,328 yen.

It is remarkable how the tastes of countries differ as to the kinds of toys preferred. The Europeans like best to import such toys as bamboo flutes, dolls, earthenwares, fans, wooden toys, cotton birds and animals, while the Americans like Christmas toys, such as birds, baskets, celluloid and paper, toy chairs, furniture suites, wooden dolls and so on. Australia likes flutes, leaf work, glass toys, rubber dolls, toy mirrors, musical instruments. Dutch India imports chiefly such toys as metal leaf ornaments, paper and celluloid goods. India desires clay dolls, animal toys, and South America wants toy umbrellas, lanterns, bamboo models and dolls; while China prefers toys insects, rubber dolls, warships and electric cars.

—Japan Magazine.

BALUCHISTAN

GENERAL FEATURES.

THE Province of Baluchistan, which is the largest of the Agencies under the Government of India in the Foreign Department, is bounded on the south by

the Arabian Sea, with a small inlet of Muscat territory round Gwadar; on the east by Sind, Punjab, and the Northwest Frontier Province; on the north by an independent territory—known in common par-

lance as the *Yaghistan*, and Afghanistan, and on the west by Persia. At the tip of the horn, that juts out on the north-west, stands Koh-i-Malik Siah (462 miles from Quetta), an otherwise unenviable desolation which enjoys the double distinction of being the most westerly point of all India and the meeting place of three



A Baluchi Chief.

great countries: Afghanistan, Persia, and the Indian Empire. It claims high rank among the frontier provinces of India; for 520 miles it marches with Persia, for 723 miles with Afghanistan, and for 38 miles with another independent territory, and there are 471 miles of coast line along the Arabian Sea. It is a country of contrasts and contradictions. The traveller who has left the plains of India and entered the passes of Baluchistan, finds himself among surroundings which are essentially un-Indian. The general outlook resembles that of the Iranian plateau, and taken as a whole, it is unattractive, though its peculiarities are not without a certain charm. Rugged,



A Brahui Chief.
Height 6 ft. 3 in.

barren, sunburnt mountains, rent by huge chasms and gorges, alternate with arid deserts and stony plains, the prevailing colour of which is a monotonous drab. But this is redeemed in places by fine level valleys of considerable size, in which irrigation enables much cultivation to be carried on and rich crops of all kinds and various fruits are raised. Within the mountains lie narrow glens whose rippling water-courses are fringed in early summer by the brilliant green of carefully terraced fields. Rows of willows, with interlacing festoons of vines, border the clear water, while groups of ruddy children and comely Italian-faced women in indigo-blue or scar-

let shifts and cotton shawls complete a peaceful picture of beauty and fertility. Few places are more beautiful than Quetta on a bright frosty morning, when all the lofty peaks are capped with glistening snow, while the date-groves, which encircle the thriving settlements of Makran, are full of picturesque attraction. The frowning rifts and gorges in the upper plateau make a fierce contrast to the smile of the valleys. From the loftier mountain peaks magnificent views are obtainable. (Census Report, 1911).

HISTORY.

The early history of the Province is somewhat obscure, but rulers of Kalat were never fully independent. There was always, as there still is, a paramount power to whom they were subject. In the earliest times they were merely petty chiefs; later they bowed to the orders of the Mughal Emperors of Delhi and to the rulers of Kandahar and supplied men at arms (*Sān*) on demand. It was only when the Mughal power decayed that the Ahmadzai chiefs found themselves freed from external interference, and it was Mir Nasir Khan I (1750-51) who began to consolidate the power.

The first treaty by the British Government was made with Nasir Khan II in 1854, who in 1857 was succeeded by Mir Khudadad Khan. The Khan was at war with the tribal chiefs, and it was in 1875 that Sir Robert Sandeman came on his first mission to Kalat. The second mission was undertaken in 1876, when Sir Robert Sandeman was accompanied by a detachment of the 4th Sikhs under Captain Scott who had his camp near the present club, and it was on the 13th July of that year

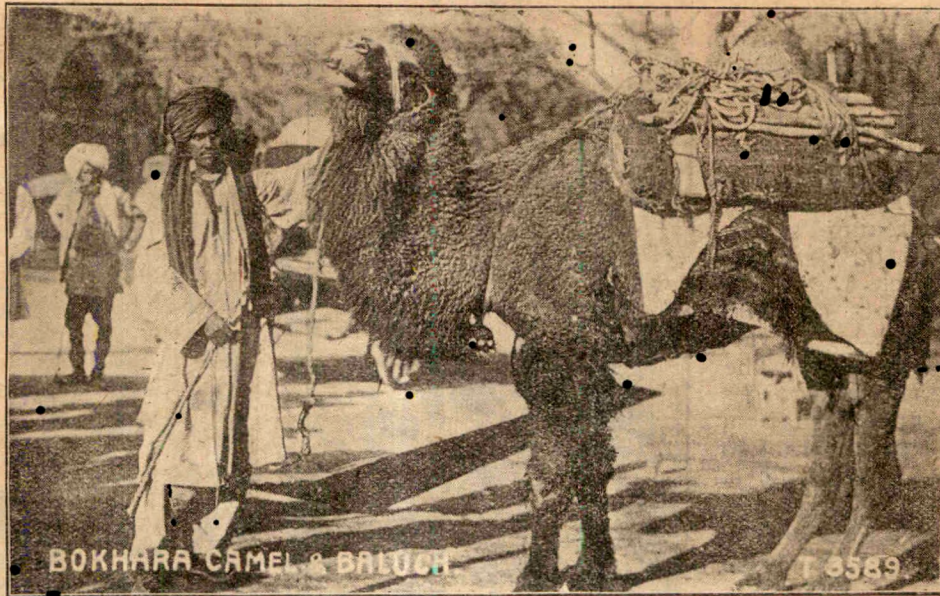


Sherani Pathan.
Height 6 feet.



A Hindu of Baluchistan.
Height 5 ft. 7 in.

that the Mastung agreement, the Magna Charta of the Brahui confederacy, was drawn up, and in December 1876 a fresh treaty was concluded with the Khan, the Baluchistan Agency was created and Sir Robert Sandeman appointed as its first Agent to the Governor General in 1877. On the conclusion of the second Afghan War, the districts of Pishin, Duki, Sibi, and Shahrig were ceded by the treaty of Gandamak (1879), and the administration of Quetta and the Bolan Pass was taken over from the Khan of Kalat in 1883. Since then additions have been made to the Agency, by the tribes voluntarily placing themselves under British protection (Bori, Barkhan, Zhob and Kohlu) and the Khan leasing Nushki and Nasrabad. The



Baluch and Bokhara Camel.

ceded districts were made, in 1887, 'into British Baluchistan, and the designation of the Agent to the Governor General for these districts was changed into that of Chief Commissioner.

AREA AND POPULATION.

The total area of the Province is 1,34,638 miles, and the total population is 8,34,707 or about 6 persons to the square mile. This population has, in the Census returns, been divided into three groups:—

Indigenous	...	7,52,394.
Semi-Indigenous	...	2,54,111
Aliens	...	56,898.

The aliens include 4,210 Europeans, 123 Anglo-Indians, Trans-Indus people 7,140, and residents of Cis-Indus districts 45,425.

The principal indigenous races are:—

Pathan	...	1,88,093
Baloch	...	1,69,190
Brahui	...	1,67,787
Lasi	...	27,779
Jatt	...	78,400
Sayyid	...	22,183
Other Musalmans	...	82,086
Hindus and Sikhs	...	17,784
Sikhs number		2799.

Brief remarks about the principal indigenous races might be interesting.

The original home of the Pathans is believed to be Takht-i-Suleman. According to the Afghan genealogies Kais Abdur

Rashid, 37th in descent from Malik Talut (King Saul) had three sons: Ghurghusht, Saraban and Baitan. Among the descendants of Ghurghusht we have in Baluchistan the Mandokhel, Babi, Kakar, and Pani. The Saraban division is represented by the Tarin, Sherani, Miani and Barech, and the descendants of Baitan can be identified in the Baitanis living across the Gomal pass. The most numerous and important indigenous Pathan tribes are: Kakar 1,05,073, Pani 28,675, Tarin 37,411 (including 20,272 Achakzai) and Shirani 8,522. The Kakars are to be found in largest numbers in the Zhob, Quetta-Pishin, and Loralai Districts. The Tarins have two main branches, the Spin Tarin and the Tor Tarin, of whom the former live in the Loralai and the latter in the Quetta-Pishin and Sibi Districts. The Panis are to be found in Zhob and Sibi, and the Bargha division of the Shiranis in Zhob.

The Baloch tradition indicates Aleppo as the country of their origin, and Mr. M. L. Dames, who has made a special study of the Baloch, comes to the conclusion that they are Iranians. Early in the 7th century they seem to have taken up a position in close proximity to Mekran and to this day many of their tribal names (such as Magassi, Dombki, Bugti) bear the impress of the localities

which they occupied in Persian Baluchistan. Hence they made their way eastward until in the 15th century we find them settled in Kachhi. They are now found in Mekran, Chagai, Mari-Bugti Country, Nasirabad and Kachhi. The important tribes of the Baloch are :—

Rind	31,267
Mari	22,233
Bugti	19,370
Magassi	17,777
Dombki	5,713.

To which may be added the Khetran (14,153) whose nucleus is said to be Tarin Pathan, who have a considerable mixture of Jatts among them but who have gradually attained the status of Baloch, whom they resemble in dress and whose customs they follow.

The origin of the Brahuīs seems untraceable. Mr. Bray has divided the Brahuīs into :—

Brahui-nucleus	...	15,047
Sarawans	...	55,370
Jhallawan	...	94,708
Miscellaneous	...	2,662,

and from the various traditions current among the tribes he concludes that the "Brahuīs of modern times regard the following and the following only, among the many tribes, as belonging to the Brahui stock : first the ruling family the Ahmadzai (25) and its collaterals the Iltazai (156); then the Mirwari (2,654) and the Kambarari (3,095) (both closely connected with the ruling house, though the Kambarari no longer bask in reflected glory), together with the Gurgnari (2,001), the Sumalari (3,739), the Kalandarani (2,012) and the Rodini (1,325). The rest of the tribes, as now constituted, are of a heterogenous character and have a mixture of Baloch, Persian, Pathan, Jatt and others.

The Sayyids though comparatively not so strong numerically (21,296) as other indigenous races, are of considerable importance as they are held in much reverence by the tribesmen. The most important among them are the Bukhari (8,726), Husiani (1,287), Chisti (796) and Gilani (400). They are scattered in all parts of the Agency but are found mostly in Quetta-Pishin (9,716), Loralai (4,687), Sibi (1,719) and Kalat (3,419).

TRIBAL.

Pathan, Baloch, and Brahui are all organised into tribes, each having a

multitude of subdivisions, clans, sections and sub-sections, while in south-western Baluchistan no tribal system exists. There is a distinction, however, between the constitution of the Pathan and that of the Brahui and Baloch. Among the former the feeling of kinship is a bond of union far stronger than among the latter, with whom common blood-feud forms the connecting link. Theoretically, a Pathan tribe is constituted from a number of kindred groups of agnates; in a few cases only are small attached groups (*Wasli* or *hamsayah*), which are not descended from the common ancestor. On the other hand, the Brahui or Baloch tribe is a political entity, composed of units of separate origin, clustering round a head group known as the Sardar khel or the Chief's family. Among the Pathans the leader does not necessarily hold by heredity, for the individual has great scope of asserting himself; once, however, he has gained a position, it is not difficult for him to maintain it, provided he receives external support. While among the Baloch and Brahui the office of the chief descends from father to son, and each clan, section and even sub-section has a headman or *wadera*, as he is called.

CHARACTERISTICS.

The Pathans are tall, robust, active and well-formed. Their strongly marked features and heavy eyebrows give their faces a somewhat savage expression. The complexion is ruddy; the beard is usually worn short, as also is the hair. Their general bearing is resolute, almost proud. Courage is with them the first of virtues, but they are cruel, coarse, and pitiless. They generally do not appreciate kindness, and consider it often a sign of weakness, but they readily yield to pressure. Vengeance with them is a passion. Their cupidity and avarice are extreme.

The Baloch presents a strong contrast to his Pathan neighbour. His build is shorter, and he is more spare and wiry. He has a bold bearing, frank manners, and is fairly truthful. In the good old times while giving the hal or news a Baloch would tell you even if he had committed a murder, and if you made him swear by the beard of the Sardar you could get anything out of him. He looks on courage as the highest virtue, and on hospitality as a sacred duty. He is an

expert rider. His face is long and oval and the nose aquiline. The hair is worn long, usually in oily curls and cleanliness is considered a mark of effeminacy. A Baloch usually carries a sword, knife and shield. He rides to the combat but fights on foot. Unlike the Pathan, he is seldom a religious bigot. The Brahui is of middle size, square build and sinewy, with a sharp face, high cheek bones and long narrow eyes. His nose is thin and pointed. His manner is frank and open. Though active, hardy and roving, he is incomparable with the Baloch as a warrior, but he makes a good scout. With few exceptions the Brahui is mean, parsimonious and avaricious and he is exceedingly idle. He is predatory, but not a pilferer, vindictive but not treacherous, and generally free from religious bigotry. His extreme ignorance is proverbial in the country side: If you have never seen ignorant hobgoblins and mountain imps, come and look at the Brahui.

LANGUAGE.

The indigenous languages prevailing in Baluchistan are Pashto, Brahui and Balochi (eastern and western), Jatki or Siraiki, Jatki-Sindi and Lasi:—

Pashto is spoken by	...	227,553
Balochi	...	2,32,987
Jatki, Siraiki and Lasi	...	55,545
Jadgali	...	51,875
Brahui	..	1,45,299

Of these Pashto and Balochi are classed as Iranian; Jatki, etc., as Indian, while the thorough enquiry made by Mr. Bray seems to have established that Brahui is Dravidian, akin to Tamil and Telugu spoken in the greater part of southern India.

OCCUPATION.

The occupation of the major portion of the indigenous tribes is agriculture, combined in some cases with flock owning. Most of the Pathan tribes and Jatts are engaged in agriculture, while the Brahuis of Jhallawan, the Baloch of the Mari-Bugti country and those of Chagai and Kharan largely depend for their subsistence on the produce of their sheep and goats. Camel breeding and transport still help some of the tribes, especially the Langav among the Brahui, and the Jat, to earn their livelihood. There are no arts and manufactures worth the name, though in some parts woollen

namdas, carpets, *khurjins* and *Kizhdi* blankets and various articles of dwarf plam leaves are made by the women for domestic use, and not for export. Some fine needle work is done by the women of Nichara. Barkhan carpets were well known at one time, but owing to the use of the aniline dyes their quality has deteriorated and there is not much demand for them now.

RELIGION.

The majority of the tribesmen are Musalmans of the Sunni sect, with the exception of some of the Dombki Baloch, who own to belong to the much detested Shiah sect, and there are 14,765 Zikris, who are found chiefly in Makran, in south-western Jhallawan and the Las Bela State. But the living beliefs of the tribesmen display a marked ignorance of even the fundamental doctrines of Islam. As regards outward observances the Pathan stands no doubt on a fairly high level; for all his ignorance of the inner meaning of his faith and his weakness for ancestor worship he is usually as punctilious over his *roza* and *nimaz* (fasts and prayers) (if not over pilgrimage and alms-giving) as his more enlightened co-religionists; what he lacks in doctrine he is quite capable of making up in fanatical zeal. And most of the so-called *Ghazi* attacks were in early days committed by Pathans. Thanks to the salutary punishment of whipping which was provided for in the Murderous Outrages Regulation of 1901, we seldom hear of such dastardly attacks now. In most of the Pathan villages and settlements there is a *masjid* and a *mulla* in charge of it. These *mullas* come from no particular caste or class; the office being open even to the lowest of the low, who can qualify for it. The Baloch lags far behind. Though there are signs of religious revival, ancient custom still holds sway in the vital affairs of his life; to him religious precepts are little more than counsels of perfection; religious practices little more than the outward and awe-inspiring marks of exceptional respectability. And among the Brahuis a truly devout Musalman, learned in doctrine and strict in practice, is rarer still; with the vulgar mass Islam is merely an external badge that goes awkwardly with the quaint bundle of superstitions which have them in thrall.

The ignorance of the masses might be judged from the answers given in some of the cases to the Census enumerators in 1911: 'Put me down the same religion as the Chief' was perhaps the commonest answer of the lot; its absurdity becomes apparent when it takes the form, "I used to follow the Mengal Chief, but I have shifted quarters and adopted the religion of the Bangulzai;" "I am a Kakar by birth, so I am Kakar by religion;" and so on. In the course of my extensive tours in various parts of the Agency, I have often tested the knowledge of the tribesmen, by just asking a question: Are you a Musalman or a Kakar; or a Musalman or a Brahui; and the answer immediately given in most cases was: 'I am a Kakar or a Brahui,' which showed that the people knew more of their tribe than their religion. One of the religious ordinances which is universally respected and observed is that of circumcision, which among some tribes (Gharshin Sayyid, Khetran and Jat) is looked upon as essential for females as for males.

The everyday religion of the masses consists of ancestor worship, and worship of shrines dedicated to saints and others, and various superstitions. So well are Brahuis provided with saints and shrines that every household in the land has its patron saint who watches over its destinies, and its own peculiar shrine to which it resorts to pay his homage or to supplicate him for some boon. The childless women go to these shrines to be blessed with children, the offering to be made is generally a toy cradle; the sick visit and make sacrifices to be cured, and in all cases of danger and difficulty petition is to be made to these shrines. It was only the other day when I was travelling from Baladhaka to Barkhan (in part of the Mari country) where I was shown a big boulder on the wayside. This is known as *sib taki sing*, the stone which has the miraculous property of curing intermittent fever. The patient is taken to this stone, he bakes a cake and offers it to this miraculous stone, rolls under it, takes some dust and swallows it; which cures him. There are some shrines with quaint characteristics. Such are the shrine of Pir Challan Shah, half a mile from Kalat, in the neighbourhood of which no hemp or tobacco may be grown; the shrine of Bibi Nek Nam at

Ziarat hard by, a shrine of such sanctity that no one may sleep on a charpay in the village, though it lies a mile or so away; the shrine of Mai Gondrani in Las Bela, where no one may stay more than two nights or he will be overwhelmed with a shower of stones from heaven. You will perhaps be surprised to hear that in the Kirtha hills in the Jhallawan country there is a shrine dedicated to a dog, to which the Brahuis resort, sacrifice sheep, and distribute the flesh in alms in the certain belief that whatsoever they seek, that they will surely find. There is another such shrine in the Kakar country close to the shrine of Husain Nika. This is dedicated to a faithful dog of the saint. The story goes that when any visitors came to the saint the dog would bark for every visitor a bark. On a certain day three visitors came, and the dog gave three barks, but the saint saw that there were four men and he was so incensed that he slew the dog. But he soon found that out of the four, three were faithful Musalmans, while the fourth was an unbelieving Hindu. The saint was full of remorse, he gave the dog a decent burial and ordered that he himself should be laid to rest close to the grave of his dog, and that whosoever should come to worship at his shrine, should first worship at the shrine of his dog. And so it is up to this day.

In the Pathan country the most famous shrines are those of Sanzar Nika, the progenitor of the Sanzar Khel Kakars, near Lakaband, Pir Bukhari in Quetta, and Nana Sahib at Chotiali, the last named being occasionally visited by people from across the border. The patron saint of the Bugtis is Pir Sohri whose shrine lies on a hill close to Sing Sila, and that of the Maris is the Bahawalan, the progenitor of the Chief's family. Sheikh Ghulam Haidar's shrine at Kahan, so runs the tradition, has made Kahan and its neighbourhood immune from cholera, and *khurda* or dust from the shrine is taken as a charm against cholera, when a faithful Mari goes on a visit to the plains. So safe he finds himself in the hills and so much he dreads the plains that before emerging from his hills, he throws some stones and addresses a solemn warning to the plains not to affect his health. And we have in the country *Makri* Sheikhs, who are believed to possess the power to

drive off locusts, and *nangwalas* who cure snake bites, *huddawalas* who cure diseases of cattle and sheep, the *tukawalas* who perform inoculation against small pox, and other specialists to whom fixed contributions in cash or kind are paid periodically by every family. Some shrines are especially useful to flock owners, as the dust taken from them and sprinkled over a sheep or goat will cure any disease. Such is the shrine of a Sarangzai saint in Manra near Ziarat.

ZIKRIS.

Now a few words about the Zikris. The Zikri faith is a curious jumble of Islam. In form it is the negation of Mohammadanism: 'There is no God but God, and the Mahdi is his Prophet' is the cardinal article of the faith. They accept the Kuran, but place their own interpretations on it. They go for pilgrimage to Koh-i-Mura in Kech (a few miles from Turbat) instead of Meccā, and instead of *Zakat* or alms at one-fortieth, they preach the bestowal of one-tenth of their worldly goods. They perform their prayers three times a day and they hold *Zikranas* at set times when praises of the Mahdi, the founder of the faith, are chanted. At these meetings at first all is reverential, quiet and orderliness, but the services soon degenerate into fanatical ecstasy, and end in an uproar. The harrowing tales of promiscuity at the end of the service and of the deflowering of the brides by the priests seem to be fabrications of bigoted orthodoxy. Among other customs, peculiar to this sect, it may be mentioned, that if the bridegroom be at a distance, the *mulla* breathes the *nikah* (the marriage services) in a sheep skin which is inflated in the presence of the bride, and the skin is sent to the bridegroom and opened by him. This is considered a sufficiently binding ceremony.

Such ignorance, and such superstitions, are pardonable, when it is borne in mind that in every 10,000 indigenous Musalmans there are but 47 who in the census of 1911 were classed as literate—that is those who could read a letter, in some language, and write a reply. There are very few who can be called educated. And it is not the masses alone that are illiterate, but there are only a few even among the *mullas* who can be called educated; though in the Pathan country

they have enough influence to create mischief. As may be expected, the highest percentage (17 per 1,000) of literates occurs among Sayyids, while the lowest (3 per 1,000) is among the Brahuis, and 4 per 1,000 among the Baloch. But much has been done during the past few years in the way of public instruction in the British Administered areas, much more still remains to be done. At the close of the year 1916-17 there were in the Province 115 schools of all classes with 4015 scholars including 41 Maktabas with 461 pupils.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

The majority of the people are poor, and their food and dress are cheap and simple. In many parts of the country the nomads even now are content all the year round with a *kosai* (a woollen coat), a pair of cotton pajamas and a cap; and their food consists of crushed *juar* or *makai* boiled in water or in butter milk. The women have a long shift, which is patched up as it gets worn, and a *takrai* or head cloth, and I have been shown some of these shifts which have been worn continually for a period of ten years, and even then they are not thrown away. When they become too old and unfit to be worn, the pieces are hung on to sticks stuck in fields to scare away birds. Many of them have no huts, they do not know the use of bedsteads and do not need lamps of any sort. All that they need is a wooden triangle over which is thrown a blanket, or a *parchi* (mat) to serve as a shelter, a hand mill to grind corn for daily use, a few sheep and goat skins to keep drinking water, milk and *ghi*, a baking pan and a few wooden and earthen pots. The whole of the household furniture can be taken on a donkey when the family wants to move, the bulk of the goods is carried by the women on their backs. But among the settled and the semi-settled inhabitants, more especially in the area under the direct administration of the British Government, there has been a marked improvement in the food and dress of the people.

As to domestic life, the burden of the work, in the household of the middle and lower classes, falls on the women. A good housewife must sweep the house; grind daily corn; fetch water and fuel, no matter what the distance be; wash and sew clothes, cook the food, spin the wool;

and in case of agriculturists, assist in reaping crops, carrying grain and *bhusa*, etc. There are no washermen nor barbers in the greater part of the country. The children are shaved by the male members of the family, who also shave each other. The woman must always be under protection,—in her childhood under her father or other male relative; when married, under that of her husband; and when a widow, under her sons. Among most of the tribes, more especially the Pathans, the woman is a chattel; she is given away in marriage, always for a consideration, or in exchange for another girl, without her consent; unmarried girls and sometimes unborn girls, are given away in payment of compensation for murder and other serious injuries, and among Baloch and Brahui and some of the Pathan tribes the usual penalty for infidelity on the part of a woman is death; her seducer is also killed, but if he manages to escape he may be able to compromise the offence by giving a girl in marriage to

the aggrieved husband or guardian; but the woman must always be killed. If she escapes, the only course left for her is either to hang herself or leave the country. Among some of the Baloch tribes the woman is given in marriage on condition that when she becomes a widow she would return to her parents who could again dispose of her just as they please. Among most of the tribes, a woman, though allowed a share by *shariat*, does not inherit, and all that she can claim from the property of her father, or, if married from that of her husband, is what is called *nas* and *posh* that is food and raiment. This must cease when she marries again, and among the Pathans the price to be paid for her on her second marriage must be paid to her son or other guardian, unless the husband selected is a brother of the deceased husband, who, by the tribal custom, has the first claim to her hand; in such marriages there is no question of heart.

A PANJABI.

THE FUTURE OF THE PACIFIC

An address to Australian Christian Students.

IF the Church is, in deed and truth, as Christians believe, the mystical Body of the Christ—that Body, whereby the fullness of His Humanity is to be made manifest through the ages, then, to Him, the future of the child races, which have for centuries inhabited the Pacific Islands, must be a matter of most tender and intimate concern. And this love of Christ, our Lord and Master, for these peoples cannot but appeal, with moving power, to all those who are called by His Name. For such races are like the children, whom Christ took in His arms and blessed. In their very simplicity, they are akin to those simple village folk, whom Christ welcomed with approval—while His message was rejected by the worldly-wise and prudent.

In this same relation the sayings of Jesus about offences done to His little ones have a special warning for us, and the promise concerning the cup of

water given in His name to the youngest of His disciples has a peculiar force. Such acts, He tells us, are done unto Himself. And in that last great day of crisis, when Christ's final verdict on mankind shall be pronounced, those nations will assuredly not escape His condemnation who have offended these weaker members of His Body. The Son of Man shall declare in that day, "Depart from Me . . . for I was an hungered and athirst, I was a stranger and naked, I was sick and in prison; inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, My brethren, ye did it not to Me."

Thoughts and memories of Christ's words in the Gospels have haunted me, day and night, while I have been living among the islanders of the Pacific, joining with them in their simple faith and worship, sharing with them in the one breaking of the bread. The task in which I was engaged was an enquiry into the conditions

of Indian indentured labour in Fiji. The moral evils connected with the migration of this labour had moved very deeply indeed the public conscience in India itself, and I was asked to go out a second time, in order to see what could be done to remedy these. While the enquiry was proceeding, I found out more clearly, every day, how closely this comparatively recent Indian immigration had affected these child races, and how the reaction of the life of the coolie "lines" in Fiji had produced already among them the gravest results. The presence of the Indian population was altering the whole problem of the preservation of the indigenous races of the Pacific, and was increasing a hundred-fold the moral difficulties which the Church was called upon to face in her work of tender shepherding among them.

I found out, also, more clearly than before, that the method by which the Indian labourers had been imported, had involved a callousness with regard to the decencies of life on the part of the employers, a neglect of moral considerations, and a disregard of what is due to womanhood and childhood, which had ended in moral disaster.

Something had happened in Fiji akin to that which took place in England, under the conditions of the old factory system. In both cases the evil had fallen mainly upon the women and the children. In both cases, Christ's words about the offence done to His little ones made the sin of careless, heedless men startling in its tragic consequences—the crucifying of the Son of Man afresh and putting Him to open shame. And under the indenture system there had been things done which have been still more deeply degrading than even under the factory system. Legislation has been passed by responsible Governments which led inevitably to immoral results. The enactment of the Government of India, first that 33 women, and then, later, that 40 women should go out to live, in the crowded coolie "lines" in Fiji, with every hundred men, was such a Government regulation. The Despatch of the Government of India, October 24th, 1915, recognised this, and declared that there was "the gravest reason to fear that the persons of Indian women are placed at the disposal of their fellow Indians and even of the subordinate managing staff." Even after this memorable declaration, the

recruiting of women in Northern India went on until March, 1917, when at last strong public opinion intervened, and the women of India approached the Viceroy in a deputation, and he was empowered to put a stop to the evil. . . .

With all these differences of circumstance, the underlying analogy between the two systems holds. The poor factory girl in London, sinking lower and lower under overwhelming temptation, and at last openly flaunting her sin in finery in the Mile End Road, has gone through the same hell as the Indian village girl, who has sunk at last beneath the weight of temptation in the coolie "lines" of Fiji, and now stares at the passer-by with sullen face, her whole person bedizened with ornaments which have been gained by hiring out her body as a harlot to the wifeless men.

The actual conditions of vice can hardly be drawn too darkly. An epidemic of moral disease has been introduced into the very heart of the Pacific, more deadly than any cholera or bubonic plague—a fell disease which takes its toll of death through cruel murders of women in paroxysms of sexual passion, through mutilations, through suicides. To-day the little children, who have been born and bred and reared in the midst of this atmosphere of vice in the coolie "lines," are infecting with the same virus the young Fijian children. The things that are being learnt are unspeakable. I write of what I have seen with my own eyes. . . .

Surely Christ, who took the little children in His arms and laid His hands on them, and blessed them, does not wish that these habitations of evil should go on for a day longer. His words have not lost their meaning—"Whoso causeth one of these little ones to stumble," "Suffer the little children to come unto Me, and forbid them not," "Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, My brethren, ye did it not to Me." To the young Fijian Christian Church, just emerging from the darkness of the past, what a tragedy! After its early days of purification by martyrdom, sacrifice and devotion, thus to be suddenly confronted with the danger of sinking back into the mire.

The words of Christ concerning the choking effect of wealth and the deceitfulness of riches sound upon our ears with the gravest warning when brought into

such a context as this: for it has been greed of gain, careless of moral cost, which has brought this danger so perilously near. In the past, I had sometimes read the words of Christ with wonder at their heightened language—the camel and the needle's eye, the millstone hanged about the neck, and the thirst-agony of the rich man in his place of torment after death; but I do not wonder now. For what torment could be worse than wealth obtained by the fouling of innocent children's lives? And if ever a comfortable, wealthy Church needed the word of Him whose eyes are as a flame of fire, "Repent! . . .," may there not be something to repent of here in Christian Australia, where the wealthiest company in the land is now grown rich and prosperous out of this very indentured labour, with all its terrible fruits of sexual murder, suicide, crime, and the ruin of child life?

The Indian Government has taken action at last, and acknowledged publicly the inherent moral evil of the old system. Indian indentured labour will no more be recruited. But the mischief in Fiji has already been done, and it would appear, at first sight, as if nothing could undo the wrong. Palliatives there are, no doubt, which the Indian and Fijian Governments will gradually bring into operation, especially when the war is over, and ships can run direct once more between India and Fiji. But the tide of evil is sweeping forward; the actions of Governments are certain to be tardy; and their remedies will be more or less external after all. They can hardly touch the heart.

What is needed, is to begin once more the path of penitence from the beginning—from the point whence the evil started. What is required is to create a cleaner atmosphere within the Church itself with regard to the responsibility of the wealth; to carry out the truth to its ultimate conclusion that "where one member suffers, all the members suffer with it"; to rise to the height of the passionate utterance of the apostle—"Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is made to stumble, and I burn not?"

Until we really feel in ourselves the wound dealt to the whole Body when Christ's little ones are made to stumble; until we really and truly suffer, when Christ suffers in the wrongs inflicted on the weak and helpless; until we know

something at least of Christ's own sensitiveness to moral pain, we shall but deal superficially with this hydra-headed menace of commercial greed, whether manifested in the grasping employer or in the grasping labourer, who would each alike in turn grow rich at the expense of their fellow men. One bad system of selfishness will merely replace another. The house, empty, swept and garnished, will be taken possession of by some other evil spirits more wicked than those that went before.

But if, on the other hand, we can realise, even in some feeble measure, the suffering of Christ our Lord in His Body, and can widen our range of thought and vision to the members of that Body whose race is different from our own, then an outpouring of generous love and pity will surely flow forth to all those who, like these Indians in Fiji, have been exploited for monetary purposes by the rich and powerful.

These Indian peasants have come close to Australian shores. They have come out as strangers to a strange land. They have fallen—partly through their own fault, but mainly through the neglect of others. They have taken up evil habits of life which were practically unknown to them in India itself. Now, in their weakness, Christ, the Lord and the Master, has placed them before us, saying, "I was a stranger and ye took me not in, naked and ye clothed Me not; sick, and in prison, and ye visited Me not." Left by the wayside of life, lying there bruised and wounded and half dead, they need now the tender compassion of the good Samaritan, not the aggressive zeal that compasses sea and land to make one proselyte.

They know their own failure, and they will welcome with gratitude the hand that comes to heal their wound; but they will not welcome the Church which seeks to take advantage of their weakness by proselytising methods—I know how bitterly the thinking portion of them feel about missionary work of this latter type. From first to last, if they are to rise again, to be a blessing, not a curse, to the Pacific, there must be in every act of those who go to help them the tenderness and the gentleness of the Christ—that Christ, who said, "Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly of heart"; that Christ, who was so poor that He had not where to lay His head; that Christ, who would not break the

bruised reed or quench the smoking flax ;
that Christ, who came and lived among
us, in His poverty, as one that serveth,
having compassion on the multitude, bind-

ing up the broken-hearted, and releasing
from captivity those that were bound.

C. F. ANDREWS.

DEATHLESS JOY

(A MEDITATION BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.)

"HE who manifests Himself in all
forms of deathless joy."

In the heaven above and on the
earth beneath, in the sky and lower air,
at sunrise and sunset, those who are true
of heart, sincere in mind, and serene in
spirit, see God everywhere revealed as
Supreme Blessedness and Joy.

When, with the break of day, conscious-
ness returns to man and beast, and all
formless things of the dark take shape
again in the light, then God's worshippers
find the Desire of their hearts in the com-
ing of the dawn and the glory of the sun.

He, who is the innermost Spirit, dwell-
ing in the sun itself and in all created
things and in our human lives unveils His
hidden glory.

Even as the world is unveiled before our
eyes when the darkness of night is past,
so God reveals Himself to man in the com-
ing of the dawn.

Ah the wonder !

In the first beams of the newly risen
sun we see the Light of lights.

In the fresh beauty of the early dawn
we see the Beautiful.

We open our eyes and meet His gaze
resting upon us : everywhere present are
His Goodness and His Glory.

When we long for Him with eager
longing and pray to Him with simple
trust, when our soul's thirst can only be
filled with His fulness, then on every side,
whether near or far, within or without,
His presence is made manifest.

But if our wills and our hearts are
dulled and blunted with impurity, if we
do not keep open the door of our soul's
temple, then whether we go to the forest
or remain in the crowded city, whether
we visit pilgrim shrine or sacred place,
we shall not be able to see God.

I ask from the sun "Where is He?"
and the sun answers "He is here !"

I ask the lonely trees of the forest
"Where is He?" and the forest answers
"He is here !"

The scripture is made plain which says,
—"He is below ; He is above : He is be-
hind ; He is before. He is in the South :
He is in the North."

In the earth and sky alike His Glory is
ever shining. The immortal ever shows
His presence in forms of deathless joy.
Only when we shut the door of the inner
chamber of our hearts the Light of lights
is unperceived.

When the shades of evening lull the earth
to rest and the moon rises in the heavens
pouring its tender beams abroad, when
the silent majesty of the stars keeps watch
over a sleeping world, then we understand
the scripture :

"He whose dwelling is in the moon
and stars, and yet remains apart : He
whom the moon and stars cannot compre-
hend : He whose body is the moon and
stars, but who yet controls them from
within."

For it is He and none else who is re-
vealed in the silent beauty of the night.

But are the dawn and the eventide and
the deep night His only deathless revela-
tion ?

No, our human hearts are also the very
seat of His indwelling.

The True, the Beautiful, the Good are
made manifest in the glory of the sun and
the beauty of the moon and stars, but
much more clearly still are they to be seen
in the love-lighted human face filled with
goodness, and in the pure human spirit
shining through frank, clear eyes.

God's true lovers, whose hearts serene
overflow with the passion of love for the

One who is dearest,—they are His revealers.

In the vast mountains, in the sea, in the moon and stars and sun, His presence is not so fully seen as in the faces of the good.

How lovely are the thoughts of holy minds, how austere the self-discipline of the righteous, how tender and calm are the spirits of noble men! They are a dwelling-place dear to the immortal.

Nowhere else can He be seen so clearly, neither in the heavens, nor in the earth, nor in the sea.

He manifests Himself in forms of deathless joy in the faces of good and holy men who are devoted to His service.

Let us lay at His feet the flowers of our love offering, and rejoice in the fullness of this rare gift of life.

(Translated from the Bengali).

BENGAL WEAVERS AND THEIR INDUSTRY

THE geography of a region must have originally determined the work of its people, and this work in its turn modified the place on the one hand, and the people themselves, on the other. Changes, however brought on, in the nature and extent of an industry, must inevitably exert their corresponding influences on the folk and their country.

Some of the products of the handloom of Bengal are still among the finest in the world, and the weavers form the bulk of her industrial population. Mill products have replaced all but those handloom products for which there is a permanent preferential demand on account of artistic and traditional requirements. The surviving industry is now seriously threatened by the existing war conditions. The present cloth famine in Bengal with its resulting suicides, unknown in history, records the present state of the weaving industry and the people in general and the capacity of the weavers in particular. The Kabulis, who are now giving out cloths in some of the villages in Eastern Bengal on credit at 100 per cent. interest, depending on their individual prowess for the realisation of the price with interest by the end of the year, resent, and that not without some justification, any disparagement of the beneficial service they are rendering to the rural population. This is yet another record, and ought to engage the immediate attention of all concerned.

Such then are the existing conditions, and a detailed survey of these is necessary for suggesting any effective scheme for relieving the growing distress of the weavers and their industry and to some

extent mitigate the present and provide against any such future cloth famines. In my temporary capacity as a touring representative of the Bengal Home Industries Association I had occasion to realise the existing condition of Bengal weavers. The Sub-division of Ghatal, Midnapore District, is a big handloom weaving centre, and the existing conditions there obtain, in general, throughout Bengal.

GHATAL.

Forty years ago Ghatal, with its unique situation,—the navigable river near by, and metalled roads radiating to the different parts of western Bengal, was a great centre of industry and commerce. Merchants had big depots, large granaries, and silk factories, the products of which used to be exported to different parts of India and abroad. Its famous industries of bell-metal, weaving, and silk, contributed increasingly to the prosperity of the people and developed skill, routine, scientific and artistic alike, to a high degree of perfection.

Every family, irrespective of caste, grew its own cotton for the women's spinning wheel, which had its cultural effect in developing order and refinement, in the household. One can understand why the spinning wheel was looked upon as a symbol of the Goddess *Lakshmi*—the deity of prosperity and beauty—when one sees the Monipur women merrily turning the wheel,—where the old spirit still lingers.

Rearing of silk cocoons, which was also another happy family occupation, with its most exacting demands of personal cleanliness, was very potent in maintaining a

high standard of cleanliness alike personal and civic.

Of its past prosperity and splendour there remains the ruins of old factories, deserted houses and mounds of forgotten cottages. The silk industry for which it was once famous is almost extinct, except for a few scattered individual small concerns, whose products are of very inferior quality. The spinning wheel, once an essential household implement, could hardly be seen in the district. The cultivation of cotton has been altogether abandoned. Malaria is rampant all over the district. The earnings of the workers have diminished to an irreducible minimum—the better skilled silk weavers working 8 hrs. a day get 5 as. 3 p. a day, and under most favourable weather and other conditions can earn only 6 annas a day. The earnings of other skilled weavers vary from 3 as. 2 p. to 4 as. 6 p. per day according to different systems of organisation. With this income they have to maintain a family, supply its food and clothes, to say nothing of the numerous other necessities which a household demands. The intense economic stress is devitalising the people, and increasing their indebtedness to the *Mahajans*. This again make them easy victims to malaria. We can get an idea as to the extent of depopulation from the Municipal report of Chandrakona:

Population in the year 1872	21,311
" " " " 1911	8,121

In 39 years depopulation—13,190 i.e. 62%

To crown all, the exploitations of the *Mahajans* are going on mercilessly and with increasing intensity. They are completely impervious to higher humane considerations and unable to understand even what is to their own permanent interest, viz., the welfare of the weavers. All the above circumstances, jointly and separately, have driven the weavers to helpless desperation, from which they have neither the courage nor the strength to emerge, and if something for their betterment be not done immediately, these will lead the industry to the only logical conclusion of its ultimate ruin.

CAUSES.

Of the causes the first—in order, magnitude, and permanency—comes mill competition, which not only affected the weaving industry seriously, but has completely

destroyed the spinning industry and with it the cultivation of cotton. Next comes the railway; with its establishment Ghatal ceased to be a centre of trade and lost its prosperity. The insufficient provision against lack of drainage caused by the existing railway embankments contributed its share in making the place malarious. And further, what is not generally recognised, the very quick means of transit itself has gone against the people. In other countries, time is money; but here in Bengal time is plentiful, but the corresponding money is not forthcoming. The rural population, through lack of education and organisation, have not been able to evolve sufficient occupation for their leisure. On the contrary, their time saved has meant only an extra item in their already insufficient family budget, owing to the psychological fact that leisure and opportunities create otherwise unnecessary habits. The inability of the people to cope with the disease of silkworms with its consequent deterioration of silk, both in quantity and quality, has led to the present condition of the silk industry. In addition to the numerous causes mentioned in Dr. Bentley's "Report on Malaria in Bengal," it is further aggravated by their old system of house planning. Every house had its attached pond, which used to supply water to the industrial people and its yield of fish to the family; through neglect these very ponds have now become the chief breeding places of malarial parasites.

For the immediate causes we have (1) the rise of prices all around, and the exorbitant rise in the price of raw materials in particular, brought on by war conditions; and (2) the *Mahajans*.

There are two classes of middlemen in Ghatal, the *Mahajans* and the *Béparis*. The *Mahajans* have established firms which supply raw materials, buy the finished products, give *dadans* (advance money) and are inhabitants of the locality. They are export agents having depôts in Calcutta and other places. The *Béparis* are small wandering middlemen, with limited capital and carrying on cash transactions. They sell the finished products in the *hat* and sometimes to the big *Mahajans*.

The disappearance of the silk industry left the *Mahajans* only the cotton weaving industry to exploit, from which to make

up their total earnings, and this, in the case of cotton weaving, not by improving the quality and increasing the quantity of production, but by the vicious process of buying at the cheapest rate and selling at the highest. This has caused the industry to deteriorate and has brought about the present alarming condition of the weavers. The unusual rise of price of raw materials has been a further disaster to the weavers by bringing them completely under the clutches of the *Mahajans* and diminishing their earning to one fourth the pre-war income, which now varies from 0.3-3 annas to 0.4-3 per day.

In pre-war days, to set a loom working, it required raw materials worth Rs. 14-14-9, which the weavers could, somehow, manage to buy for cash, and thus demand a reasonable price for their labour. Now for the same purpose it requires Rs. 41-1-0 worth of raw materials, which they cannot afford to buy for cash and are thus compelled to go to the *Mahajans* for raw materials. (The above figures were obtained in November 1917 and a further rise has taken place since.) Of the *Mahajan's* pre-war profits I could not get any data. But their present profits, even on the spot, are never less than 50% on the finished products, leaving aside the consideration of their profit on the raw materials they supply to the weavers. To obtain an unprohibitive price for the article, all conceivable reductions are made on the remuneration given for the labour of the weavers.

When we come to think of the existing method of payment of the weavers by the *Mahajans* one is apt to lose patience and might reasonably ask for legislation to bring such transactions under the penal code. Of the hard-earned wages of this most under-paid skilled labour, amounting to 3 to 4 as., per diem, only a part payment is made by the *Mahajans* on delivery of the finished products. The weavers must wait and wait, sometimes for months, before the *Mahajans* settle their accounts.

The *Mahajans'* unusual profits have been justified by some, on the ground of the risk they undertake in *dadans*. I made exhaustive enquiries regarding this *dadan* investment. I asked all the *Mahajans*, big and small (about 30 in number), I came across in Ghatal, whether there were cases where they could not realise their *dadan* money.

There is none in record, except a solitary instance, and even in this particular case the *Mahajan* realised for 19 years an interest of Rs. 12 per annum on his investment of Rs. 25 besides Rs. 6 of this investment! Thus we see that in the course of 19 years he realised an interest amounting to Rs. 228 on his yet unrealised Rs. 19!

For their first investment of *dadan* they have adequate security;—before any further advance is made, the first amount is generally realised through the interest, the terms of the *dadan* being, that the weaver will always get 4 as. less for each 10 yds. of cloth. Taking the minimum average production of each loom, which is 40 yds. per month, we find *Mahajans* get Rs. 13 a year from each loom as interest. On an average the *Dadan* on each loom is generally about Rs. 25. Thus they realise their investment in the course of two years, besides having the advantage of the slavish obedience they secure and exact from the weavers.

The only redeeming feature in the influence of the big *Mahajans* has been that they have kept up the standard of the quality of the product, and this not from any noble consideration of patriotism or of art, but for their own profitable existence.

The small *Mahajans* and the *Beparis*, whose number is growing, are deteriorating the quality of the products very effectively and increasingly. Having neither permanency, nor established reputation as men of business, they are continually asking, and sometimes definitely instructing the weavers to manufacture cheap imitation articles, by using three different counts of yarn in the same fabric in its different parts!

SUGGESTIONS.

Of these causes the Mill-competition and Railroads are established facts, which it is neither possible nor desirable to do away with. But their effects could be mitigated and ultimately, with education and evolution of proper occupation, they could be used to the best advantage for all concerned. The existing cloth famine has most poignantly and effectively brought home to the people what is to their permanent interest. And with proper initiative and requisite organisation and necessary informations the cultivation of cotton and rearing of silk

co-ops stand the best chance of revival; along with these, the spinning and weaving industries should be established amongst the agriculturists as a supplementary occupation, in which as of old the whole family may take their respective parts, specially the women, for whom there is at present no fruitful occupation except domestic work and who cannot undertake any outside work.

But as immediate steps, we must establish Co-operative Credit Societies to get the workers out of the clutches of the *Mahajans* and to improve the existing conditions of the industry and the workers and thus effect a reduction in the price of their products. Store Societies with the following definite objects should be organised:

(1) To secure raw materials at the cheapest rate and supply the workers directly.

(2) To supply and introduce such improved machinery and implements as can be now procured.

(3) To introduce improved patterns and designs of varying sizes and qualities to suit modern demands, alike Indian and foreign, for useful and artistic products, and thus secure a better market.

(4) To buy finished products at a reasonable rate.

(5) To establish weaving houses, on contract labour system, with improved machinery and methods of production, which would be the best means for their introduction among the individual workers and, further, for providing work for those weavers to whom the Credit Societies cannot extend their help.

All these should be done not only for the reasons given above but for the further vital consideration of stopping depopulation. Unless the existing economic stress be relieved by improved methods of production, better marketing, and spread of education, mere improvement of sanitation cannot effectively cope with malaria, which is, at once, one of the causes and effects of this deplorable state of affairs.

STORE SOCIETY.

Finance. If a Joint Stock Company be first formed here in Calcutta, and definite

work commenced, on such a scale as its subscribed funds would permit, local funds will be forthcoming, alike from the Zamindars, middle-class gentlemen, and even the small shopkeepers. The Credit and Store Societies will mutually help each other. The Credit Society is necessary for the establishment of the Store Society, which in its turn will ensure better security for the former.

CONSTITUTION.

Organisers and supervisors should not only be efficient and well informed, capable of organising and materialising ideas, but must possess real sympathy for the workers and their needs and respect for their tradition and culture and thus be able to humanise all they do. For energy without organisation is futile and organisation without humanity is fatal. Workshops should be in charge of an experienced and considerate local weaver. Every effort should be made, by giving special facilities, to recruit increasingly members from the workers themselves, and thus secure their active interest in the organisation and its permanency. Further, attempts should be made to secure the co-operation of even the *Mahajans*, whose knowledge of the existing local conditions would be most helpful. If these conditions are assured the Store Society will not be a losing concern. The caste system with all its limitations managed to keep up the industries on their traditional lines. The present freedom of occupation without the necessary education which would make people realise the dignity of labour is one of the causes of existing conditions. The existence of Store Societies will exert its educative influence in this direction and in organisation and co-operation.

Its reasonable rate of profit will be a very efficient check on the *Mahajans*. Its workshops will not interfere with the independent weavers' artistic works. Its depots for raw materials and finished products will greatly increase the earning of the weavers, and with their prosperity, industry will flourish, the place improve, and, finally, creative art may revive.

MATISWAR SEN.

PLANTING TIME

The earth is busy ; it is planting time :
 Shine, sun ; sing, dancing rain ;
 Soon will the shrouded seed victorious climb
 To resurrection from the vanquished grave,
 And, life's broad banners will unfurl and wave
 In summer's camps on shining hill and plain ;
 Ripeness will chant its clear, perennial strain
 Beneath noon's dome and midnight's starry nave.

The earth is warring ; it is planting time :
 Shine, tears ; sing, pride and pain ;
 I know not what seed hallowed and sublime
 Is being sown, with darkest sweat o'erstrewn,
 In fields of time enriched with costly ruin ;
 But it will sprout, and the wild urge and strain
 Will wave its triumph, chant its golden gain
 Under some tranquil, full-orbed harvest moon.

MAYCE SEYMOUR.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

A Common Script for Indian Languages.

I have read with great interest the two articles of Mr. Ganguli in the *Modern Review* on the adoption of a common script for all Indian languages. He thinks that the Devanagiri script is unsuited to become the common script because of the great difficulty of writing speedily in that script and of the difficulty of transliterating the non-phonetically written Indian languages like Bengali ; he also shows that arguments in its favour are more sentimental than utilitarian ; but though he thinks that the adoption of a modified Roman script for Bengali would be a step in the right direction, he seems to suggest that the matter should be suspended for the present, till the present chaos of the Roman script is set right, and also that this latter matter should be left to the European nations themselves. But owing to the numerous important problems that would face them in the near future, and the great disagreement amongst the various advocates of widely different systems of alphabet, we may be sure there is no hope of its being solved by them at present. But if we think this problem is also of importance and urgency to us, we must set ourselves to solve it on the lines suggested by Mr. Ganguli.

The adoption of a common script for all Indian languages is not simply advantageous but of urgent necessity to all of us. (It would also be easier and more useful to undertake it immediately when the great majority of our people are not yet acquainted with any kind of script). It will save the great waste of energy by Indians in learning a new script almost every time they attempt to learn a new vernacular in the country they live in. Many of our provinces have a large number of scripts in use.

Besides the four chief Dravidian languages, Marathi and Hindustani are also recognised as vernaculars of this presidency (Madras), and all of these have their own scripts [of these, only Marathi uses Devanagiri script, and its use is confined to a small corner of the presidency ; all the remaining scripts

have some point or other of superiority to Devanagiri]. Many other provinces are situated likewise ; the adoption of a common script has never been more urgent in India than now.

From the point of view of a non-Bengali Indian, I believe the adoption of Roman script for Bengali will be of great benefit to the country. It would immensely facilitate the learning of the Bengali language and literature by non-Bengalis, the chief obstacle in their ways at present being its script. Many of the forces that have been shaping the political, religious, social and literary destiny of the country are still kept and confined in the Bengali language, and are only very imperfectly let out into the rest of the country ; a knowledge of Bengali is a great asset to all (non-Bengali) Indians that can afford to learn it. This explains the wide desire to learn that language. The greater part of the country has still very vague conception of men like Ram Mohan Roy and Sir Rabindranath Tagore. To make up for this great want, the other Indian communities have been translating some of the best Bengali works into their respective languages but at best this arrangement is a very imperfect one, and owing to many causes these translations are often very poor success (some of them being made from English). The English translations that have so far appeared are more useful to Englishman than to us and the high price of those works is also a hindrance to us. To provide every facility for learning Bengali and popularise its literature is a great necessity for us Indians. As a step in this direction, therefore, I urge that the Bengalis should come to a conclusion immediately about the adoption of Indo-Romanic script for their language. If this be effected, I believe, it would greatly help the expansion of the Bengali language over the rest of India. Its effects otherwise also are far-reaching ; by the general adoption of a modified Romanic script the Bengalis will be making one more addition to their services for the uplift and unification of India. How much useful work would already have been

done if the Ekalipivistara Parisad of Calcutta had arrived at making Romanic script and not Devagari the 'ekalipi'! I trust the other Indian communities will follow them closely behind also in this respect, as they are doing in so many of her useful reforms—political, religious, social, literary and artistic.

A MADRASEE.

Should Our Young Students Study Our Ancient Philosophy.

In the April number of the Modern Review appeared an article on the Rector's convocation speech in which the writer opposed the suggestion of Lord Ronaldshay that Indian philosophy should be taught to our students when they first begin to study philosophy in the University. In the Editorial Notes of that number also some arguments were urged against the introduction of Indian philosophy in the undergraduate course. It is proposed in this article to examine briefly some of these arguments.

I.

We shall first deal with the remarks in the Editorial Notes. It has been said:

"Do British students learn philosophy to begin with as English philosophy, or Anglican philosophy, or Christian philosophy? Do the modern Greeks study mainly the philosophy of Thales, Pythagoras, etc., neglecting modern philosophy?"

The difference between the case of a European and an Indian student of philosophy is that the former is familiar with all that is worth knowing in the particular schools of philosophy which were developed in his own country, but the latter has no idea of the remarkable achievements in philosophy in his own country unless he prosecutes his studies in philosophy beyond the B. A. degree. This is because what is called the General System of Philosophy is really the Western or European philosophy and though it takes proper account of the development of philosophy in the various countries of Europe, it has very little concern with Indian philosophy. For this reason it is necessary to teach Indian philosophy to an Indian student in addition to what is called General Philosophy. And this should be done in the beginning, for the first impressions on the mind are generally the strongest. Otherwise our students will have an idea that Western philosophy alone represents a systematized body of knowledge and is the only philosophy worth studying.

There are also other reasons why it is more important for the Indian student to study Indian philosophy than it is, say, for the Greek student to study ancient Greek philosophy. In the first place the development of philosophy in India was much more remarkable than in Greece, or in any other ancient country. In the next place Indian civilization has many special features of its own and if it is considered necessary that these special features should not be lost sight of in the system of education which we provide for our young men, then that system of education should include a course of Indian philosophy which through religion, literature and social institutions has so greatly influenced our civilization.

It has been considered inadvisable to allow students to read Indian philosophy before the "critical faculty has somewhat matured." Apparently the objection is that the student may accept the doctrines of Indian philosophy as true without

critical examination. This however is not likely to happen. The various systems of Hindu philosophy criticize each other freely. So a study of the various systems will develop the critical faculties of the student. Besides he will read European philosophy along with Indian philosophy and is sure to apply to Indian philosophy the methods of criticism with which he becomes familiar in the course of his study of European philosophy. And assuming that it will create a bias, is it not after all a lesser evil that some students acquire a bias in favour of Indian philosophy than that the greater number of students of philosophy is kept in ignorance about the nature and contents of Indian philosophy?

Another objection that the Calcutta University consists of both Hindu and Mahomedan students and it would not be "proper, prudent or expedient to make it (Hindu philosophy) an obligatory subject of study for Moslem students taking up philosophy." This objection could be urged equally against the inclusion of Hindu philosophy in the post-graduate studies. It seems to us however that there should be no objection for Mahomedan students to read Hindu philosophy. Hindu philosophy attained remarkable developments in many important departments of human thought and there is no reason why Mahomedan students should not be acquainted with them. As India is the land of adoption of these Mahomedan students it is but fit that they should know the philosophy which flourished in this soil. If we remember right, it was the Hon. Mr. Mazharul-Haq who in his presidential address in the Behar Provincial Conference urged his co-religionists to study Hindu philosophy (which he had himself found highly edifying) and invited his Hindu countrymen to study the history of Islam. This, he said, is likely to promote mutual understanding and good will between the two great sister communities of India.

It has been said that it would not be easy to find competent teachers of Hindu philosophy "who have studied it in the original and who at the same time are capable, by their training and knowledge, to teach it critically, taking nothing on trust, putting everything to the test of reason and experience and accepting only that which can stand that test, and even then not resting on it as something final." We admit that it would be very difficult to find such ideal teachers, especially in the beginning. But should the greater portion of students be deprived of a knowledge of the subject for this difficulty? What seems necessary is that the teachers should understand Hindu philosophy and should be able to explain it to the students. After all ideal teachers are rare in any branch of knowledge. It is not likely that the teacher of Hindu philosophy will impress upon the students that the doctrines of the various systems of philosophy are revealed, and must not be questioned. Even if some teacher tries such a thing, he will not be readily accepted, for we ought to remember that he would be teaching students who have already had some training in the western system and some knowledge of western science.

II.

We shall now examine some of the arguments in the article already referred to. The writer says,

"India is so oppressed by the sense of perfection attained by her ancient sages that we approach their study not with an open mind but with a reverential awe which effectually stifles all freedom of thought in us. Jaimini and Kapila and Samkara * * are

not merely propounders of new schools of thought but are canonised semidivine saints to question the truth of whose teachings would be little short of impiety."

It is difficult to imagine how a student of Hindu philosophy can get the idea that it is impious to question the truth of its teachings when he finds the advocates of each system freely criticizing the other systems. As a matter of fact the orthodox Pandits, both modern and ancient, generally adhere to a particular school of philosophy and consider the doctrines of the other systems as defective. We know that Chaitanya declared that Samkara's interpretation of Brahma Sutras is perverted and misleading and this view is still held by many of his "followers" who are not considered as impious.

Nevertheless it is true that some of the propounders of Hindu philosophy are held in the highest regard by the Hindus. But what does it show? It shows that the Hindus regard the teachings of these philosophers as of the highest importance and therefore to be cherished most reverently. The Hindu fancy that in the intellectual achievements of these sages they recognize the direct working of the Divine Spirit whom they believe to be the ultimate source of all human activities. Should this be regarded as a justification for not teaching their philosophy to the Hindus? Should it not on the other hand be regarded as the very reason why the Hindus should be afforded every facility to study their ancient philosophy? The Christian regards the teachings of the Bible as divinely inspired. But we have never heard it suggested for this reason that the Christian should not be allowed to read the Bible as it is likely to make his vision prejudiced. The fact is that the greater the veneration with which a book is regarded the greater will be the benefit which a perusal of the book will afford, for with a spirit of veneration the mental faculties are on the alert and the teachings sink deeply into the mind.

Assuming however that the Hindu has an improper veneration for his own philosophy which it is necessary to remove from his mind, the best way of doing so is not to keep him in ignorance of the contents of his philosophy for in his ignorance he may exaggerate its real worth. Let him read both Indian and European philosophy and form an idea about their comparative value. The result of the present system of education in which most of our young men are kept in the dark about our philosophy is that there is one class of young men who have too great a veneration for the ancient system and there is another class of young men who have nothing but undisguised contempt. This is not a desirable state of affairs. Let our young men see what our philosophy really is. We plead for "more light". Let not the advocates of the progressive school oppose this plea.

As will appear from the following passage the writer makes a number of assertions for which sufficient justification does not exist:

"Will it be denied that Western philosophy has always laid more emphasis on the ethical side of human relations than Eastern? We do not forget that insistence on purity has always formed a prominent feature of our philosophy but has not that purity often been of a ceremonial and mechanical character? We know that the quest of the Brahman is introduced in the aphorism with a word denoting 'after this' (अपरा) and this is made by the commentator to cover a prolonged course of spiritual training. But such questions of spiritual growth are lost in the immensity of its pantheistic abstractions, the result

of which is the total confusion between what is ethically good and ethically bad, as is everywhere the case in the Puranas.

We must begin by admitting that our philosophy does not lay proper emphasis on the ethical side of human relations. And this, though in most treatises on Hindu religion and philosophy it is laid down that in order to make spiritual progress possible we must control our passions (इन्द्रियनिग्रह), renounce all desire of enjoyment either in this world or in the world hereafter, be indifferent to pleasure and pain, and remain unmoved by joy or sorrow. Unfortunately personal cleanliness is also insisted upon, and so the entire course of training is condemned as 'ceremonial and mechanical.'

The fact that in one instance the preliminary course of spiritual training is not explicit in the aphorism but is given in detail by the commentator does not matter, for the commentary is a part of the system of philosophy and indicates its general trend of thought which is the subject of discussion. And surely it is not suggested that ethical questions are only taken up in the commentaries and so are nowhere to be found in texts and aphorisms. It is further stated that ethical questions are overlooked in pantheistic doctrines. The small but important difference between Vedantism and pantheism is lost sight of, and the fact that the other systems of philosophy do not even make an approach to pantheism is ignored. And the whole thing is wound up by the startling assertion that "there is a total confusion between what is ethically good and ethically bad, everywhere in the Puranas." So there is not one instance in the entire Puranic literature where what is represented as good is really good. It sounds almost like the peroration of the speech of a rabid Christian missionary.

It seems that the writer suffers from some of the popular misconceptions about Hindu philosophy. One such misconception is that it favours a life of inaction,—a misconception which has been refuted in the Editorial notes of this number of the Magazine. The writer of the article says however, "In India it (Philosophy) has taught us to pin our faith to the fatalistic doctrine of Karma and has taken away all incentive to action by promising reward in after life." In the first place the doctrine of Karma is not fatalistic. Then it is not clear how the promise of reward in future life tends to promote a life of inaction. One would suppose that a belief in our actions being rewarded in future life is likely to be an incentive to good actions in this life. The teaching of Hindu philosophy is however to do what is good without any desire for the reward either in this life or in the next. The writer also ridicules another tendency of Hindu philosophy. It makes men eager to retire on the hills to meditate on their release. This love of retirement and meditation which the writer apparently looks upon with disfavour is, however, not peculiar to the Hindu sages. We find it in the lives of Buddha, Christ and Mahomet,—men who have revolutionised human progress. It may be urged that these latter were concerned not so much with their own release as with the release of their fellowmen. The distinction however is not material, for unless a man knows how to put an end to his own miseries, how can he teach his fellowmen?

The assertion of Dr. Lindsay that the political dependence of Hindu nations is the nemesis of the teachings of their philosophy should be regarded as an instance where two prominent facts are believed to be related as cause and effect merely by the reason

of their association. We know that foreign scholars are likely to misunderstand the teachings of our philosophy, as they have not the opportunity to learn it firsthand, and have their bias and fixed notions. There are also foreign scholars more competent than Dr. Lindsay who do not agree with him. But we do not like this quoting of foreign opinions whether our philosophy is good or bad. We ought to see it for ourselves.

Lahore,
June, 1918.

BASANTA KUMAR CHATTERJEE.

Lord Ronaldshay's Rectorial Address— Indian Philosophy and English Literature as Instruments of our University Education.

All educated Indians, I doubt not, must be perfectly unanimous in their dissent from Lord Ronaldshay's idea of how English should be taught in our Indian Universities, viz., that we should learn the subject as a spoken language, the sole object being to acquire what his Excellency calls 'a working knowledge' of the language, avoiding all contact and touch with the vast, inspiring English literature, a veritable *El Dorado*, or the 'Realm of Gold', as Keats poetically described it,—which constitutes the most precious legacy of the British race for the enrichment of the human mind for all time to come. Indeed, the commonest understanding of an Indian student must wonder how the Rector of the premier University in India could propound such a pre-eminently or purely 'practical' theory of literary education on the occasion of its convocation. It seems to me that the explanation of this curious phenomenon is to be found in the duality of the national character of the illustrious speaker. For, does not Emerson, the saintly thought-leader of America, observe in his essay on English literature that there are two nations in England—not the Rich and the Poor, nor the Normans and the Saxons, nor the Celt and the Goth, but the two complexions or two styles of mind, viz., the *perceptive class* and the *practical finality class*, the first in hopeless minority, numbering a dozen souls, and the second in huge masses of twenty millions. And it is to be feared that with all his high culture born of an English University education Lord Ronaldshay has scarcely ceased to be one of the huge 'practical finality class' of his countrymen,—a circumstance for which perhaps his Excellency's pronounced Imperialistic political cult and training must be held mainly responsible. It therefore becomes necessary, strange though it may seem to many of us, to remind the Rector of our University of what the greatest living Englishman of letters, the illustrious Morley, says (and what our college boys read with approbation) about literature and its function as an instrument of true education. Says Lord Morley in his "Studies in Literature":—"Literature is one of the instruments, and one of the most powerful instruments for forming character, for giving us men and women armed with reason, braced with knowledge, clothed with steadfastness and courage, and inspired by that public spirit and public virtue of which it has well been said that they are the brightest ornaments of the mind of man. My notion of literary student is one who through books explores the strange voyages of man's moral reason, the impulses of the human heart, the chances and changes that have overtaken human ideals of virtue and happiness, of conduct and manners, and the shifting fortunes of great conceptions

of truth and virtue..... This is what makes literature, rightly sifted and selected and rightly studied, not the mere elegant trifling that it is so often and so erroneously supposed to be, but a proper instrument for a systematic training of the imagination and sympathies and of a genial and varied moral sensibility.... The thing, that matters most, both for happiness and duty, is that we strive habitually to live with wise thoughts and right feelings. Literature helps us more than other studies to this most blessed companionship of wise thoughts and right feelings." Indeed, we cannot too often repeat to ourselves the oft-quoted but ever inspiring Wordsworthian lines.

"There is

One great society alone on Earth :
The noble Living and the noble Dead."

It is not however to be supposed that I regard the method by which we are taught English literature in our schools and colleges as the right method. On the contrary our standing quarrel with current system of our university education is that the literature as taught under that system, is not rightly sifted and selected, or rightly studied for the matter of that. Under the system, in vogue we do treat literature as 'the mere elegant trifling,' and are practically afforded no opportunity to 'strive habitually to live with wise thoughts and right feelings.' What we are enabled to do is merely hurriedly to pick up a scrap here and a scrap there, and cram and stuff our brains therewith in order to buy scraps of diplomas as passports to second or third rate jobs in mercantile or Government offices, or at best to the learned professions. And it is to be very much regretted that his last convocation speech is apt to create the impression that our new Rector would have the ambitions and aspirations of our University men soar no higher.

It is a complaint too frequently dinned in our ears by critics, both friendly and unfriendly that our average matriculate does not possess sufficient knowledge of English to properly follow the lectures given and text-books taught in his collegiate course of study. Assuming this charge against our boys to be well-founded on facts, the question arises—who or what is responsible for this deplorable state of things? Are the generality of our boys naturally deficient in brain-power or the faculty of learning languages, or, is there any grave defect in the system of their teaching itself and the test of proficiency required of them that accounts for this deplorable result? I suppose there can be found not one even among our European educationists who would go the length of marking the whole class of Indian pupils with the brand of intellectual inferiority. Such a sweeping condemnation of a whole race, if it to be seriously hurled forth, will not stand a moment's scrutiny by the light of history and actuality. It seems to me evident that this recent depreciation in the value of our matriculates, and therefore of our common run of University products, is due, among other allied causes, to the depreciation or rather the practical expunction of literature as an instrument of teaching English in the Secondary (High school) stage of education. Though a large variety of books are recommended as models of English style to be copied by the young pupils about to enter the portals of the University, they are not required to study any of these books with anything like an approach to thoroughness. At the examinations however they are asked to explain or give 'the substance of 'unseen'

English passages, as if they were born masters of the English style and vocabulary. The net result of this unnatural system is that either the boys of our schools are taught none of the books recommended, or some of these are hurried through, as the whim of the teacher guides him, in a manner that not only are the pupils not a whit better for their study of those books but they become confirmed strangers to the habit of deep study so essential to the 'blessed companionship of wise thoughts and right feelings' spoken of by Lord Morley. Is it, therefore, at all to be wondered at that the boys simply scrape together and use words without knowing their appropriateness and significance and lack in the habit of clear and connected thinking, and consequently fail to fully grasp and assimilate others' thoughts in the advanced stage of their educational career?

Then in the name of imparting our boys the knowledge of things, as distinguished from knowledge of vague words, the Direct Method of teaching the foreign language has been introduced in the bottom classes of Government schools, altogether banishing the Vernacular as a medium of instruction from the class rooms. This method of teaching a foreign tongue to the Bengali children seems to the uninitiated like me as no less perverse than that of nurturing infants which deprives them of their mothers' suck and puts them upon tinned and solid food instead. No wonder therefore if the products be lean and lank growths of dwarfish stature, devoid of all rotundity and ruddy glow of healthful flesh and blood.

I however find myself completely at one with Lord Ronaldshay when his Lordship characterises the exclusion of Indian Philosophy from the curriculum of our university up to the B. A. Course as a profound anomaly. But the writer of a very learned contribution to the last April number of the *Modern Review* holds just the contrary view, the trend of his opinions being that the study of Indian philosophy during the under-graduate stage of education by Indian boys will be fraught with gravest evils, in that such a study is apt to perpetuate the Indians' proneness to a monkish other-worldliness, their fatalistic bent of mind and absolute subordination of Reason to the tyranny of Shastric and Social authority, and thereby incapacitate them for the modern citizenship and service of Humanity as God-in-man. To my mind these apprehensions are the outcome of misapprehension of the true character and consequence of philosophic teachings, as well as of some confusion of ideas as to the real causes that have led to our present intellectual servitude. For, if human reason play a dominant part in any department of human activities, it is in the domain of philosophy. And for breadth, range and variety of thoughts embracing in its sweep the rankest Materialism of Charbak on the one side and the absolute Idealism of Sankara on the other, no other single country's intellectual output, ancient or modern, can compare with that of India. What other systems have driven logical reasoning to its last, necessary conclusions, unhampered by dogmas and theological pre-occupation as Adwaita-Vedanta of India? If the Indian philosophy has 'come to a dead halt' and 'the student of that philosophy has become barren', as the learned writer of the aforesaid article in the *Modern Review* tells us, this is so, not because that philosophy has a natural tendency to stifle originality of thought or reason, or is devoid of elements that inspire mental activities, but because it is not properly taught and studied at all. The fact of the matter is that there is nothing like the *student of Indian philosophy*, in any

sense of the expression, among our undergraduate or post-graduate students. As to the daily dwindling number of pupils of our moribund indigenous seminaries called *Tols*, for lack of incentive and encouragement as well as of opportunity, the range of their study scarcely travels beyond Grammar and *Shmruti* and at best the *Nyaya* system.

The instances of superstitious belief and readiness to blindly bow down to traditions and unreasoning social practices and prejudices even among some of our educated folk cited from experience by the writer above mentioned seem to me due, first, to a re-action born of a purely secular system of education of a people upon whose inner nature the spiritual instinct has been indelibly imprinted by their long historical experience and evolution, and secondly, to the divorce of the current traditional religious faith from the light of philosophic lore. Roughly speaking, the barrenness of Indian Mind and the process of putrefaction of the current Hindu faith are coeval historic events, both owing their origin to the political servitude of Hindu India that followed Mahamedan conquest, though other disintegrating causes had already been at work to pave the way for that servitude.

But the great spiritual movement of Sree Chaitanya, the literary renaissance and the propounding of the *Navya Nyaya* system that accompanied and followed the advent of the Prophet of Nuddia, and lastly, the new interpretation of Hindu philosophy and religious literature in the light of Modern thought given by the great religious teacher of our day, the Swami Vivekananda who can fitly be called the Sankaracharya of our times,—all these indicate that our age-long political servitude has not completely uprooted the germ of originality and the native instinct of spirituality of the Hindu mind, but that these still lurk in the hidden depths of that mind, awaiting fresh opportunity to sprout forth into a vigorous growth. I cannot omit mentioning that the philosophical and religious writings of Sir Rabindranath also point to the same hopeful conclusion.

We are next told by the same writer that the Western philosophy is more virile and practical than the Indian. In all seriousness may I ask—Is there a more virile and truly practical teaching in any philosophic or religious system than that which proclaims the identity of human personality with the Divine and insists upon our cultivating, by certain prescribed practical training, the sense of unity of our individual souls with those of the entire universe? And is the moral sense that flows from such an all-comprehensive philosophic culture of the intellect and the heart inferior to the superimposed moral precepts of the Christian cult and theology?

I am fully alive to the need, in our present economic helplessness, of more and more widespread cultivation of the Western sciences. But the way in which those modern sciences are pursued and their achievements utilized in the West ought to serve as an eye-opener to us, and put us on our guard against abandoning study of philosophy in favour of a reckless pursuit of the material science, as it is being pursued in the West, without reference to its

* If there be any who entertain doubt as to the almost superhuman virility and high practicality of the Vidantic teachings, I would invite his attention in particular to Swami Vivekananda's four lectures on 'Practical Vedanta' in his '*Jnana Yoga*.'

relations with man and his highest well-being. Wordsworth exclaimed 'what man has made of man!' In the same vein one may ask—what science has made of man or man of science? "The motive of science was," says Emerson, "extension of man on all sides into nature till his hands should touch the stars, his eyes see through the earth, his ears understand the language of beast and bird and the sense of the wind, and, through his sympathy, heaven and earth should talk with him. But that is not our science. All our science lacks a human side ** puts humanity to the door ** wants the connection which is the test of genius ** science in England, in America is jealous of theory, hates the name of love and moral purpose. ** In the absence of the highest aims, of pure love of knowledge, and the surrender to nature, there is the suppression of the imagination, the priapism of the senses and the understanding; we have the factitious instead of the natural, tasteless expense, arts of comfort and the rewarding as an illustrious inventor whoever will contrive one impediment more to interpose between man and his objects."

The same author points out the revenge of this inhumanity of science as follows:—"Man is a shrewd inventor and is ever taking the hint of a new machine from his own structure, adapting some secret of his own anatomy in iron, wood and leather, to required function in the work of the world. But it is found that the machine unmans the user. What he gains in making cloth he loses in general power.—** The robust rural Saxon degenerates in the mills to the Leicester stockinger, to the imbecile Manchester spinner,—far on the way to be spiders and needles. ** The Machinery has proved, like the balloon, unmanageable, and flies away with the aeronaut. The Machinist has wrought and watched, engineers and firemen without number have been sacrificed in learning to tame and guide the monster." †

† One scarcely requires to be told that the world-

Now, to avoid aggravation of such disastrous consequences to humanity and minimise the existing evils, it has already become incumbent upon the modern civilized man to clog betimes the reckless, ruinous career of this monster that science has come to be, by linking him in lawful wedlock to the fair-featured Damsel of Philosophy. 'The balanced soul' of Plato, as Emerson tells us, who had the excellences of Asia and Europe in his brain, viz., the unity of the former and the detail of the latter, worked out such a needed Synthesis once, about 2500 years ago,—and the world is awaiting with bated breath the advent once more of such another or a greater Synthesiser.

A beginning has already been made by our Philosopher-Scientist, Sir Jagadishchandra Basu who has laid the foundation for the New School of humanising science by broadbasing it upon the solid rock of the unifying Idealism of Asia. And who knows but that another giant Soul may not arise out of that sacred soil of this ancient land to evolve and propound a New Philosophy of life, based upon a broader interpretation of the ever-increasing facts that the progress of science is everyday bringing to light, such as is yet beyond the highest reach of your Bergsons and Berkleys? The life's work and writings of Rammohan Ray, Vivekananda and Rabindranath, have cleared the way to a great extent. But a far more general diffusion of the hidden riches of Indian philosophy, not through the narrow street-pipes of Anglicised Catechisms like those of Max Muller, Paul Deussen, or Thibaut, but through deep diving into the perennial Spring itself, is the *sine qua non* for the dawning of that day of consummation.

AN OLD ALUMNUS.

wide orgies of the politico-military cannibalism of Germany have furnished the latest proof of the inhumanity of modern sciences, and of the inevitable revenge that follows it and seems to threaten all humanity with a speedy doom.

INDIAN MEDICINAL PLANTS *

THIS very valuable work is neatly printed on thick art paper. The illustrations are clear and lithographed on good paper. The portfolios are beautiful.

There are altogether 1381 Indian medicinal plants dealt with in this work. We have first the botanical name of the plant, and then, where these are known, the Sanskrit and vernacular names. Then its habitat is given. This is followed by a

scientific description of the leaves, flowers, fruits, etc. The parts used for medicinal purposes are then indicated. Last come the medicinal properties ascribed to them, and their uses.

In a learned introduction the Editor, Major B. D. Basu, dwells, among other things, on the knowledge of medicinal plants which the ancient Hindu possessed at different periods of their history. From the introduction it will also be clear that a work like the present one was a desideratum and it will be of great use to students of economic botany, medical men, manufacturers of medicine, agricultural and forest officers and all who are interested in the development of the economic resources of India.

As the Editor says, the importance of studying the subject of Indian medicinal plants has been again and again insisted on by many writers, and it is too late in the day to discuss the necessity of such a study. "The ease and cheapness with which

* "Indian Medicinal Plants"—By Lieutenant-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar, F.L.S., I.M.S. (Retired); Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired); and an I. C. S. (Retired). Published by Sudhindranath Basu, M.B. Panini Office, Bhubaneswari Asrama, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. 1918. Cloth, gilt-lettered. Letter-press in two parts. Pp. lxii+1419+ii. Four Portfolios containing 1033 Plates of illustrations. Price Rs. 250.

these are procurable, the marvellous powers that are attributed to them in the cure of different maladies by natives of India, should induce us to investigate their properties and settle once for all their claims on our attention." The indigenous drugs have not so far been carefully and systematically studied, although there are many works on the medicinal plants and drugs of different provinces of India. The present work will be a great help to such further study of medicinal plants as must be undertaken in the interests of science and humanity.

At present there is no pharmaceutical society or school of pharmacy in this country to carefully study and investigate the subjects of indigenous drugs. "The establishment of such an institution is highly desirable; so also farms of medicinal plants." In the May number of this Review, we have referred to what is being done at present in France and Holland to encourage the starting and maintenance of medicinal plant gardens and what a profitable trade there is in France in these plants. "Regarding the growing of medicinal plants, Mr. F. A. Miller writes in the journal 'American Pharmaceutical Association' III, pp. 34-38" that the time has arrived to reduce the work of drug cultivation to an exact science and to determine the commercial possibilities of the most promising forms, in the same manner as has been done in agricultural and other economic farms."

During the present war, many drugs and medicines hitherto imported from the West, have either become very costly or quite unobtainable. Mr. R. P. Craford, writing in *Scientific American Supplement* for September 8, 1917, on "reducing drug plant cultivation to a science," says, "that drug plant cultivation is far from easy and the institution that works out these problems in connection with several score different plants has a difficult task ahead, but one which may pave the way toward American independence in drug science." The Editor of the present work says in the same spirit that "scientific cultivation of drug plants in this country will make India independent in drug science." Lieut. Col. Sir Leonard Rogers is reported to have said before the Indian Industry Commission that "most of the drugs imported into India were absolute refuse, and considering that one-half of the drugs in the British pharmacopoeia are indigenous to India and that most of the rest could be cultivated, there is clearly an opportunity of developing an industry that has been almost neglected, and if India is to grow its own drugs it must take care that it gets them unadulterated." A Hakim wrote sometime ago to the *Bombay Chronicle* condemning the trade in indigenous drugs as based on ignorance and fraud. He said "Those who have the trade in their hands at present are inadequately qualified for the task. They do not know whence the drugs are brought, where they are cultivated, and whether the individual drug is the same as it is alleged to be. They do not know the age of the drugs they use, and whether they still retain any of the medicinal properties: how they should be preserved and taken care of, and so forth. The result of this ignorance is that throughout the country quite useless old medicines are consumed." This means that large numbers of patients die who would have recovered if good drugs were available. The establishment of medicinal farms in well selected

localities will exercise scientific control over the cultivation of and trade in medicinal plants. Regarding the advantages of conducting a farm of this nature Messrs. Burroughs Wellcome and Co., who have established such a one, write :-

"1. A drug may be treated or worked up immediately it has been collected.

"2. Herbs may be dried, if necessary, directly they are cut, before fermentation and deteriorative changes have set in.

"3. Freedom is ensured from caprice on the part of collectors, who, in gathering wild herbs, are very difficult to control in the matter of adulteration, both accidental and intentional.

"4. Opportunity is provided to select and cultivate that particular strain of a plant which has been found by chemical and physiological tests to be the most active, and which gives the most satisfactory preparations."

There are many other considerations which make it imperative that drug plants should be cultivated scientifically. The trade in indigenous drugs is by no means small and negligible. Dr. Kaikhosru K. Dadacharji, late of the Indian Medical Service, said in the address which he delivered at the monthly meeting of the Bombay Medical Union on the 31st January this year, that, "The Indian consumers of medicines depend mostly on herbs growing wild in the forests. This inland trade is very large, in the Punjab alone amounting to half a crore of rupees."

There are many plants mentioned by Hindu medical authors which are not procurable now; e.g., Kakoli, Kshira Kakoli, Medha, Maha-medha, Jivaka, Risabha, &c. Either the plants have become very rare or extinct, or there are no means of identifying them. The botanical descriptions and illustrations in the present work ought to prevent our losing sight in future of any medicinal plants that are in use at present. Those which have become rare in the wild state ought to be scientifically cultivated.

By chemical analysis and physiological experiments the alleged medicinal properties of plants in use should be put to the test. This will help in introducing new drugs into the pharmacopoeia and in weeding out the worthless from the good.

The state ought to encourage and, where necessary, initiate new industries. Medicinal Plant Gardening is such an industry. Laboratories for analysing drug plants should also be established by the state. The Imperial and Provincial Agricultural and Forest Departments of British India should make use of the information brought together in this monumental work. The Native States are still the refuge of many a precious heritage of our past. There is undoubtedly a great deal that is valuable in our ancient system of medical treatment. But if it is to have a fair chance and to survive and be useful, it must be made progressive and the drugs prescribed by the Vaidas and Hakims must be fresh, genuine and unadulterated. Hence all Native States should have medicinal plant gardens and pharmaceutical laboratories, and their Agricultural and Forest Departments should be provided with copies of this work. Now that it has been published, the educated section of the public should insist that all indigenous physicians of repute and all the leading pharmaceutical factories should be able to scientifically identify the plants they use.

INDIAN PERIODICALS.

National Education.

In the course of a telling article contributed to the *Servant of India*, R. P. Paranjpye tries to show that the scheme of National Education recently formulated is based on wrong principles and is impracticable in details. Mr. Paranjpye believes firmly that imparting education of every kind, is, in the main, the duty of Government, as the keeping up of the police and military forces is. No private body can adequately undertake it. Though we do not agree with all the views expressed in the article under review we have no hesitation in saying that there is a good deal of truth in the following observations of the writer which we commend to the careful consideration of all those who are interested in the spread of education in India.

The present system of education is said to have been invented for the single purpose of providing clerks for Government. Any good results that may have arisen out of it are said to have come in spite of the system. We are afraid that this is going too far. For a rational estimate we must take into account the good results as well as the evil, and every reasonable man will be constrained to say that the former vastly preponderate. Even this present feeling of nationality is the direct result of our present system of education. Did the Madrasi, the Bengali, the Maratha and the Sindhi even do lip service to the idea that they are all children of the same soil and their interests are mainly identical sixty years ago? The present system has its defects no doubt, and attempts should be made to improve it; but it would not be desirable to do away with it root and branch, even if it were possible.

National Education in England has always meant education of every child in the country and has generally been regarded as the duty of the Government. The late Mr. Gokhale's advocacy of free and compulsory primary education was in this sense directed to secure national education in India. Such a system of universal education cannot be achieved by any private agency, however energetic, though we have a vast respect for the energy of Mrs. Besant and her co-workers. It has got to be done through the agency of Government and Government alone. Private agencies can at the best be only supplementary to Government, stepping in to make new experiments, to fill in occasional gaps and to make Government realise its duties.

Perhaps National Education may denote that the educating agency should be Indian. Our object in asking for a predominantly Indian element is that it is only Indians who can be naturally expected to be

the proper teachers of Indians, that they will be cheaper, that they alone can thoroughly understand the social system of India, and that any preference shown to Europeans in the matter of education leaves in the minds of Indians feelings which are altogether alien to true educational ideals.

There is a third point on which this campaign insists and that is that the medium of education should be the vernaculars of India. The promoters of this campaign attribute all sorts of evils, real or imaginary, which India is suffering from, to the present system of higher education through English. Curiously enough, on this subject extremes meet. The enemies of Indian progress are found bemoaning the day when English education was introduced into India and would, if they could, set back the hands of the Indian educational clock and fight again the battle so decisively won for English by the strong advocacy of Macaulay. We ought to take care that our advocacy of the vernaculars from our point of view does not play us into the hands of the Sydenham school.

Another point on which the promoters of the campaign lay so much stress is the subject of religious education. Whatever the merits of religious education may be, it has nothing in common with anything "national." Religion in the accepted popular sense of the term has been mainly an anti-national force in India. There is nothing so efficacious in rousing the most potent anti-national feelings as the introduction of the religious element. Nothing would please our enemies better than to see this propaganda attain the utmost success. Is it wise to play into their hands?

It is agreed on all hands that it is the duty of Government to educate its people, and very few will be disinclined to agree with the further position that a Government should not abdicate its proper function of regulating the education of its people. This does not mean that the educational system of a country should be moulded in cast-iron moulds. But there must be a general policy underlying the educational system, leaving private agencies to make new experiments and supplement the gaps that must necessarily remain in the case of such a vast machine as Government. To say that we are going to have a private educational system would be as ridiculous as to say that because there are occasionally hard cases of mismanagement in the administration of the irrigation works in the country we should straightway do away with a Government system of irrigation and start a complete private system of irrigation works in the country. If we have faults to find with the Government system we should agitate to get these removed.

Nobody recognises more than this writer the defects in the present constitutions of our Indian Universities. The Present writer has taken his part in getting our Bombay University at least to express a decided opinion, adverse to the first proposed draft

of the Patna University Bill, and we have congratulated ourselves on the fact that that Bill was modified almost out of recognition in its final shape. We would like the constitutions of our Universities radically altered and shall do all we can to get it done, and the Bombay University has already made recommendations to this effect. This we regard as the proper statesmanlike way of setting about the solution of the University problem in India. If we merely sulk and have nothing to do with the existing organisations, instead of improving them we shall only harm ourselves.

The question as to the class of students whom the National University will attract is another very difficult matter. At present our Universities are the only avenues to the various professions, Government services, etc. The average student who would join the National University will have to give up all idea of joining any of these professions or entering Government service. He must have either sufficient private means to live without a profession—and of this class there are very few in India—or he must join some business line or enter some industrial workshop. The history of the various National Education institutions in Bengal or the Samarth Vidyalaya at Talegaon will show that they languish for want of students and that the few that join them repent of their step. These last are poor, enthusiastic boys—though their enthusiasm is misled—while the children of the leaders themselves were never sent to these schools. The only real directions in which the leaders of the National Education movement can move with profit are technological institutes, perhaps commerce colleges and schools, possibly a medical school or college and, we must add, theological seminaries. If they start arts colleges, not many students will join them unless they are guaranteed some careers after they complete their course. Even private firms, with their managers bred up under the old system, will probably prefer a man with a certificate of known value than make experiments with another with problematical attainments.

Democracy.

Writing in the *Young Men of India* for June, P. N. F. Young admits that of all forms of Government prevalent at present democracy is the best, but perhaps it is an impossible ideal, says he. We read :

The French Revolution began the history of modern democracy. More than anything else it was instrumental in changing the meaning of the word *demos*, "the people." From being a name of contempt it became a word of honour. Hence, to-day, "democracy" is considered an honourable and not a corrupted form of government ; and perhaps the most accepted definition is "Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

The United States of America is probably the most democratic country in the world. Here, putting aside unessentials, the important facts are, first, that those who make the laws, and those who are chiefly responsible for their execution are all *electell*. This is true in local, state, and federal governments. And

second, that those who elect are substantially the whole male adult population. Neither birth nor wealth gives any man advantage over another as far as a voice in the government of the country is concerned. All men are equal. The principle of election has been carried so far in some of the component States that, as in Athens, the judges themselves are elected. Thus, the President of the United States is elected by the whole people, and, though he appoints his own executive assistants, his appointments must be approved by the Senate, which is itself elected by the elected Legislatures of the States of the Union. And the Governors of these States, as well as the Legislatures, are also elected. Further, though this may not be an essential of democracy, almost all officials change at every election, and there is, therefore, no permanent civil service as in the older constitutions of Europe, or as in this country.

It will be clear that the belief behind this kind of government is that government is not a matter of trained skill and exceptional talent, but that the ordinary man can be trusted. In the great controversy as to whether or not "the masses" are to be trusted to do what is right and do it well, the American people decided that they are to be trusted.

Nevertheless, the truth of the matter is that in all human society, whatever the *theory* may be, power actually tends to be wielded by the few who are sufficiently vigorous and interested in public affairs to make use of the prevailing indolence and deference of the many. And this has taken place even in the United States whose citizens are pre eminently free, vigorous, and enlightened.

This is not to condemn democracy. Tocqueville saw in the United States Government an unrivalled measure of freedom and a great and valuable stimulus to the faculties of the citizen. Such benefits, essentially democratic benefits, were possible because there was a basis of social equality, local self-government, and widely diffused education. And, no doubt, these benefits are best achieved under the democratic form. The gravest disadvantages attendant on this form of government, as so far observed in history, are wide-spread corruption and mismanagement, the excessive power of party organizations, and the government used not for the common welfare but for party gain.

The following observations on

Why Men Fail

occur in an article contributed to that excellent monthly *The Mysore Economic Journal* by James M. Glover.

To explain the problem of why men fail is almost as impossible as to point out the reason why other men succeed.

"Failure" is arbitrary and comparative word. Failure is a mere matter of opinion.

A world full of "enormous successes," or their enormous successors, would be hardly tolerable.

I have not the slightest doubt that in some future (improved) world when everybody, nearly, has learned exactly how not to fail, there will be a peculiarly jolly life for the one "failure."

There is no royal road to failure, some achieve failure, some have it thrust upon them.

It must always be remembered that failure is not necessarily labelled, it wants discovering much in the same way as success. It may very well be that failure in a certain direction is merely meant to drive a man out of a wrong groove into one more fitted to his capabilities.

In very many cases "failure" is merely an explanation of being before one's time.

It is obvious that the reason why men fail is because they have omitted to think of the obvious. While wearisome sages are thinking on the question of perpetual motion, somebody else invents the "perforating machine," whereby you can tear stamps, cheques, receipts, etc., apart, and by this simple device earns an ample reward. I forget the name of this gentleman, but I know, he "did better than," shall we say, Archimedes.

Failure cannot be judged until the flight of time has proved the event.

In a general summary failure in most walks of life is due primarily to an absence of preconceived determination in one sense, and an absence of pluck in another.

Half the great successes in commercial life are achieved by men who use no greater note-book than a half sheet of note-paper on which they note down their daily routine. They make up their mind to carry out a certain day's work, or week's work, or year's work, and so know where they are all the time. Apply it how you may, the principle is the same. The routine must be applied to your daily work, your daily food, your daily finance.

The National Evolution of Poetry.

The series of erudite articles from the pen of Aurobindo Ghose dealing with the scope and form of the future poetry still continues in *Arya*. In the May number the subject discussed is the national evolution of poetry. Says the writer :

The work of the poet depends not only on himself and his age but on the mentality of the nation to which he belongs and the spiritual, intellectual, aesthetic tradition and environment which it creates for him. It is not to be understood by this that he is or need be entirely limited by this condition or that he is to consider himself as only a voice of the national mind or bound by the past national tradition and debarred from striking out a road of his own. In nations which are returning under difficulties to a strong self-consciousness, like the Irish or the Indians at the present moment, this nationalism may be a living idea and a powerful motive. And in others which have had a vivid collective life exercising a common and intimate influence on all its individuals or in those which have cherished an acute sense of a great national culture and tradition, the more stable elements of that tradition may exert a very conscious influence on the mind of the poets, at once helping and limiting the weaker spirits, but giving to genius an exceptional power for sustained beauty of form and a satisfying perfection. But this is no essential condition for the birth of great poetry. The poet, we

must always remember, creates out of himself and has the indefeasible right to follow freely the breath of the spirit within him, provided he satisfies in his work the law of poetic beauty. The external forms of his age and his nation only give him his starting point and some of his materials, and determine to some extent the room he finds for the free play of his poetic spirit.

In poetry, as in everything else that aims at perfection, there are always two elements, the eternal and the time element. The first is what really and always matters, it is that which must determine our definitive appreciation, our absolute verdict, or rather our essential response to poetry. A soul expressing the eternal spirit of Truth and Beauty through some of the infinite variations of beauty, with the word for its instrument, that is, after all, what the poet is, and it is to a similar soul in us seeking the same spirit and responding to it that he makes his appeal. It is when we can get this response at its purest and in its most direct and heightened awakening that our faculty of poetic appreciation becomes at once surest and most intense. It is, we may say, the impersonal enjoyer of creative beauty in us responding to the impersonal creator and interpreter of beauty in the poet ; for it is the impersonal spirit of Truth and Beauty that is seeking to express itself through his personality, and it is that which finds its own word and seems itself to create in his highest moments of inspiration.

There is also the personality of the poet and the personality of the hearer, the one giving the pitch and the form of the success arrived at, while the other determines the characteristic intellectual and aesthetic judgment to which its appeal arrives. The correspondence or the dissonance between the two decides the relation between the poet and his reader, and out of that arises what is personal in our appreciation and judgment of his poetry. In this personal or time element there is always much that is merely accidental and often rather limits and deflects our judgment than helps usefully to form it. But apart from this there is always something essential to our present personality which has a right to be heard. For we are all of us souls developing in a constant endeavour to get into unity with the spirit in life through its many forms of manifestation and on many different lines. And as there is in Indian Yoga a principle of *adhikara*, something in the immediate power of a man's nature that determines by its characteristics his right to this or that way of Yoga, or union, which, whatever its merits or its limitations, is his right way because it is most helpful to him personally, so in all our activities of life and mind there is this principle of *adhikara*. That which we can appreciate in poetry and still more the way in which we appreciate it, is that in it and us which is most helpful to us and therefore, for the time being at least, right for us in our attempt to get into union with the universal or the transcendent beauty through the revealing ideas and motives and revealing forms of poetic creation.

This is the individual aspect of the personal or time element. But there is also a larger movement to which we belong, both ourselves and the poet and his poetry. And this general movement we see working itself out in different forms and on different lines through the souls of the nations and peoples who

have arrived at a strong self-expression by the things of the mind, art and thought and poetry. These things do not indeed form the whole of the movement even as they do not make up the whole of the life of the people; they rather represent its highest points,—or the highest with the exception of the spiritual. In the few nations that have powerfully developed the spiritual force within—and in them we best see the inner character and aim of that line of the movement.

Very often a nation in its self-expression is both helped and limited by what has been left behind from

the evolution of a past self which, being dead, yet liveth.

The soul of the poet may be like a star and dwell apart; even, his work may seem not merely a variation from but a revolt against the limitations of the national mind. But still the roots of his personality are there in spirit and even his variation and revolt are an attempt to bring out something that is latent and suppressed or at least something which is trying to surge up from the secret all-soul into the soul-form of the nation.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and the West.

In the course of a very able, sober and appreciative article contributed to the *Hindusthane Student* Walter Eugene Clark sets forth the achievements of the Hindus in various branches of learning, and analyses, with no small amount of success, the points of difference between the Hindu and the Western outlook on life and method of thinking. Says he:

The discovery of Sanskrit at the end of the eighteenth century meant the discovery of a new continent in our world-consciousness. The first important effect of the discovery was not the development of Comparative Religion but that of Comparative Philology. Sanskrit proved to be a language closely related to the Iranian, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavic, Celtic, and the other Aryan languages, and in many particulars preserved older linguistic forms than did any of the other Aryan languages. Further, from the scientific point of view the Sanskrit alphabet is a perfect one.

As early as 600 B.C. the Hindus had made a careful study of the way in which sounds are formed by the vocal organs, and had described the process so well that only within the last generation have we surpassed the Hindu study of phonetics. Only within the last century have we surpassed the analytic study of grammar as depicted in the grammatical masterpiece of Panini (ca. 400 B.C.).

The Hindu failed later in maintaining his positive sciences and in applying them to worldly objects not from any lack of ability, but because his acute mind turned to other things and lost interest in the progressive conquest of Nature. The sciences became scholastic. More effort was spent on dialectic, on the composition of commentaries, super-commentaries, and super-super-commentaries than in further original production.

India at an early date devoted much attention to mathematics, and in particular developed algebra and geometry to a remarkable degree. The very figures we used to express our numbers were invented by the

Hindus. They were borrowed by the Arabs, and by them were taken to Europe as the Arabic numerals.

One of the Indian philosophical systems aims to systematize the processes of reasoning. Quite independently it worked out a syllogism of formal logic very similar to the Aristotelian syllogism on which our own logic is based.

Chess, the most intellectual of all games, is of Indian origin. It was taken to Persia in the sixth century A.D., and brought from there to Europe by the Arabs.

Medicine, rhetoric and poetics, government (as described in the recently discovered Kautiliya Arthashastra), all show the same keenly analytical faculty.

In India the dominant note is an inward, deeply religious one. India has never centered its thought on man and subordinated the universe to him. The mysterious powers of Nature, which are all on a grander scale and more overwhelming in India than in the West, are in the centre of thought. There is always in India a large cosmic outlook on life, a constant tendency to universalize, a subordination of practical values. The West emphasizes the reality and the importance of the material world, and has a keen historical sense. In India the tendency is to minimize the importance of the material world, to withdraw from it and its little struggles toward a universal which lies beyond. History plays a very small part in Sanskrit literature.

Life in India centres in thought and emotion, not in deed and act. Carlyle has well summed up the Western point of view in the sentence, "The end of human activity is a deed not a thought, though that thought be the noblest." We seek contentment through the attainment of our desires through possession. To the best Hindu thought this has always seemed fallacious, for desire succeeds desire in never ending succession. There is always something more, the attainment of which is sure to make us happy. Eastern ethics seeks contentment through the limitation of desire. To be sure the Eastern ideal has often been carried to an absurd extreme of asceticism; but have we not often carried our Western ideal to just as absurd an extreme of thoughtless activity and restless motion. Thought and feeling are deeper as

externals are simpler. Could we not desire in the West a little Indian simplicity and quietness in the place of ostentation and turmoil.

To the Hindu all Nature is alive and animate, man is only an integral part of it; but beyond both are powers of ruthlessness and of inexhaustible fertility which human labor cannot control. Magic alone, like mediæval alchemy, can put man in touch with the greater force of Nature by superhuman means or by asceticism. Over the world, beautiful as it may be, impends an uncontrollable, powerful something, like the Nemesis of Greek tragedy. In Indian art and literature you will find not so much an expression of mystery of all-embracing energy. The beauty is there, felt keenly and enjoyed keenly; but the beauty endures only a moment, and then—It is the then rather than the now that troubles. The West is preoccupied with the now. The Hindu is like a man in an enchanted garden where things take place that he does not quite understand. He enjoys keenly; but soon a sense of unreality, of mystery, settles down upon him, his mirth and pleasure turn to bewilderment and uneasiness. In India it is the commonest thing in the world for a king or rich man to find that worldly pleasures pall, to withdraw as a hermit into the forest to meditate.

Sanskrit has a literature greater in extent than that of Greece and Rome together; and many of the works are worthy of comparison with the works of any other literature in the world. In putting a valuation upon any literary work we must look for three things. 1. The power of keen observation and feeling. 2. Keeness of thought in linking together these sense impressions into ideas. 3. The ability to communicate these feelings, thoughts, and ideas in artistic words and phrases. The third of these criteria reveals at once the great strength and the source of weakness of Indian literature. Nowhere in the world has there been developed a keener sense of the artistic use of words, of virtuosity in the use of language; but in the later works this verbal technique became an end in itself, and tended to stifle observation, feeling, and thought.

In India religion is a much more inclusive term than it is in the West. It includes many things which to us are purely social. Religion is the keynote of the whole social structure. It enters into every act of daily life. There is no troublesome gap between sacred and profane. Hinduism can be defined only as the sum total of the acts and beliefs of two hundred and seventeen million of the three hundred and fifteen million people of India. It is not a religious organization, for it is as much social as it is religious. If any organization is to be found it must be sought on the social, not on the religious side. Hinduism is a complete reflection of the entire life of the whole people called Hindus.

In India, even among the masses, there is a pervading sense of mystery, of other-worldness, of wonderment. The great difference between India and the West is that this mystical experience has tried to socialize itself in the West, while in India it has tended to withdraw from society, has become an end in itself.

In the West the general tendency is to make faith harmonize with the world of matter. In India the world of matter is made to harmonize with faith.

Unfortunately truth in India has remained too much in the intellect, and has found too little place in actual practice. The best minds have withdrawn themselves from the common life and have lived an ideal life apart. Too rigid a line has been drawn between the enlightened and the unenlightened. In so many departments of Indian thought things have become stereotyped, have become mere forms, formulae, and symbols from which any living meaning has been lost. India became a slave not to things, to materialism, but to forms and ceremonies. In this respect India has been largely mediæval.

I have no patience with those who blindly speak of the complete superiority of the East, as do a few Hindus whose pride has justly been aroused by the unjust criticism of things Indian, or with those who just as blindly proclaim the complete superiority of the West. What we need is not blind enthusiasm and partisan spirit but understanding and judgment and persistent work; not eloquent talks and long discussion of ideals. Abstract ideals alone are a weak foundation on which to build up a moral and a liveable world; but mere action without ideals is no better. If nationalism is destined to make way for internationalism, the East must play a considerable part in the new world regime.

The Beneficent Comparison.

The *Spectator* has an interesting article which essays to interpret the psychology of man which enables him to find consolation in his misery if he finds another more miserable. We read:

It is a common cause of thankfulness that there are people worse off than ourselves. In theory the point of view is an odious one, but in practice how could we get on without the help of the beneficent comparison? The inevitable conditions of life are rendered more acceptable by it. It is wretched to be getting older at such a pace and so unceasingly. Now and then we are all greatly depressed by the thought, and probably we all find a certain relief in thinking of some particular friend who is older still. We wish him no harm. If there were any chance of his finding the secret of youth, we should not stand in his way. All the same, if he found it, one of the thoughts which console us in our advance towards decay would be gone. We do not want him to get old; we only want him to prove to us that we are still young. We compare ourselves with him and take comfort. Very much the same thing is true of health. Very much the same thing is true where poverty is concerned—so long only as it does not go too far. It is of no use to a man who has lost half his income to reflect that all things are a matter of comparison. But if his next door neighbour has lost three-quarters of his income, he does, without the least ill nature, feel a little better able to bear up. Pity for his neighbour would overcome the thought of himself. As it is, if he is a decent man, he does not feel the slightest pleasure in another man's misfortune, but the sight of it instantly reduces the volume of his self-pity.

There is a form of conscious stupidity from which the sight of worse stupidity removes the sting. The

fact that he has "said the wrong thing," hurt someone's feelings, showed himself in a ridiculous or a contemptible light, will weigh upon a man (and still more upon a woman) for days. There is no denying that to see another person whom he realizes to be quite as clever, dignified or good-hearted as himself do the same thing will cause him to forget his own vexation. It is mere superficial cynicism to say that he takes pleasure in the social smart his friend is swearing about. He is more sorry for him than he could be if he had not just been through the same discomfort himself. At the same time his self-concentration is dissipated, and he goes home in better spirits and can laugh at both mishaps.

A few very good people can rejoice in a friend's success and work for it who at the same time feel personally discouraged by it when it is attained. This sort of discouragement, even though they themselves may call it envy, is often connected with a root of humility in their hearts. They are not in the least inclined to detract from the other man's talent, but the fact that it is forced upon their notice increases the poor opinion that they have of their own. What we have called the beneficent comparison, however, has, we think, few practical ill-effects. But, it may be said, surely a true independence should free us all both from envy and from all sense of relief in the contemplation of ill-luck and shortcomings of others. The argument is unanswerable. We can only plead against it that such independence will never be common till we get rid of a fear which is as natural to man as the fear of death itself, and that is the fear of isolation. Both dreads are part and parcel of human nature, and can never be eradicated.

Romanticism and Pragmatism.

The successful Occidental races of the nineteenth century used to characterize the life and thought of the Hindu thus: "The people of India are devoid of energy, indolent, and full of melodramatic enthusiasm." They have no practical common sense and are addicted to other-worldly sentiments. They are indifferent to the actualities of real life, and are governed by the pessimistic philosophy of despair."

Benoy Kumar Sarkar successfully refutes this idea in the course of an article contributed to the *Hindustanee Student*. Says he:

The evidence of India's achievements in secular endeavour had been furnished by the Portuguese, French, Italian, and English tourists and traders who came to India during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. They whole-heartedly admired the municipal arrangements, the general health and economic prosperity of the people in town and country, as also the vast river-traffic and the excellent roads and canals. The city of Moorshidabad was brighter and more sanitary than the London of those days according to Clive. Baltazar Solvyns, the French observer, wrote even so late as 1811

that the Indian sea-going vessels were more durable and elegant than those of the English and French.

It was these very Hindus who, on the other hand, wrote and annotated the "Upanishads," "Geeta," "Vedanta," the Bhakti (devotion)-shastras, Yoga (meditation) philosophy, etc. It was these very Hindus, masters of the material arts, who proclaimed the inferiority of a mere life in the flesh and of an existence contented with the here and the now.

The historical truth, therefore, is that the Hindus cast their eyes equally on both wings of human life,—they approached the problem of the universe with the same sympathy from both angles of vision. Hindu culture was as much the embodiment of the most intimate experience of the concrete, positive life, as the expression also of a thorough hair-splitting analysis of the Beyond or the transcendental realities. It was in short a synthesis of the world's eternal polarities.

During the nineteenth century, however, the people of India were divorced perforce from the vitalizing interests and responsibilities in every field of work.

The Hindus of this period, entirely misunderstood the spirit of the Upanishads, Geeta, Vedanta and other philosophical bequests of their forefathers. The Hindus, emasculated and demoralized as they had to be by pressure of circumstances, popularized a false doctrine of "maya" or "world as illusion" without understanding the sense or context of the original propounders. They thus helped to transform the country into an asylum of incapables, a land of vegetating animalcules, or of mere stocks and stones. The wonder is that this absence of vertebral vigour was even regarded by them as a point of glory.

Thus situated, the people of India became to the Eur-American observers the standing example of slothful passivity, pessimistic indifferentism, and submissionistic tendencies. Arguing the past from the degenerate present, the scholars of Europe and America began to interpret the whole previous history and literature of the Hindus as a record of inertia, inactivity, subjectivism, other-worldliness, etc. This misinterpretation has been perpetuated for the world in the writings, however meritorious on other grounds, of Max Muller and the indologists who have followed in his wake. The mesmerized Hindus understood that probably the West was thus eulogizing the East. The scholars of India followed suit, and interpreted the achievements of their ancestors exclusively as marvellous exploits in pacifism, "ahimsa," i.e., non-killing and non-resistance, spirituality, and self-realization.

Fortunately, new conditions have of late exercised this hypnotism and nightmare of mental thralldom. The young India of the twentieth century does not pride in the imbecility forced into the intellectual consciousness of the last three generations by adverse circumstances.

The Young India of today is like its illustrious predecessors of mediæval and ancient times, at once idealistic and practical. We are "romanticists" in so far as we have been cultivating our veneration for the past glory, proclaiming the visions of a mighty future, and instituting the Nature-cult of freedom and simplicity. *Pari passu*, we have been making the present, the here and the now, more lovely in a thousand and one ways. We have addressed ourselves to the pressing problems of every day public life. Rural construction, elevation of the laboring classes, social service for the welfare

of the masses, and spread of man-making education are some of the principal planks in Young India's nationalist propaganda.

The energists of Young India have been organizing the centres of creative work here and there and everywhere throughout the land. These institutions are the ganglionic cells of positivism which pervade the entire body politic. Various movements have been thus set on foot to cope with the current concerns of life.

Besides, instances of ancient Hindu achievements in secular civilization, of India's contributions to the "exact" sciences, of Hindu successes in industry, politics and warfare are being unearthed by archaeologists. During the nineteenth century the people of India used to read in their history only the record of spiritual advance. The Young Life of the twentieth century finds in the same history the tradition of statesmanship, bushido, humanism, materialism. The whole trend of national evolution is being presented in an altogether novel light. Hindu culture is being scientifically rescued from the incubus of misrepresentation and misinterpretation.

The mentality and philosophical tendencies of this Young India are akin to what is being called "pragmatism" in the Western world. The methodology and message of the pragmatists would thus suit the life and disposition of our countrymen. It is accordingly to pragmatic ideals that Young India has been moulding its future.

Young India's attitude is practical and creative. It is utilizing the world-forces and examining the results achieved. It does not believe in the leadership of one individual in industry, politics, literature, or art. It does not tolerate the authority of any one institution, or the monopoly of any one movement, or the despotism of any one propaganda. It does not think of national energy in the singular number, but in terms of many leaders, diverse ideals, multiple organizations, and varied consummations. The "logic" of this life in Young India would be found in the writings of William James, the American philosopher.

The Sway of Internationalism.

The *Hindusthane Student* publishes the following pregnant lines from the speech delivered to Hindu students in Chicago by Dr. Rowena M. Mann.

"The modern nation has incorporated family within its organization. But it has gone far beyond the blood tie in its various institutions and interests so that the state of today will be incorporated in an international organization. We today witness the inadequacy of the state as a final organization of the interests of man. For this state is an illogical position and out of harmony with the facts of the actual life of the people. For human experience passes beyond the frontiers of every nation. Life is international. Not only our great modern progress in art, philosophy, science, commerce, labor, morality, religion, are of international scope—none of these things being the exclusive possession of any one nation—but the purely human experiences—fatherhood, motherhood, grief, joy—tell us that we are made of one blood and that the spirit of man is one when held in the bond of peace....."

"The present war registers the failure of statesmen to think internationally. The obscurest life in the

prairies of America may well be dependent on a professor of medicine in Vienna. Our lives are far more an international possession than a national one. This situation needs to be acknowledged and recognized...."

"With what terrible intimacy politics stand to our personal life is shown by the sufferings and travail of the people of the world at present. With greatest respect and honor for the achievements of the intellect of man in history one appalling oversight among statesmen faces us. It is the truly staggering omission during the last forty years of the erection of the international organization to care for international problems. One fact with its tremendous significance has been overlooked in modern statesmanship. It is the fact of the growth of science and the particular achievement of communication. The significance of communication is the point here. The people of India and China are within the range of quick communication which will become easier, readier, cheaper with time. No exclusive hostile national boundaries can stand before this fact of the interchange of human thought. Culture will become more uniform, national boundaries will have less importance, the co-operation of nations will be found more fruitful than their tragically ridiculous hostilities....."

The etiology or otherwise of

Discontent

have been ably set forth by a writer in the *New Statesman*. We make a few extracts:

There has been too much praise of content. There has also been too much praise of discontent. Both of them have been treated as primary virtues. Content, it must be admitted, is nearer a virtue than the other, just as a good complexion is preferable to a bad one. The content that is preached by the rich man to the poor, however, or by the big Empire to the subject nation, is not a virtue at all, but a pretense. It is like a recommendation to paint the glow of health on one's face with a brush. There is no value in either content or discontent except in so far as they are symptoms of health or disease. To assume contentment when the circumstances do not warrant it, is like lying to oneself or to the doctor about an illness. There is no question that the people who do not pester us with their ailments are the most comfortable neighbours. We forgive them their play-acting because we would rather be lied to than perturbed. Still, if it is anyone in whose fate we are interested, we resent a rosy deception that may lead to fatal carelessness. For victims of the disease of poverty and ignorance, to remain willing victims of such a disease, would be to consent to become the agents in spreading an infection. Hence we are inclined to be grateful for the innumerable discontents and unrests and rebellions of history. They were the growing pains of the race. At the same time, we cannot agree with those in whose philosophy discontent is the supremely holy thing. There is undoubtedly a "divine unrest" which does make the spirit of man rise in rebellion against his surroundings. He finds the will of society or of the family or the church or the school seeking to impose a mechanical obedience on him. He finds himself asked to conform to

a pattern rather than to try to discover why he was born and to live accordingly. He is bid accept the experience of older and wiser men than himself as a substitute for experiences of his own. He may even be asked to feed his passion for experiences on some such empty abstinence as not breaking the Sabbath. We cannot find much fault with the instincts of a youth who feels that there is more in life than not breaking the Sabbath. His discontent is justified, because it is a revolt of the spirit against formalism.

Discontent is not a remedy, but a symptom. Popular unrest in itself is no more to be rejoiced in than a rash. It is also true that it is no more to be neglected than a rash. The ruling classes have throughout history done their best to ignore it, or, when they could not ignore it, to punish it. They have merely driven the disease in. The discontent of the poor is for the most part a protest against the conduct of those who have appropriated to themselves so large a share of the opportunities for happiness. It may be that the State cannot make a man happy. The State cannot raise the dead, nor can it endow a man with genius or beauty or humor. If he lacks these things, his quarrel is not political: it is with

destiny. There are other forms of happiness, however, which the State can insure to him. It can insure to him and his children opportunities of life, of education, of travel, of dwelling in a roomy house surrounded by a garden of flowers, of reading whether for wisdom or for entertainment, of eating well and speaking well, of seeing pictures other than the cinema, of hearing music other than the steam organ, of learning how many colours there are in a jay's plumage, of release from work for a month at a time, of swimming in the sea, of leading, in fine, the life of a gentleman, a poet and a scholar. It is folly to pretend that the discontent of the poor man who is at present shut out as by a doom from these delights either will or ought to come to an end until he has broken down the door that separates him from them. Contentment with the social order of our time would be a disgrace to rich and poor alike. Content is the ideal condition of society. The greatest social problem in the world—indeed, the whole social problem—is how to construct a State in which it will be possible for a decent man to be content both with his own lot and the lot of his neighbours.

THE FIRST LOTUS

THE golden light of the early dawn had just touched the earth, when two figures appeared on the bank of a lotus pond. One was a girl, the other a small boy, who was clasping the fingers of his sister tightly. His innocent face bore a strong resemblance to this beautiful and pure dawn.

Suddenly the child turned round and asked eagerly, "Sissy, how were these pretty flowers made?"

The sister smilingly answered, "Oh, that's a long story; I shall tell you at bed time."

The child had to be content, but all the day long he looked forward to that time. As soon as it was evening, the eldest sister was captured by her eager juniors and taken to the bedroom. She must tell them now how the beautiful white flower was made.

It was a large and bare room, the only furniture being a lamp-holder of brass. The bed was spread on the floor. The children drew the eldest sister to the middle of the bed, and gathered round her in a close circle. The small boy put his head in her lap and looking up at her face with his large eyes, said, "Now tell us

about the flower." The sister patted his curly locks and began thus:

Long long ago, a wee little girl was born in the midst of a huge dark forest. Her beautiful face shone like the morning star in the black darkness. It was a bleak winter's morning and the sun had not yet been able to penetrate the thick curtain of grey mist which hung round the forest. The withered leaves were fast dropping down from the trees and the keen north wind went about shrieking like an angry sprite among their bare skeletons. All the world was shivering. Everything beautiful and green had hidden itself underground as if in fear of the terrible winter.

The mother covered her infant with her skirt while the merciless winter wind blew over her own unprotected body and the mist clung to the wavy masses of her loose hair in large drops. The baby was quite warm and comfortable under the cover of her mother's sheltering skirt, but the mother's body grew gradually hard and rigid with cold. Her breathing grew difficult; still even when fighting for it, she constantly put back her skirt over her baby girl. But the cold became more and more intense and at last leaving her baby

alone in that dark, desolate forest, she departed for an unknown land, where perpetual spring reigned. She forgot her sufferings and perhaps also her joys.

The little girl understood nothing of her bereavement, she put one of her little fingers, which looked like a flower bud, in her mouth and went on smiling as before. Wild beasts came to devour the body of her mother but the look in the baby's eyes turned their ferocity into pity and they went away. A herd of deer, passing by that spot found the baby, whose eyes were just like their own. A hind had recently lost her fawn. She carried off the baby to her own home.

The winter passed off at last. The tender green leaves and the blades of fresh grass, who were hiding in fear, began to peep out and look about them to find out whether their dreaded enemy was still in sight. The wood nymphs received news from the blackbirds and cuckoos that the young god of spring was coming to pay them his annual visit. Throughout the winter these damsels had remained with their fair faces hidden under grey veils in anger against the old wan Winter. The glad news made them at once throw off these disfiguring covers and step out into the fresh green woodlands in all the finery of shimmering green dresses and ornaments made of bright gold. No sooner had their tender white feet touched the cracked dry earth than it became covered with a carpet grassy green, the winter fog was chased out of the world by the sunshine of their glorious smile and the forest filled with light and laughter. The sleeping birds woke up at the sound of their merry voices and carolled out a glad welcome to the advent of spring.

The little girl had now grown up into a beautiful maiden. In the days of long ago, people did not take so much time to grow up as they do now, they did it in quite a short time. At the time of her birth, deep darkness reigned everywhere, but the baby's face shone with light. So they called her Light. Her eyes were like those of her foster mother, the hind, and her fair skin glimmered like the pearl, which has just been released from its mother's womb. Nobody had taught her to put her hair up, so her curly locks always played about her beautiful face. She had grown up among the fawns and had learnt from them their quick frightened

ways. At the slightest noise she used to dart into a sheltering bush or behind some large tree. While playing about among the wealth of spring blossoms, she looked like a veritable young wood nymph.

So the days wore on. Light had now become a superbly beautiful maiden. She had no need now to entreat the wild wood birds to pluck her favourite flowers for her, she could do it herself even from large trees. She loved flowers dearly. She had no ornaments of gold or jewels, so she used to deck her fair slim body with blossoms and tender green leaves. But when she played about among the fawns, her green skirt streaming in the air, with a wreath of fragrant jasmines crowning her dark head and chains of flowers round her beautiful arms and ankles, you would have agreed that jewels were no match for flowers.

The rainy season now approached. The sky became overcast with masses of deep purple clouds and showers fell incessantly. All the rivers and lakes became full to their brims, and the forest trembled every now and then with the deep roars of the angry thunder god. But strange to say, the deer who got frightened at the slightest sound, did not evince the least alarm at the deep rolls of thunder. They came out in herds and frisked and played about in great joy. They were of different colours, some golden, some dark blue and some pied like the daisy. Some had great branching antlers and some were completely without them. The herd contained great stags, who were swift as arrows and had eyes like sparks of fire; on the other hand there were the small fawns, with large frightened eyes and their bodies covered with thick golden down. Light was great friends with them all and all loved her dearly. The spring torrents of the mountains had become greatly swollen with rain water, they tumbled down the rocks like streams of molten silver, all white with foam, filling the woodland with deep booming noises. Light could not cross them now, so the big stags came and carried her across on their backs. On the other hand when the greedy little fawns tried in vain to tear up the fresh green grass with their weak teeth, Light drew them into her arms and fed them with handfuls of fresh grass.

One night it rained and rained. The

day broke; still it was cloudy and dark and the rain went on pattering on the forest leaves. The deer had come out and Light was with them. She played about for a time, but after a while growing tired of the sport, sat down under a large tree and busied herself weaving a garland with flowers and green ferns. A fawn of her foster mother, named Kajla, laid itself down by her side and from time to time rubbed its head against her. There was a slight sound and Light looked up instantly. A beautiful lady was standing before her. Light had seen herself reflected in the lakes many a time, so she knew at once that this stranger bore a close resemblance to her. Up to this time she had lived with animals alone, so she felt very glad at the sight of a creature somewhat like herself and asked, "Who are you, please?" The lady smiled sweetly and answered, "You won't know me dear, even if I tell you, you have never seen me before. But I have come with the express purpose of paying you a visit."

Light asked eagerly, "Will you live with me?" "No," replied the lady, "you won't see me again with your eyes, but henceforth I will always remain near you."

Light's smile died out at once. If she was to go away so soon, why did she come at all? The lady looked at her disappointed face with a smile, then holding up two flowers in her two hands, she asked, "Dear, I am going to give you one, which one will you have?"

Light looked up. The beautiful lady had a large white flower in her right hand; its inside was rosy red like the heart of a conchshell. Its sweet perfume had attracted to it all the bees of the forest. The forest abounded with flowers but never had Light come across one so beautiful. The flower had a stalk, very long and green as the new leaves of spring.

The other flower, which the lady held in her left hand, was totally different. It was of a deep red colour, like fresh spilt blood, it made the eyes ache, if one looked at it for long. Its smell was sweet but over-powering and poignant. The flower glowed like a carbuncle in the midst of the dark forest, the pollen grains which its filaments were shedding glittered like sparks of fire. Light's eyes were riveted

on the red flower, she did not turn to the white one any more. The red flower had a stalk, thin and hard, which shone like burnished steel.

Light had not answered the lady, she was intently looking at the flower. The lady asked again, "Which one will you have, dear?" Light merely stretched out her hand and took up the red flower. The strange lady's countenance became sad all of a sudden, her eyes filled with tears as she said, "Light, I shall appear to you once again at the time when you will need me most." So saying she vanished at once among the dense mass of trees.

Light sat down with the flower in her hand. Its bitter sweet perfume frightened the fawn Kajla, who darted into a neighbouring thicket. Light did not notice it, she had eyes alone for her flower. Night came on, the deer returned to their woodland homes, but none approached Light, who still held the fire-coloured flower in her hand.

From that day forward, Light lived on alone, none of her old comrades came near her now. None could endure the flower. But Light had no time to grieve over this, the red flower had completely usurped her attention. It seemed to be growing deeper in hue every day, as its petals opened out more and more. It showed not the faintest signs of fading. She walked about the forest all day long, with the flower in her hand. Wherever she stood, the place became full of a lurid glow and the air became heavy with an overpowering smell.

The rainy season gradually came to a close. One morning suddenly the sunshine tore a hole through the dark blue curtain of cloud and flooded the forest with its radiance. All the trees and creepers seemed to laugh out in joy and raised their heads to drink in deep draughts of the blessed light. Light was walking along a narrow forest path, suddenly a piece of golden sunlight struck the flower in her hand, which began to glow and sparkle like a cup full of liquid fire.

Light felt great pleasure at this novel sight. She thought, "What a marvellous flower I have got. It was superb even in the dark, I don't know what it will look like in full daylight."

All of a sudden a sweet strain of music came floating in the air. What was that? Light stood still to listen, then as the strain seemed to come from somewhere in

front, she advanced in that direction. At last she arrived at the bank of a small river which owed its origin to a cataract, which came swirling down the mountain side.

Thick bushes of mountain fir had grown on both sides of the river. Against this dark green background a youth was seen sitting. He was singing aloud in a sweet voice. Light saw that he was more like herself than the animals of the forest. He was alike yet different. She could not find out where the difference came in but she liked him all the better for it. Whence had this beautiful creature come? He appeared to be of a similar age with Light. Where had this fair youth been hiding so long?

The deer of the forest were standing round him in a close circle, listening entranced to his melodious voice. Kajla was lying at his feet. For some unknown reason Light resented this, she wanted the youth to herself alone.

She went and stood near him. But his singing stopped the very instant he caught sight of her and he remained staring at her with wondering eyes. The red flower was then hidden under her mantle, but the deer ran off at its poignant smell.

Light smiled and asked the youth, "Who are you? How did you come here?"

"I have been travelling about for a long time, and have arrived here in course of my journey. I don't know who I am; nobody has ever told me that."

Light was a little amazed as she asked again, "Why do you always travel about?"

"Oh, I am in search of a most beautiful flower. I have not found it yet, so I am constantly wandering about."

"It must be my red flower, that he is seeking," thought Light, "there can be no flower more beautiful than that. But how handsome he is, shall I show him my flower?"

She took out the flower from under her mantle and holding it up, said with a smile, "Now have a good look. Is this the flower you are seeking? If you promise to sing to me every day I shall let you see and touch it."

The youth looked up, then suddenly covered his face with his hands and cried out, "No, no, it is not the one. I want.

Go away with your flower, I don't want to see it."

Light felt bewildered for a moment. Then she became angry. So her beautiful flower was not to the creature's taste! But somehow, she could not long remain angry with him, so she advanced a few steps more and said, "Now please, look carefully, it must be this one. Could any flower be more beautiful? See what a sweet smell it has got!"

But the youth's face became terrified, he moved away from her and cried out in an agonised voice, "Go away, oh, go away. I do not want to look at you, it is hurting my eyes. Please go." But as Light still stood there, he suddenly darted into the dense forest and was lost to sight. Tears began to flow down Light's cheeks. Why did the youth behave in that way? She took the way, along which he had flown. She went on and on, along woodland tracks, by the sides of large forest rivers, through smooth valleys and dense undergrowths; still she found no signs of him. Night came on with her starry mantle, Light stumbled in the dark, thorns pricked her feet and noises of wild animals frightened her, still she kept on her weary way. The desire to turn and fly back rose again and again in her mind, but the memory of the youth's fair face made her again go forward in the wild dark night.

The night wore on and at last a tinge of rosy red crept into the eastern sky. Light looked about and found the youth sleeping a few steps before her by the side of a great black rock, on a bed of green leaves and mosses. She went and stood by him. A shade of grief still lingered on his sleeping face. He had not found the flower yet.

The youth woke up at the sound of her footsteps, and sat up. Light turned away in fear, lest he should again run off at the sight of the flower. But strange to say, he did nothing of the kind. He sat still, neither did he speak or sing. Had he then got over his unmeaning fright at the flower?

Throughout the night, Light had not even once glanced at the red flower, she had completely forgotten it. Now she looked at her own hand. Oh, how the flower had changed in so short a time! It had become black, its petals had withered and were crumbling. Its bitter sweet

fragrance had completely vanished. Light could not understand how this came about. She did not know that it was her own tears dropping on the flower all through that black night, which had caused this. She threw away the withered ugly flower. She did not now feel the slightest grief for it, so glad she was to see the youth again.

But still he did not speak to her. He remained sitting as before, with his eyes fixed on the forest. Light, too, could utter no word, but stood there speechless, tears choking her voice.

After a while, with a sigh the youth stood up and began to move towards the forest. At this Light could no longer restrain herself but throwing herself in his way, she cried out, "Why are you going away? I have thrown away that flower, so you need not fear."

The youth said, "What is the use of remaining here? I have still my flower to find."

Light still barred his way, as she said, "Please don't go. Tell me what kind of a flower that is. I shall find it for you."

"It is a large white flower," he said, "but its heart is rosy red. Its stalk is slender and green. Its sweet smell causes it to be always surrounded by the honey-loving bees."

It was the very flower Light had seen in the right hand of that beautiful lady. Alas, alas, why did she choose the red flower? The quest of the youth would have ended at her side, if she had chosen the white one. Light threw herself down on the ground, sobbing at her own misfortune. The unknown stood there for a while, then slowly vanished into the forest.

How long she had been lying there, she had no idea. She did not know that the day was drawing to its close, dusky evening had come down and the moon was peeping from behind the dense foliage of the trees. Suddenly she heard a voice, "Light, look up, I have come."

Light sat up and saw that beautiful lady standing before her, but she had nothing in her hand now.

"Why did you not bring the white flower with you?" Light wailed out in despair.

"I have not got that flower now," replied the lady, "you did not want it, so

I gave it away to another girl in a far-away country."

"Then what am I to do," asked Light. "where shall I get the flower?"

"You shall have to create it yourself. there is no other way."

Light eagerly asked, "Tell me how to do it. I don't know the way."

"I shall tell you, but will you be equal to the task? It is very hard."

"However hard it might be, I shall certainly do it," replied Light firmly.

The lady drew Light to her and whispered something in her ear. Her fair face grew white as marble, her lips began to tremble, but still she said, "I will do it."

"Then come with me," said the lady and led the way through the forest. Light followed her unhesitatingly. Great boulders had been loosened by storms and had crashed down into the forest river, thereby impeding its course and forming a small still lake at one place. Light and her companion came and stood on its bank. The lady said, "Light, the time has come. now once again, do you think you can do it?"

Light fell down on her knees by the waterside and shut her eyes. Her whole body trembled but still she said, "Yes, I will do it." She seemed to see even with her eyes shut the sad face of that fair youth.

The lady said, "Open your eyes and look into the water."

Light opened her eyes. The moonlight was flooding everything around. with molten silver and her own beautiful face smiled up at her from the blue depth of the lake. Suddenly a cloud drew a veil over the moon's face and at that very instant Light lost all consciousness.

When she came back to her senses, it was on the verge of dawn. She was still lying by the side of the lake. She looked towards the lake. Oh what a wonderful sight! A large white flower on a tender green stalk had risen out of the water and was slowly nodding its head to and fro in the morning breeze. Its heart was as rosy as the cheeks of the blushing goddess of dawn. A swarm of black bees had already clustered round it.

Do you know whence that flower had sprung? Just from the very spot where Light's beautiful face had reflected itself. The blue water had kept that image treasured in her heart, and now it had bloomed out as a flower.

In the fast growing daylight, Light looked down into the water again. Her face was beautiful no more, all her beauty had vanished, all had gone to create the flower. She rose from the water's edge and threw herself down under a large tree.

But suddenly the youth appeared on the river bank. He went into ecstasies at the sight of the flower and sprang at once into the water. He plucked off the flower and then rising out of the lake went away with it clasped to his heart and singing joyously. His face was shining like the morning sun.

But as soon as he had plucked off the flower, another just like it bloomed on the same stalk again. These flowers would never come to an end! They would bloom with the first break of day and close their petals as soon as light vanished from the earth. They would never smile without

light, because Light had brought them to this earth.

Light was gazing intently at the youth. Suddenly she heard a voice, "Light, are you content?"

Light could not see any one, but she knew who it was. "Yes, I am content," she answered. The voice came again, "Even though another took the treasure you won by sacrificing you more than life?"

Light stood up and answered, "Yes, it is because another took it that I am content."

The lamp was dying out as the children's mother came into the room and said, "No more stories now, darlings. It is long past bed time." The curly-headed boy lisped, "Mamma, we were listening to the Light-flower's story."

SITA CHATTERJEE.

NOTES

How the World Goes.

It is very depressing to think that nine-tenths of the population of the world are now at war. *The Indian Witness* quotes the following to show that such is really the case:

"More than half the Government of the earth are engaged in the struggle to preserve civilization, or have broken off relations with Germany and her co-partners. Little more than one-third remain neutral, and most of these are the small States which are prevented by their position from engaging in the conflict, or whose influence would be without effect."

Recapitulation.

At war, 19 States	...	1,370,225,000
Relations broken—11 States	...	21,870,000
Anti-German—30 States	...	1,392,095,000
Germanic Allies—4 States	...	156,572,000
Neutrals—19 States	...	143,961,000
World's population, 53 States	...	1,692,628,000

Civilisation has not yet enabled men to settle international disputes or keep the wickedly ambitious under restraint except by bloody warfare involving the death of millions and untold sufferings for more. But though all this is very sad, there is something that inspires hope, too. Whatever motives may actuate diplomats and statesmen, there is no question that

large numbers of men are fighting for what they consider the cause of freedom and righteousness. When a better way than war dawns on the minds of such men for the safe-guarding of freedom and civilization, they will surely be prepared to make still greater sacrifices, if possible, than war involves. Therein lies the hope of humanity.

Idealists and Practical Men.

We do not want to lay down the law for idealists and say that they must not try to be practical. What we expect is that they will not seek to be practical at the expense of their idealism. It is the practical man who must try to conform to the ideal. Idealists must be prepared to be ridiculed as unpractical.

As regards war and peace, statesmen may not at first be able to go beyond a greater recognition of the ideal than what is expressed in the following extract from a speech delivered by Marquis Okuma at a meeting of the Indo-Japanese Association:

Will it be peace or war that will dominate the world in future? Will it be power or will? No; a harmony between them will alone prevent a future

war and avert bloodshed. The sword and love must be well harmonized, and we must rely upon religion for this adjustment, which is, I believe, the final object of religion.....the world is too full of evil-doers to allow us to abandon the sword altogether. Christ cried: "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand;" but how much longer are we to wait for its coming? We have vainly waited for its coming and at present the Kaiser even makes use of "God" for his own convenience.

Just as police men are necessary, though they are sometimes engines of oppression, so armies are necessary though they are often used to conquer and oppress. All swords cannot just now be turned into ploughshares, though, increasingly, they should be beaten into ploughshares. The civil power must be supreme in order that the army may be kept in its place; otherwise militarism would prevail, and that would spell ruin to civilisation, freedom and righteousness.

Why an Internee took Opium?

Most probably only a small fraction of the hardships and ill-treatment to which many internees and state prisoners have been subjected has been published. But enough has appeared in the columns of newspapers and periodicals, particularly in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, to justify a demand for an independent public commission of enquiry into the whole subject of the treatment of political suspects, internees and state prisoners. For it cannot be ignored that there have been, among detenus and state prisoners, cases of death from disease, suicide, attempted suicide, insanity; leaving of place of domicile without permission and infringement of rules which are impossible or very difficult to observe. These, like all other phenomena of the world, are not without cause. The duty of a commission of enquiry should be to find out the cause or causes and suggest the remedy. The letter printed below offers additional material for enquiry. We publish it to enable Government to ascertain the truth, as we are unable ourselves to find out whether it is wholly false, entirely true or partly true. It is printed as it has been received, without any omission or alteration, except that in some sentences initials have been substituted for proper names.

"My internment life grew to be extremely intolerable and this led me to attempt (on the 24th April last) to do away with my life. There are various circumstances occurring from the day of my arrest up to this time and which made my life unbearable. I think the following facts will clear up everything.

"Before my arrest I was a 4th year-B.A. student of the Ripon College, Calcutta, and resided in a university licensed mess. In Nov. 1916, I was arrested from that mess, under the Defence of India Act. After my arrest I was taken to the Kyd Street C.I.D. office and there confined in a solitary cell. Two days I passed there. During this period I was given no food except a few glasses of water when I cried out in thirst for water. These two days I was put to extreme inhuman brutal torture. I was whipped, kicked and blowed. I was compelled to undergo some peculiar and very difficult figures for torture. I was also kept standing all night with my hands tied up to an iron rod overhead. One M.B., a C. I. D. officer, tortured me in the above ways. He also used some very abusive languages upon me. He said, "You sala confess everything or I shall kill you." When in extreme torture I cried out, "I die, I die," he said in return, "Sala die, the sooner you die the better; if you die then the Government is relieved of an enemy. Well, it is the other day that we killed a man like you by torture, what has the Government done to us. We have permission from the Government to torture you all for confession." After this I was removed to the Presidency Jail and there confined in a solitary cell for 30 days. In two occasions I was taken by a Police officer to the C.I.D. office in the Ylisium Row and presented before Mr. T. and others. Mr. T. told me to confess and when I answered that I know nothing about the present movement, he rebuked me angrily and threatened that unless I answered everything affirmatively to his question I should put under Reg. III of 1818.

"After a stay of 30 days in the Presidency Jail I got a Government order of home domicile at the village Chandura, P. S. Brahmanbaria, Tippera. One of the directions in the order was that I should see the officer-in-charge of the P. S. Brahmanbaria once a day. The P. S. is about 15 miles off from my home, consequently I had to go to the Thana and come back again competing a journey of 30 miles a day. The journey took me the whole day and also a part of the night. For this I could not take properly my meals and also overtired every day. The journey was really a terror to me. Not to speak of reading and writing I could not even enjoy sound sleep. It can be easily conceived what terrible days I passed in my home internment. I saw others shedding tears for me. In that state also I had desperate thoughts about my life. I filed a petition to the Secretary, Government of Bengal, to this effect. In reply I got a Government order that instead of going to the Thana daily I might go there twice a week. But immediately after this order I received a Government order directing me to proceed to Chittagong and then to Kutubdia under P. escort.

"At Chittagong I saw S. P. daily. He gave a written order directing me to stay in the Police Club until he gave me the second order. I was in the club for about 3 weeks. There I was given only two meals daily and no tiffin. I made a petition to S. F. to the effect that my health was breaking down gradually and I required some allowance for my other necessary expenditure such as tiffin &c. But I got a negative answer, the S. P. also made a cynical remark, "Government is not your parents that they should spend money right and left for comforts and luxury." This reply surprised and silenced me and created a great annoyance in my mind. After 3 weeks stay in the Police Club I was directed by the S. P. to go to Kutubdia. At Kutubdia I was allowed to live only 2 weeks, thence I was transferred to

Maheshkhal. The S. P. personally served me the order of transfer to Maheshkhal. While serving the order the S. P. greatly offended and insulted me by his peculiarly bad behaviour. It was this:—The S. P. called me by a constable to see him in the Thana. When I entered the office I found the S. P. talking with S. I. and he did not notice me. I remained standing for a minute or two and finding an extra vacant bedstead in a corner I took my seat on it. After a few minutes the S. P. looked at me and said roughly, "Well, why have you taken your seat without my permission?" I replied that it was unnecessary to ask for permission. This is a petty incident but I took it to my heart.

"At Maheshkhal I have been living for more than a year. As a detenu at Maheshkhal I have undergoing various disadvantages and troubles which told upon my peace of mind. There are scarcely any Bhadrals here. Almost all of them are illiterate and therefore they are afraid to mix with the detenus. Moreover the guard-constables are objects of terror to them, who prevent them foolishly and unnecessarily from mixing with the detenus. Instances are not rare that some innocent villagers and shopkeepers are harassed uselessly for mixing with the detenus.

"The late S. I. of this place forwarded a prosecution report against me for association with two other detenus. I was accordingly sent for trial, but the absurdity of the case being proved it was withdrawn. After passing more than a month in the Hazrat I came back to Maheshkhal. After this prosecution my suffering went on increasing rapidly. The S. P. pays his visit here at an interval of one or two months and on no occasion did he fail to give me warning to the effect that my case was not yet withdrawn, and I might be prosecuted in any day. He also often threatened me and used objectionable insulting words on me. There is another incident which disturbed my mind greatly. About three weeks ago one M.B. who tortured me in the Kyd Street came here to take the statement of a detenu. The very moment he saw me in the Police Station he addressed me thus, "O Jogesh, have you changed your mind by this time, or require some more beating?" The present insult from the very man who tortured me touched me to the quick. In the meantime the B. Patrika which I subscribed was also stopped by the order of the Government.

"Thus I lost my peace of mind and was greatly disturbed and I began to think within myself. I recalled to my mind the happy days of my student life and the bright prospect before it which has been blighted. I also remembered how my happy promising life has been marred by my arrest and subsequent internments. I remember also the extreme torture and insult upon me by the C.I.D. officers and ill behaviour of the P. officers. Ultimately after much continuous thought I came to the belief that I should get no redress from the Government. And meditation after meditation confirmed me that death is preferable to such a terrible state of existence. Then being driven to despair I one day purchased one tola of opium from the market and one evening after candle-light I took it to do away with my life.

"For this act of my attempted suicide I hold responsible none but my internments, and ill treatment of the Police officers.

Jogesh Chandra Ray,
Detenu at Maheshkhal.
17-6-1918.

N. B.

About a week ago S. P. gave me an order to go to

Police Hospital Chittagong on the understanding that the poison which I took has still some effect upon me and I require medical treatment. So I went to Chittagong. Government Civil Surgeon there examined me and gave me a certificate that I am in perfect health. After that I wrote to the S. P. that I might be removed from the Hospital. In reply the S. P. said, "You must remain in the hospital and obey my order." Thereupon I asked for permission to see the Magistrate. Getting no reply and waiting for a considerable time I started to see the Magistrate, and asked the escorts to follow me. When I left the Hospital compound, the escorts with their havildar detained me forcibly. They telephoned to S. P. In return the S. P. ordered them to iron me and take me to the Hospital by force. The S. P. let them understand that I am insane and I must be dealt with like the insane. They did the same and confined me in a room of the Hospital with handcuffs. After the confinement for two days I have then been sent to Maheshkhal."

Political Prisoners in the Andamans.

The Bengalee reminds the public that some five years ago it wrote a series of articles on the subject of the treatment of political prisoners in the Andamans, with the result that the then Home Member, Sir Reginald Craddock, paid a visit to that penal settlement and held a personal enquiry, and the situation for a time improved. But now, says our contemporary, "it has lapsed back into the old ways and the old complaints are renewed with additional circumstances of hardship and horrors." The number of political prisoners in the Andamans is at present 85. This is how, according to the *Bengalee*, they are treated:

About the end of the year 1915, the Lahore Conspiracy Case men began to pour in and troubles arose. Mr. Barry is the Overseer. His behaviour causes continuous friction and bitterness which have never been allayed by any act of impartial justice by the higher authorities, and when Bhai Sohan Singh, an old man of over fifty, who is universally respected by all the Sikhs, was abused by the Superintendent himself for shortness of his daily task, they despaired of getting their grievances redressed by the higher authorities and struck work. They were punished with bar-fetters and separate confinement and invalid diet for six months. After the expiry of their term, they resumed work. This strike had a cooling effect upon the authorities and everything seemed well at least for the time being. But very soon another event happened that inflamed the minds of all. Ashutosh Lahiry, a graduate of the Calcutta University, did the hardest possible labour for a very long time. He worked in the husking machine and then at coir-pounding for eight months. The Superintendent told him that he would be put to light labour after six months. But, though nearly eight months passed away and though he complained to the Superintendent several times, he was refused light labour. At last, he refused to do hard work. But Mr. Murray, the Superintendent, was obstinate and repeatedly punished him for his refusal. He was finally awarded

green stripes, bar-fetters, and separate confinement for six months; and he was flogged though he had done the hardest work for eight months and had simply wanted light labour. However, after six months were over, Mr. Murray gave him again the same task and threatened him with enhancement of sentence, in case he would refuse again. This threat compelled him to do the task. This case was followed by another. The men were ordered to pluck grass and clear the yard on a Sunday. But as Sunday is a holiday, they refused to do it. So seven men were punished—two with three month's separate confinement and five with six month's bar-fetters and separate confinement and invalid diet. The effect of the punishment may be understood by reference to the records. Invalid diet is a very spare diet which does not satisfy the hunger of an average man, not to speak of the stout Sikh. To live in continuous hunger for six months under close separate confinement causes terrible enfeeblement of body and mind, that is further helped by the climate. Mr. Barry was determined that all the men should live in separate confinement and he left no stone unturned to achieve his object. He provoked and insulted the men and got them punished for being insulted in return. Sometimes he would give unjust orders for doing extra work and if they refused they were punished with separate confinement.

In a second article the *Bengalee* gives additional information:

We have referred to the case of Bhai Bhan Singh, a political prisoner, convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy case. Bhai Bhan Singh was abused by a European warder, and he paid him back in the same coin. He was caged for insolent conduct and was punished with six months' bar-fetters, separate confinement and invalid diet. Frequently Mr. Barry used to see him in his cell. One day, he abused him and was abused in return. He gave orders to the convict officers to teach him a lesson. At eight in the morning three or four men entered his cell and severely beat him. But Mr. Barry again came at ten accompanied by a dozen bodyguard of European warders, free Indian warders, Jamadars and Tindels etc., removed Bhai Bhan Singh to the cage-cell and there he was beaten. Bhai Bhan Singh, it is alleged, grew desperate under the increasing pressure of the treatment that he received. He was punished again with bar-fetters till further orders and was to remain in a cage-cell. According to our information the treatment told upon his health and he had to be removed to hospital. The harsh treatment accorded to him roused the indignation of other political prisoners. Some of them struck work; and even started a hunger-strike. Bhai Bhan Singh's condition is said to be going from bad to worse. He is in hospital and his fellow-prisoners are said to be awaiting his fate with "uneasy expectancy." Observe the hardships and inconveniences to which political prisoners are subjected. In every block some ten or twelve political prisoners live and work together, but they are not allowed to talk to each other. Is it humanly possible for ten or twelve friends to live together and yet not to talk with each other? This is what the authorities would enforce with a severe punishment for its infringement. Recently some of the men were punished with bar-fetters, separate confinement and invalid diet simply for the use of mutual exchange of greetings. The men are even punished for reading books. All political prisoners are allowed books; they had the audacity

to continue reading books when Mr. Barry came into the block. The last case, that of Bhai Nadhan Singh, occurred only a month and a half ago. Mr. Barry came into the block at a time when he was not expected, and found him reading his book at a distance. He was caged and punished with six months' bar-fetters, separate confinement and invalid diet. What a terrible punishment for a trifling offence, if it be an offence at all! While a man is in separate confinement he is not allowed his bedding within the cell nor can he have his blanket coat. Now, is it possible for any man to live in the cold season which continues for eight months in the year in a naked cell with an almost naked body? Some of the men refused to part with their blanket-coat, but it was forcibly taken away. Bhai Rula Singh when he got fever was exposed to the cold for three days, for he could not get his blanket-coat in his cell. As a result of continued exposure he got pain in the breast and lungs with high fever which has finally developed into phthisis. So serious is his health now that he has been transferred to the Bamboolat Hospital, where phthisis patients are kept. There have been many other cases in which continued separate confinement, hard work and the neglect of the authorities have resulted in dangerous diseases. Many have become short-sighted; one man, Bhai Bhola Singh, is ~~dead~~ two men, Bhai Bhan Singh and Bhai Bhola Singh, are suffering from phthisis; Bhai Nand Singh and Ram Saran have got scrofula; Pandit Jagat Ram has got neurasthenia; and several others have been reduced to such straits that they have become the victims of perpetual disease. All this is due to solitary separate confinement.

The first thing that Government should do and do immediately is to hold an open and searching enquiry. The results of this enquiry should be published without any avoidable delay, and, if any officers are found guilty they should be removed and otherwise punished. But these would be only palliatives. A root and branch remedy is required. There is at present no civilised government which maintains a penal settlement like the Andamans. They are distant alike from the seat of the Government of India and from the high ways of the world. Working far from the public gaze and without the wholesome restraint exercised by the visits of non-official visitors, the jail authorities in the Andamans naturally become guilty of wrong-doing. The penal settlement in the Andamans must, therefore, be abolished, and life convicts and long term convicts should be kept in some other less objectionable place of confinement.

Heroism and Cowardice.

When people bully the weak and play the braggart in their midst but are conciliatory when they have to deal with the strong, they are really cowards though they give themselves the airs of heroes.

And the weak even know that these men are not heroes.

Is India Directly Represented?

In his interview with Reuter's representative in London the Maharaja of Patiala is reported to have said that "India was pleased that since last year she was at length directly represented by delegates of the ruling princes and people at the great council of the Empire." It is, no doubt, not without significance that India has not been entirely forgotten or ignored. But neither last year nor this year were the ruling princes and people of India asked to choose their delegates. The Maharaja of Patiala, like his predecessor the Maharaja of Bikanir, is only a nominee of the Government of India, and Sir S. P. Sinha is also a Government nominee, besides being a Government servant. As natives of India they in their private capacity have a representative character like any other Indians when they try conscientiously to give expression to the better mind of India. But apart from this fact, they cannot claim any representative character. They are not our delegates, India is not directly represented by them, and we are in no way bound by what they may say or leave unsaid; though we are free to support any right and just opinion which they may give expression to. But that must depend on the merits of these opinions, not on the assumed representative character of the Government nominees.

Afraid of Speeches!

British soldiers and generals are not afraid of the latest weapons of offence invented by the Germans; but some British bureaucrats in India are mightily afraid of speeches! The latest symptoms of speechophobia have been reported from Delhi. The Chief Commissioner of that place has ordered Mr. Asaf Ali and Pundit Neki Ram Sharma, two public-spirited gentlemen of the Imperial city, to refrain from addressing public meetings. How brave and statesmanlike some of our bureaucrats are! What makes them so timid? Conscience? Or self-interest?

Pagodas and Europeans' Shoes.

The Burma Government have taken definite action regarding the recent agitation of the Buddhist Conference held at

the Rangoon Jubilee Hall at which were passed a number of resolutions condemning the wearing by Europeans of boots and shoes within the precincts of Pagodas. In communicating the orders of the Government to the Commissioner of Police, Rangoon, the Chief Secretary says, *inter alia* :

As the further continuance of the controversy may lead to breaches of the peace I am now to send you the following expression of the Local Government's views on the subject. It has always been the policy of the British Government to adopt a neutral attitude to a religious controversy unless its intervention has become necessary in order to secure the maintenance of the peace. It is also, in the opinion of the Local Government, incumbent on classes or a community to pay the same respect to religious edifices of other creeds and denominations as they would pay to those of their own. In the present instance, however, the Lieutenant-Governor is quite unable to accept the view which was put forward by some of the speakers at the meeting that the question under discussion was a purely religious one and that the resolutions passed were based solely on religious grounds. Such view is entirely inconsistent with the facts that throughout the whole period since Lower Burma became part of the British Empire the Burmese Buddhist community as a whole has never taken exception to the practice of Europeans wearing boots and shoes when visiting the precincts of pagodas and that no protest against this practice has on religious grounds been raised during all that period by any authoritative member of the Buddhist hierarchy in any part of Burma. In these circumstances the resolutions of the meeting represent an innovation which is contrary to practice, sanctioned by long usage. The attempt to introduce an innovation of this kind at the present time is singularly inopportune and unfortunate and the fact that the question has been raised when it is of urgent importance that nothing should be done which will tend to arouse racial feeling and disturb the harmony which has hitherto been so admirable a characteristic of this province, must throw doubt on the claim that the convenors and members of the meeting were actuated solely by religious zeal. It is understood that no body of pagoda trustees or member of such body was party to the resolution and the Local Government has received information that the development of this controversy has been accompanied by attempts to intimidate responsible trustees of pagodas and to compel them by threats of serious consequences to themselves to take action which they have felt under no religious obligation to take. A breach in the harmonious relations which have hitherto prevailed, would be deplorable at any time. In the present time of war nothing likely to effect such a breach can be tolerated.

The Burma Government's letter concludes thus :—

For these reasons the Government cannot countenance any attempt to carry into practice resolutions that were passed at the meeting and will proceed against any person who in the desire to give effect to these resolutions should be guilty of unlawful acts of force or intimidation. The Lieutenant-Governor is not so much concerned with the motives

and intentions of the various individuals who convened and addressed the meeting as with the probable effects of the action recommended. The letter finally concludes by assuring the trustees of pagodas of the necessary support from local civil authorities and enjoins the Commissioner of police to give the trustees of the great Shwedagon pagoda any protection or assistance required for the preservation of order in the pagoda precincts.

"The present time of war" must do duty here, too. The Burma Government professes to be anxious to prevent "breaches of the peace." That object could have been gained by that Government advising Europeans not to enter pagodas or pagoda grounds with their boots or shoes on, and the Europeans following that advice. But no restrictions must be imposed on the movements of "the superior race" in a conquered country. It is not indispensably necessary for the salvation, physical well-being, material prosperity, intellectual progress, moral welfare, and earthly happiness of Europeans in Burma that they should be able to wear boots and shoes within the precincts of pagodas. Why then this insistence on the practice as if it were a great political privilege, or moral or legal right? No doubt, perverted and morbid ideas of prestige require that "the superior race" should in conquered countries be able to satisfy even their whims and caprices however these may clash with the notions of other people. But it is not the business of Government to lend countenance to these perverted and morbid notions and seek to penalise the objections of those who do not belong to the favoured race.

It is asserted that "throughout the whole period since Lower Burma became part of the British Empire the Burmese Buddhist community as a whole has never taken exception to the practice of Europeans wearing boots and shoes within the precincts of pagodas and that no protest against the practice has on religious grounds been raised during all that period by any authoritative members of the Buddhist hierarchy in any part of Burma." In the first place, this is the bureaucratic version of a period of the history of the country, which may not be correct; we must have the people's version, too. In the second place, any member of the Buddhist hierarchy recognised by the bureaucracy as "authoritative" may not have protested; but did *no* member, *un-authoritative* it may be, ever protest?

Or, may it not be that those who may have protested have been, *ipso facto*, considered unauthoritative? But let us suppose the facts are exactly as stated in the official letter. May it not be that hitherto the Burmese people have been so afraid of the white man that they have not protested, and now that there has been a racial and national awakening throughout the world, particularly in view of the declaration of the Allies that they are fighting for the rights of *small* nations, the Burmese people have mustered courage for the first time since their loss of independence to give utterance to the religious scruple which was in their heart? If it be a fact, of which we are not sure, "that no body of pagoda trustees or member of such body was party to the resolution," that was quite natural. For nowhere in the East have the priests or people like them been among the first to feel the promptings of national self-respect reborn. It may be objected that there ought not to be any connection between the re-birth of national feeling and religion; but that is an unreasonable objection. For the growth of national consciousness makes everything national dear to the people.—religion, art, literature, dress, customs, style of living, &c.

But supposing that the resolutions of the meeting do represent an innovation, are not the people of a country entitled to make an innovation as regards their religious notions or scruples,—particularly when the innovation does not encroach on any political, legal, commercial, educational, intellectual, religious, or moral right of any foreign people? The Lieutenant-Governor of Burma is playing the strong man quite unnecessarily and unwisely. It is ridiculous to suggest that in order to maintain harmony between whites and non-whites, the whites must have their own way even in what is non-essential to them and the non-whites are to yield even in matters which they consider, it may be mistakenly, of vital importance to them.

As regards wearing shoes or boots within the precincts of Burmese pagodas one may ask to know what the Burmese themselves do? Do they take off their boots or shoes or other foot-wear when entering pagodas or pagoda-grounds, or do they not? If they do, there can be no question of what they really feel in the

matter. As Europeans are human beings like them and as European boots and shoes are not holy objects any more than Burmese foot-wear, all *real* ladies and gentlemen among Europeans who know the Burmese practice should either spontaneously and readily conform to it or refrain from visiting pagodas. If, however, the Burmese have their foot-wear on in pagodas, they ought not to expect others to do what they themselves do not do.

Bargaining and Having a Motive.

Indian Home Rulers have insisted that the people should be enfranchised or given a definite promise of enfranchisement so that that may act as a motive for their enthusiastically enlisting in the army or helping otherwise in the war. This has been characterised by official and non-official Anglo-Indians as bargaining or wishing to have terms. These European sojourners expect motiveless or *nishkam* action from the people of India. How reasonable such an expectation is will appear from the following extract from *Capital*, May 31, regarding Ireland, which is far more free than India :

The discovery of the Sinn Fein plot was immediately succeeded by the practical abandonment of conscription in Ireland, and the adoption in its place of extraordinary inducements to voluntary enlistment. Mr. Lloyd George is hopeful that the response will be worthy of the best and highest traditions of Ireland, but he will be doomed to disappointment if he fails to keep his pledges to the Irish Nationalists. Many London papers are urging him to do so without delay, and one wonders if he will be strong enough. The position of the Irish Nationalists is summed up in a letter sent to the Press by Mr. Walter D'Alton, of Tipperary, who was once a strong Unionist. The text is worth quoting in the interests of fairplay, of which commodity Ireland gets little in this country :—

"The Civil War of America offers an instructive parallel to the present situation in Ireland. In that war the black men were invited to join the ranks of both armies. In every case the principle of freedom before fighting was recognised without question. This is very clearly stated by President Lincoln, addressing the people of Illinois in 1863, in the course of the greatest pronouncement of all Lincoln's career :—

I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers leaves so much the less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. But negroes like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do anything for us if we will do nothing for them. If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

May we not commend these trenchant remarks to our British rulers? Each one of them is as old and as deep as humanity; 'Motive' there must be if people aren't fools. Something is never given for nothing. Life, the greatest possession, is not staked except for freedom; and, last of all, 'A promise once

made must be kept.' Of course, from an experience that seems strange to the rest of the world, but not to us, we Irishmen know that England denies all these principles, and especially the last. We invite her to carry her denial to President Wilson, and to tell him that Abraham Lincoln, the idol of Americans, was all wrong; or, alternatively, that what is true and commendable in regard to the noble negro cannot possibly apply to mere Irishmen."

In the passage printed above in very small type, substitute Indians for negroes and the British Empire for the Union. In the remaining portion of the extract substitute India for Ireland, Indians for Irishmen, and Indian for Irish.

If bureaucrats in India want a merely mercenary army, they should make tempting offers of pay, allowances, prospects of promotion, pension and jagirs. If they want also an enthusiastic army of citizens, they must confer citizen's rights on the people or at least make a definite promise of such rights, and make the Indian citizen soldier's status equal to that of the white citizen soldier. It is absurd and useless to expect what is practically motiveless action.

Why America is Fighting.

Action proceed from motives, and these may be altruistic, self-regarding, or selfish. It must be conceded that no nation is fighting only from altruistic motives. It is admitted on all hands that America's motives are more altruistic than those of other belligerent countries. But even her motives are not entirely altruistic, though she does not wish to add to her territory. The following passage is taken from an article in the *North American Review* :—

But, as we have said over and over again, what we are fighting for is not to make the world safe for Democracy but to make the world safe for us. Forced into war by Germany, who violated our rights ruthlessly as she did those of Belgium, we are fighting a war of self-defence. We are today in peril. To avert that peril we have taken up arms. We are fighting to defend our wives and children from the defiling hand of the German. We are fighting to protect our homes from a brute who knows no mercy, a brute whose lust is destruction; we are fighting to preserve the institutions we love, the liberty we cherish, the freedom dear to us. We are fighting in France because it is there we can strike the enemy, but if we are defeated in France we shall be conquered in America; no longer shall we be freemen but the slaves of the most merciless and brutal task master the world has known. Our danger is great, and only our courage and determination can avert it.

That is not the only American opinion which declares that with America it is a

defensive war. *Munsay's Magazine* is one of the foremost and most widely circulated American monthlies. Its editor says in the April number :

Americans are naturally a peace-loving people, and the horrors of the present battle-fields in Europe have aroused a dread of war greater than ever existed before. When American wives and mothers and sisters read the casualty lists of the Allies, with losses of more than thirty thousand in a single week, they tremble for their loved ones and are prompted to ask whether it is all worth what it costs in the sacrifice of life and limb.

If they will only reflect a little, they will realize that we have no choice but to fight if we would remain free.

No fact has been more clearly ascertained concerning the plans of the imperial autocracy that governs Germany than the intention to dominate this country after defeating France and England. If the British fleet were out of the way, German naval guns would be thundering off the entrance to New York harbor in less than a fortnight ; and the United States would be compelled to pay a large portion of the expense incurred by Germany in enslaving the world.

It is as certain as sunrise that if the Teutonic autocracy is not held within the territorial boundaries of Germany by the compulsion of the Allies exercised on European soil and in European waters, the German land and naval forces will ultimately bring the war to America, and we shall have to fight them standing in the doors of our own homes. However one may deprecate war, it is preferable to subjection ; and it is the part of wisdom to carry on war in France and Flanders rather than in our own land, where our women and children would be exposed to such atrocities as have befallen the French and Belgians.

We are waging what is really for us a defensive warfare under conditions most beneficial to the common cause, because most helpful to our Allies, and at the same time least injurious to our own people, because our women and children are not imperiled.

Every American soldier in the trenches in France is defending the United States against imperialistic aggression just as truly as he would be if serving one of the great guns in the batteries at Sandy Hook and firing at a German fleet in the offing. We are fighting in Europe to prevent German imperialism from overcoming us in America.

If Anglo-Indian bureaucrats say that Indians ought to fight to preserve their present state of dependence on Britain because it is better than dependence on Germany, we may ask, What becomes of the declaration that the present war is a war for the freedom of the world (minus India ?), for democracy and for establishing the right of self-determination of nations ? And why is not Ireland content to fight to preserve her present status which is far superior to that of India ? Why is she striving to win Home Rule ? Is human nature different in India from what it is in Ireland ?

Future of Poles, Czecho-Slavs and Yugo-Slavs.

A Reuter's telegram dated London, June 5 reads :

The Press Bureau announces that the Prime Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy at a meeting at Versailles agreed to the following declarations :—

Firstly, that the creation of a united independent Polish State with free access to the sea constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace and the rule of right in Europe.

Secondly, that Great Britain, France and Italy associate themselves with America in the expression of earnest sympathy for nationalistic aspirations towards the freedom of the Czecho-slav and Yugo-Slav peoples.

Needless to say the Poles, the Czecho-Slavs and the Yugo-Slavs in whose future the prime ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy are so sympathetically interested are not, never were and are never likely to be the "property" of Britain, France and Italy.

Probably the prime ministers of Germany, Austria and Turkey are expressing similar concern for the future of India, Anam and Tripoli. It is a comfortable occupation,—to dispose of other peoples' property.

The British people would do well to consider what others think of them, e. g., the following passage taken from *India* (London) :

In an interview granted to Mr. Arthur Ransome, the "Daily News" correspondent at Petrograd, M. Trotsky, before leaving for Brest-Litovsk, said, laughing :—

If we were really logical we would declare war on England now for the sake of India, Egypt, and Ireland. You have read our peace declaration.

Mr. Ransome protested that "we made nothing out of India." M. Trotsky replied ;—

Then give up being so altruistic. You English are the most Chauvinist nation on earth without knowing it.

We have no positive reasons for doubting the sincerity of the Allied prime ministers' concern for the future of Poles, Czecho-Slavs and Yugo-Slavs. But if these statesmen are thoroughly liberty-loving, why should they seek to liberate only the subjects of enemy countries and not those of their own countries, too ? With regard to India, we have heard it said that it is so very difficult to give India a little internal autonomy that statesmen must pause and pause and pause before "taking a leap in the dark," and probably end by pausing. As for countries or peoples held in subjection by enemy nations, why it is the easiest thing in the world to make them

immediately *independent*. This presupposes that races dependent on enemy nations have had a better training in self-government during their period of subjection, making them fit for immediate independence, than Indians have had under British rule for the purposes of a little internal autonomy,—which fact has kept us unfit for taking the first steps in self-government. Should it be contended that the European peoples who are now sought to be made independent required no training in self-government, having been always fit for independence, the question would arise how they lost it; for, according to the civilized predatory political ideas hitherto current and which have not yet begun to be considered barbarous, fitness for independence includes the power to preserve independence against the attacks of powerful robber nations.

It may be observed in passing that these predatory political ideas, if applied to private life, would amount to this, that any man of genius, poet, scientist, artist, saint, scholar, inventor, economist, captain of industry, etc., who was unable to defend his hearth and home and property against robbers, would be considered unfit to remain a free man, and his enslavement by the robbers would be considered perfectly justifiable.

The Bombay War Conference Incident.

By calling in question the sincerity of some Home Rule leaders or of the entire Home Rule League party (it does not much matter who exactly were meant) and casting other aspersions on them in his opening speech at the Bombay War Conference, Lord Willingdon did not display either gentlemanliness, tact or statesmanship. To invite people and then to take them to task is not good manners, according to any code of etiquette, western or eastern. It does not indicate the possession of an elementary knowledge of human nature to think that the best way to secure the co-operation of fearless patriots is to take them to task; though timid *jo-hukums* may in that way be made to "co-operate." Therefore, what the Governor of Bombay did was obviously unstatesmanlike. His remarks on some Home Rule Leaguers or all Home Rule Leaguers were entirely unnecessary, too, for the purposes of the conference, and, therefore, irrelevant and superfluous.

It may be that he did not and does not want the co-operation of Home Rule Leaguers. If so, why did he invite their leaders? If the invitation was sincere, he did want their co-operation, and, therefore, ought not, if only as a matter of policy, to have insulted them; if the invitation was not wholehearted, he ought to have been the last person to call in question the sincerity of others.

His Excellency said with regard to the Home Rule Leaguers: "I cannot honestly feel sure of the sincerity of their support, until I have come to a clear understanding with them and I have frankly expressed to them all that is in mind." The best way to come to a clear understanding with any men is to hold with them a small private conference, where both parties can and should have a full opportunity of frankly expressing all that is in their minds: the worst way is to call a public conference and frankly express what is in your mind and at the same time to prevent the other party from having their say. Lord Willingdon's conduct appears all the more reprehensible owing to the fact that "dear Mr. Kelkar" had been assured that there would be "open discussion" at the Conference and that "any criticism or suggestions which speakers may make in the course of discussion will receive careful consideration of Government."

It has been said that Mr. Tilak and his friends, instead of leaving the meeting, might have stayed on and spoken to the second resolution as Mr. Jinna was allowed to do and did with great effect. But is it quite certain that Lord Willingdon's somewhat changed attitude towards Mr. Jinna was not due to Mr. Tilak and his friends leaving the meeting at an earlier stage?

Lord Willingdon stopped Messrs. Tilak and Kelkar on the ground that they had begun to talk politics. But he had himself set the bad example of talking politics, and allowed the Maharaja of Kolhapur, Mr. Setalvad and Sir Dinshaw M. Petit to talk politics. But we forget: pro-bureaucrat politics is not politics.

In the eyes of his lordship the great offence of the Home Rule Leaguers is that they wish to have terms. This their leaders deny. They say that they wish to have definite assurance of citizenship in order that citizenlike enthusiasm for the

Empire may be aroused in the country and in consequence there may be an adequate response to the appeal for recruits. We are frankly of the opinion that if anybody has a desire "to have terms", he need not feel abashed, as it is perfectly natural and justifiable. All belligerents are fighting for something or other; we do not and need not pretend to be so super-human or sub-human as to be ready to risk our lives for nothing. But as in previous numbers and this number we have said much on the cant of "bargaining," we need not say more.

Lord Willingdon thinks or pretends to believe that the essence of partnership lies in being called upon to make sacrifices, not also in sharing the advantages; for he said:

"I have always felt and urged that India should be trusted, should be treated as a partner, and should be asked to give to the full her great resources of men and material to the help of the Allied cause."

How hollow, absurd and ludicrous! Every one knows that India is not trusted. And his lordship coolly takes it for granted that partnership consists solely in being asked to give all that one has! We suppose when British capitalists enter into partnership with others, they are "proud" only to supply the capital, and not only do they not exercise any control over the business and demand any dividends, but they actually despise these things as sordid "bargaining."

Some years ago, on different occasions, Prof. Gilbert Murray and Lord Carnichael appealed to the youth of India to consider not only India but the whole British Empire as their Motherland, and we commented on these appeals.

Following perhaps unconsciously the same line of thought Lord Willingdon observed that "the appeal has now come from the mother country." It is his mother country, no doubt, but not of us Indians. And that not merely anthropologically. We have not derived or borrowed our religions, languages, litera-

tures, national civilisation, culture and art from England.

Lord Willingdon's remarks and conduct have been keenly and rightly resented all over India and there have been numerous meetings of indignant protest.

From Australian Women to the Women of India.

In our last month's note on Australia and Fiji we promised to print in this issue the letters addressed to the women of India by the Women's Service Guild and the Women's Christian Temperance Association. They are given below.

From
The Women's Service Guild,
Western Australia.

To Our Sister Women in India,
The Women's Service Guild of Perth, Western Australia, send greetings, and wish to convey their appreciation of the splendid stand taken in defence of the honor of the Indian women in Fiji. This matter has been brought before many women's organisations in Australia and for the first time we have realised what our sister women, now in Fiji, were being subjected to. We are about two thousand miles away from Sydney where a large deputation representing most of the women's organisations



MISS DIXON.

MISS PRIEST.

in Australia, including our own, waited on the Colonial Sugar Refining Company asking for certain reforms in connection with the conditions under which Indian people are working on that Company's plantations in Fiji. We are hopeful that some good will result from this deputation and we do not intend to let this matter drop. Two of our members have volunteered to go to Fiji to help the Indian people and we hope they will keep us in touch with what is going on there.

We women feel akin to the spirit of the motive that has prompted you to take action on behalf of the Indian women in Fiji and recognise it as part of an evolutionary process which is sweeping through the world and prompting women in every land to join hands and work for the uplift of the human race.

We should be glad to hear from you of the work you are doing and the objects you have in view for the betterment of women. We send our hearty good wishes.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

We beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

Sd. Nelly Stidworthy.

(Hon. Secretary)

From

The Women's Christian Temperance Union,
West Australia.

To The Women of India,

We send you greetings from the women of West Australia. We have heard of the wonderful work you women of India, have helped to accomplish in abolishing the wicked indenture system which was in operation in the sugar plantations of Fiji. We have been filled with indignation and horror on hearing of the sufferings and indignities offered to those poor women in Fiji and have felt it to be a call to the womanhood of Australia, it needs be to come to their relief. We are glad to be able to report to you that two of our West Australian women are already on their way to Fiji to help,—one as a teacher and the other as a nurse.

We have read with great admiration the inspiring appeal to the patriotism of your people delivered by Mrs. Sarojini Naidu at Allahabad, and we are filled with gratitude and joy to think that you have been able by God's help to accomplish so much. There can be no doubt that the call has come to the women all over the world to stand together as a united body for the moral and spiritual welfare of all sisters who have been denied the privileges which we ourselves enjoy. We have been thrilled at the great response of India in this world now when Indians and Australians have been fighting side by side; and Australian women join with Indian women in the universal wish that it may soon come to an end and that peace, on a basis of righteousness, will be established in every part of the world knowing as we do that righteousness alone "exalteth a nation."

Your friends in the great cause of God, Home and Humanity,

Lilian Metcalf,

President.

Florence Beresford,

Hon. Secretary.

We reproduce here the photographs of Miss Dixon and Miss Priest, who have gone out to Fiji to help their Indian sisters and whose courage and spirit of cheerful sacrifice are apparent from the extract from Miss Priest's letter quoted in our last number.

"Disgraceful."

A Reuter's telegram dated London, June 3, appeared in the dailies last month to the following effect:

In the House of Commons, replying to questions by Mr. Joyson Hicks and General Page Croft with regard to the letter of Sir Subramaniya Aiyer to President Wilson, Mr. Montagu said: "The impropriety of this disgraceful letter is all the more inexcusable owing to the position of the writer. The assertions in the letter are too wild and baseless to require or receive notice from the responsible authority. No action has as yet been taken regarding the matter and I am communicating with the Viceroy."

Sir J. D. Rees asked: "Is Mr. Montagu aware that the author of the letter is seventy-seven and that this was a senile production?"

We will consider from various points of view whether the letter was disgraceful and improper.

It is never disgraceful, but on the contrary very natural and honourable, for any people to try by righteous means to be free or even free and independent. The object of the letter was to have America's help in getting Home Rule (not independence) for India. So it was neither improper nor disgraceful. America is an allied country, and it is well-known and was admitted by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons during the debate on the Man-power bill (*vide* pp. 568-69 of this Review for May, 1918) that it was felt necessary to give Home Rule to Ireland as early as practicable in order, among other reasons, to satisfy America. As American sympathy and pressure were openly admitted, without any question of propriety being raised, as having added to the urgency of the Irish Home Rule problem, it was not improper or disgraceful for Indian Home Rulers to seek American sympathy and support.

Mr. John Dillon, now the leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party, in his first public speech as leader, said:

I pledge myself here to-day, before you Nationalists of Ulster, that if justice, and the fullest measure of justice, is not meted out to the Irish people, and the National aspirations of Ireland fully satisfied, I, in your name, will stand in the path of England, and will shame her before the Nations of the world. Speaking for a united Ireland, I will appeal to America and to the President of the United States, and I will say: "Tell England that she must, before she can pretend to carry on the war for the rights of all Nations, go home and set her house in order."

Has any British minister dared to call this disgraceful or improper? It is also known that at a public meeting held in Dublin it was resolved, if necessary, to send a deputation to America to tell the people there how England was dealing with Ireland. Nobody has called this disgraceful.

The letter was not sent by Mail but

through some American friends. As the letter was not in furtherance of any conspiracy, as it was addressed to the head of an Allied government, and as, if sent by Mail, it would have been stopped by the censor, there was no impropriety or disgrace in sending it in the way it was done.

It has next to be considered whether "the position of the writer" of the letter makes its "impropriety" "all the more inexcusable." If by the position of the writer is meant his being a title-holder and a pensioner, we do not think it is improper or disgraceful for a title-holder or pensioner to seek freedom for his country. Title-holders and pensioners are not bond-slaves. If by position reference was made to the high judicial position the writer had held and the eminent position of public leadership which he now holds, these also would not make an otherwise proper and honorable letter improper, inexcusable or disgraceful. Of course, if any letter were really improper and disgraceful, it would certainly be all the more inexcusable if the writer of it were a man of the intellectual calibre and position in public life of Mr. S. Subramania Aiyer.

As regards the contents of the letter, Mr. Montagu's opinion was: "The assertions in the letter are too wild and baseless to require or receive notice from the responsible authority." We have read the letter thrice, and we can say that no statement made in it is entirely baseless or devoid of truth. Some are entirely and literally true, some are substantially though not literally true, and none are without the kernel of truth. But, taking it for granted that the letter is "wild", British and Irish politicians and public men write and say far wilder things without being called to account for the same. The letter is courageous and patriotic, and was very timely. But we must also say that we feel that it would have been better and more effective and useful if Mr. Aiyer had written it, not in the style of an orator or a rhetorician, but in that of a judge and a statistician combined. If while writing it he had felt that the British bureaucracy were on their trial, that he was the judge, and that his letter was the judgment, against which there would lie an appeal to informed public opinion all over the civilised world, he, we are sure, could have produced a document,

entirely unexceptionable and incontrovertible. We also think that he was rather optimistic in his estimate of the number of recruits which the immediate promise of Home Rule would bring in three and six months. Promises have been broken ere now. Our opinion is that that would have made recruitment somewhat brisker; but it is the actual enjoyment of liberty for some appreciable period of time which make men participate in a fight for liberty such as the present war has been declared to be.

When Mr. Montagu proceeded to say, "No action has as yet been taken regarding the matter and I am communicating with the Viceroy," did his memory play him false, making him forget the stormy interview which Mr. Aiyer had with him and the Viceroy, when the latter rebuked Mr. Aiyer in his presence, or does he not know that the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government wrote the following letter to Mr. Aiyer in February last?

Fort St. George
Madras, 8-2, 1918.

D. O.

Dear Sir,—His Excellency the Governor-in-Council has recently been placed in possession of printed copies of a letter purporting to have been sent by you to the address of the President of the United States. The letter is dated the 24th June 1917, and contains the statement that it was transmitted through the agency of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner (who are known to have left India within a few days of the date), on the ground that it would never have reached the addressee "if sent by Mail." It has been intimated to His Excellency-in-Council that His Excellency the Viceroy and the Secretary of State personally questioned and rebuked you for your conduct in this matter. In these circumstances His Excellency-in-Council has decided to take no further action.

Yours faithfully
(Sd.) Lionel Davidson
Acting Chief Secretary.

* Or did Mr. Montagu play the disingenuous diplomat in his answer to Mr. Joyson Hicks in order to placate a certain party?

Action has already been taken in that Mr. Aiyer was rebuked by the Viceroy in Mr. Montagu's presence and in that "His Excellency-in-Council [of Madras] has decided to take no further action." If, however, to satisfy any anti-Indian party, the question be re-opened, Mr. Aiyer is prepared to suffer, and he adds in his on the whole spirited and dignified reply to Mr. Montagu:

I do not for a moment intend to claim any exemption on the score of that letter from any action which may be taken in furtherance of the Secretary

of State's answer on the 3rd instant. I waive all opposition to such future action if any. I go further and say that I court it with that eagerness and sincerity which my duty to the Motherland demand of me. It is superfluous to say that the case involves nothing personal, and that my cause is the cause of the whole country. In furtherance of that cause, all that is mine—my name, my liberty and everything else—must be sacrificed and willingly sacrificed. Internment or externment, deportation and the like have no terror for me; and at this time of my life, with no earthly expectations to realise, I feel I can have no more glorious fate to meet in pursuance of gaining home Rule for India, than to become an object of official tyranny.

Renouncement of Titles.

The renouncement of his titles by Mr. S. Subramania Aiyer has roused our unqualified admiration and respect. After the insults heaped on him by the head of the Government of India in London he could not with any self-respect continue to "enjoy" any honors proceeding from that authority.

Indian Education During the War.

In a special supplement to the *Commonweal* it is said:—

The daily newspapers recently reprinted a statement of Mr. Findlay Shirras to the effect that after the strain of the last few years, there has been no tendency to slacken the rate of progress. A study of the statistics does not indicate any evidence in support of that view. In fact the graphs with which he has prefaced his descriptive account prove that he was totally mistaken in making so definite a statement. Here are the figures supplied by himself and let us see what they reveal.

	in lakhs of rupees		
	1911-12	1913-14	1916-17
Expenditure			
1. from public funds ...	406	552	615
2. from private sources ...	382	453	514
3. from all sources ...	788	1005	1126

Thus the increase in expenditure from public funds during

the two years before the War ... 146 lakhs
the three years after the War ... 63 lakhs

In other words, while before the War the Government gave for education 146 lakhs in two years or 73 lakhs in one year, they failed to grant even that much in the three years after the War began. Has Mr. Findlay Shirras considered what this means?

Anglo-Indian journalists have often said that our children get education like orphans almost entirely at the expense of the state. We have ere now exposed the falsehood of such statements, and have said that even if our children's education were entirely free and at the expense of the State, that would not be anything to be ashamed of, for the money in the State treasury is Indian money, not money brought from England, and boys and girls

in rich countries like America have all grades of education provided for them free. On this subject the *Commonweal* says:

• Apologists of the Bureaucracy are generally accustomed to remark that in India the public give practically no assistance in furthering the cause of education. Let us see to what extent that accusation is borne out by facts. When the War began, the contribution from private funds was actually 81 per cent of the Government grants. Three years after the War, it was actually 84 per cent, which shows that the response from the public to the demand for education has improved in spite of the financial stringency created by the War. Here is more conclusive evidence: The following figures give the cost of educating an Indian child on an average from all sources in rupees:

	1914-15	1915-16	1916-17
From provincial revenue ...	3-4-6	3-5-6	3-7-7
From funds of local bodies ...	2-4-6	2-8-6	2-8-9
From private sources ...	5-0-4	5-3-2	5-6-4
Total from all sources ...	10-11-2	11-1-2	11-6-8

It will be seen that the contribution from private sources has always been nearly half the total cost.

Our contemporary proceeds to observe:

What is more noteworthy is the relative increase. During the three years, the cost of education per pupil in the country has gone up by eleven annas, and this increase is made up as follows: Government 3 annas, local bodies 2 annas, and the public 6 annas. Thus the brunt of the increased cost of education has been borne by the people from the private funds.

Mrs. Besant's weekly exposes another curious misrepresentation now prevalent in the country, viz., that the Government have given a great impetus to primary education, greater than to secondary or collegiate education.

This a pure myth. Here are the figures, showing direct expenditure in lakhs incurred by Government under various heads:

	1911-12	1916-17	percentage of increase
Collegiate ...	48	71	47
Secondary ...	208	319	53
Primary ...	207	293	41
Total including others ...	540	792	47

The increase under primary education is thus the lowest, and below the average. The comparison yields a worse percentage if we take into account the figures for only the War years. During the triennium following 1913-14, the general rise in educational expenditure was 19 per cent, whereas that under the primary head was only 14 per cent. Yet there has been no limit to the extent of tall talk in bureaucratic circles on the necessity for encouraging primary education. The Government seem to have decided to universalise elementary education by reducing the proportion of additional grants given to that department!

Educational Developments in Warring Europe.

The war has affected the belligerent countries of Europe more closely than India, but education has received greater

attention there during the war than before the war; whereas in India before the war education received niggardly treatment by the State, and the grants have diminished during the war. We learn from the April *American Review of Reviews* that a remarkable chapter of the current Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, prepared by Mr. W. S. Jesien, of the Division of Foreign Education, deals with the recent history and present condition of the schools of the belligerent countries of Europe as affected by the war. The gist of the chapter is to the effect that, in spite of material losses and temporary disturbances, education has, on the whole, received a striking impetus and has undergone important developments that might have been long deferred if the war has not happened. We can give here only brief fragments of this interesting article (Chapter IV of the first volume of the report for 1917), the whole of which is commended to the attention of persons who are in quest of data to support the thesis that the war is by no means an unmitigated calamity.

The *American Review of Reviews* quotes from the Report :

A world-wide movement to perfect the whole scheme of public education is resulting from the war. The fact that this movement is being carried forward even while the nations are engaged in the exhausting conflict shows the changed conception of the social worth of education. The time is past when education could be considered a national luxury; it is now regarded as a primary necessity of national life, and the most striking illustrations of this new conception are offered by the events that have taken place during the present war.

France and England are engaged in a simultaneous reorganisation of their respective systems of public education, and the continuation school projects now pending in the parliaments at Paris and London, are essentially identical. They both introduce universal compulsory continuation schooling of general and vocational character. The English bill provides, in addition, for an extension and perfection of elementary school compulsion.

About compulsory education in England it is said :

Mr. Herbert Fisher's education bill, introduced in the British House of Commons on August 10, 1917, provides, among other things, for universal compulsory continued education from the completion of the elementary school course to the age of eighteen. Mr. Jesien records this as a 'momentous event,' since few nations have hitherto extended school compulsion beyond the elementary school.

As regards France—

In France compulsory continuation education is provided, in a pending bill, for boys to the age of

twenty and for girls to the age of eighteen; the classes to be held on working days and preferably outside of working hours. Physical training is to be given on Sundays. During a part of the continuation course the instruction will occupy 300 hours a year, and during the remainder 200 hours. The requirements do not apply to youths who are pursuing studies of a higher grade than those in the continuation schools.

Germany, Russia and Poland have not been idle.

In Germany the "Einheitschule" movement, aiming at a democratization of the school system of that country, has made most important progress during the war. In Russia new schools are being organized everywhere. In Italy the elementary system is undergoing extension, and provision has been made for instruction of illiterate adults.

Of special interest in this connection are the events that have taken place in Poland since its evacuation by the old Russian bureaucratic machine. The first use the Poles made of their temporary freedom was to introduce compulsory elementary school attendance, nonexistent under the old regime. New schools were established with such zeal that in one year (1915-16) the number of schools increased by 47 per cent. In Warsaw alone 400 new elementary schools and forty-seven industrial continuation schools were established in that year.

In addition to the present activities, extensive plans for educational reconstruction and reforms after the war are under consideration in all the warring countries. In these plans several features appear with striking similarity in the different countries. It is, for example, the consensus of educational opinion that improvement must be sought in technical and vocational education, in modern languages and commercial subjects, in physical and character training.

The belligerent countries have not been content simply with hating one another during the war. They continue to learn one another's languages to facilitate intercourse after the war. In Great Britain the Modern Language Association says :

It is not possible to give any exact forecast of the commercial relations of England and Germany after the war, but whatever form they may assume there is no doubt that a knowledge of German and German conditions will be required for commercial purposes. In the future it will be even more necessary than in the past that there shall be in responsible quarters people possessing an adequate knowledge of German and all that the study of German in the widest sense should imply. . . . The study of German has inevitably suffered during the war, but we are of opinion that to allow any further diminution to take place, or even to accept the present reduced scale as permanent, would be to the national disadvantage.

The German attitude in this matter is said to be represented by the following quotation from the *Mannheim Gazette* :

The modern languages occupy a prominent position in our real schools and higher real schools (Oberrealschulen). No narrow minds will demand their curtailment because of our unpleasant experience with the French and the English. On the

contrary, the knowledge of these languages is absolutely necessary to us, especially that of English. Ignorance of a foreign language or of a foreign nation is not an element of strength, but of weakness. Besides, Germany has no intention of isolating herself from the rest of the world when the war is over. She does not want to wage war after the war. She strives more than ever to penetrate into the world.The modern languages ought to be given more, not less, time than heretofore.

The study of Russian has made marked progress in Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany.

Can India show a Qualified Electorate ?

It has been objected that Home Rule cannot be given to India because there cannot immediately be a sufficiently large and qualified electorate. We have met this objection in *Towards Home Rule*, Part I (2nd edition), pp. 45-50. We will in this note support our contention by citing the example of Japan. *The Japan Magazine* writes :—

Under the influence of similar movements abroad there is a growing agitation in Japan for extension of the right of franchise. Out of a population of some 60,000,000 in Japan not more than 1,600,000 enjoy the right to vote ; and it is now felt by an increasing number of Japanese citizens that Japan should fall into line with the more advanced countries and extend the vote to all the more intelligent of her subjects. In connection with a meeting held for the furtherance of this object in Tokyo some time ago four men were arrested by the police for advocating universal suffrage, on the ground that such theories savor of Socialist propaganda. The *Hochi Shimbun*, while not going so far as to propose universal suffrage, strongly advocates an extension of the franchise. So long as no more than 2 per cent of the Japanese population have any voice in the Government of the nation the *Hochi* thinks it impossible that Japan can enjoy representative government. It is to the interest of the country that the franchise shall be given to as many intelligent citizens as possible. This is the view of British statesmen, and even in Germany it is beginning to find advocates. Is Japan going to remain behind these countries ? The Kenseikai Party has formulated a bill for the extension of the franchise and presented it to the Imperial Diet ; and the *Hochi* hopes that all parties will sink their differences and support the bill. The *Hochi* ascribes the increasing and widespread corruption in Japanese politics to the very limited number of voters and the facilities afforded election canvassers for bribery. If the nation is to expect any development of Political morality, the growth of constitutional ideas and the purification of electorates the franchise must be extended.

So in Japan out of a total population of 60 millions, only 1,600,000 or 2.6 per cent. are voters. In countries where popular government prevails, there is either universal manhood suffrage, or the franchise is enjoyed according to educa-

tional or property qualifications or both. In the case of India, taking only the test of literacy, we find that there are in British India 10,500,268 literate males of 20 and over. They form 8.6 per cent. of the total male population and 4.3 per cent. of the total male and female population. Thus the literacy test alone will give an electorate to India of 4.3 per cent. of the total population, against the present Japanese electorate consisting of 2.6 per cent. of the total Japanese population. It cannot be pretended either that the Japanese are more intelligent than the Indians, or that representative government was more prevalent in Japan than in India before the late Emperor Meiji gave the Japanese a constitution some fifty years ago.

War work of India and the Dominions.

What India has done during the war is well-known ; and she has done it at her own expense. In addition she has made a "free gift" of one hundred millions sterling to the British Government in Great Britain. The Dominions are also doing their part, but their mother country has, according to Mr. Bonar Law speaking in the House of Commons on June 18 on the new vote of credit of 500 millions sterling, lent them two hundred and six millions sterling.

End of Kaira Struggle.

The struggle of the people of Kaira has ended in their gaining their object. The vow which they took meant that as there had been a failure of crops Government should suspend collection of the revenue from the poor ; and in that case the well-to-do would pay the assessment due by them. To this Government would not at first agree. But early last month Government passed orders on the lines asked for by the passive resisters.

Messrs. M. K. Gandhi and V. J. Patel say in their manifesto to the people of Kaira :

We are obliged to say with sorrow that although the struggle has come to an end it is an end without grace. It lacks dignity. The above orders have not been passed either with generosity or with the heart in them. It very much looks as if the orders have been passed with the greatest reluctance.

All honour to the women and men of Kaira for their fearless and peaceful struggle. All honour to their leaders.

Mr. Gandhi's Gospel of Fearlessness.

In the course of the Kaira struggle Mr. Gandhi has made many speeches which deserve to be rescued from the ephemeral columns of newspapers. In a previous issue we published select passages from them. The following is from a speech which he made in a village named Khadhali.

He said that the first thing to do in any struggle of Satyagraha is to stick to truth. If we make a very subtle definition of truth, it includes many things. But because our definition of truth is rather narrow we are compelled to add a little to it. In this struggle we are not to oppose anybody, we are not to abuse anybody. If the opponent abuses us, we have to tolerate it. If he gives a blow to us with a stick, we have to bear it without giving a blow in return.

"ALWAYS STICK TO TRUTH."

Secondly, a Satyagrahi has to be fearless. He has only to perform his duty. You know that so long as we stick to truth, we remain absolutely free from fear. You will always get protection if your dealings will be straightforward. When we are in the wrong, we feel very nervous about us.

Also the following :

Real bravery lies in receiving rather than in giving blows. Yesterday, I was reading my Gita. Therein I saw that one of the characteristics of a *Kshatriya* was "Apalayanam." It means that in face of danger a *Kshatriya* does not fall back, but, on the contrary, sticks to his post. If our Government will not fight with the Germans as it does now, if our soldiers go and stand before them weaponless and will not use explosives and say, "We will die of your blows," then I am sure our Government will win the war at once. But such an action requires "sanskar"; and India possesses most of it. The vegetables that grow in India will not grow properly in England. The seeds of "sanskar" will flourish in India. Pure bravery lies in the power of endurance. It is real Satyagraha. It means to run away in face of danger."

Cloth famine in Bengal.

A gentleman writes to us from a town in the Central Provinces :

"The cloth famine in Bengal has become a real menace. Everyday one reads something or other about the growing distress in the country—bazaars are looted, wayfarers are robbed, women are stripped naked of their clothes—these and similar items of news are indicative of the distress of the people. The worst has also happened, men and women have committed suicide to avert the shame of nudity. Government have shown commendable quickness in suppressing crime, but have done nothing else. They have acted like an empiric in trying to suppress the external symptoms of the evil without attempting to reach the root of the evil itself. Hence every week some bazaar is looted, though the men are sent to jail the next week with rigorous imprisonment. Public men and journalists have suggested various remedies, but they have fallen on deaf ears. Naturally people ask, has Lancashire anything to do with the trouble ?

"There is another aspect of the trouble which has evaded the notice of the government and people of Bengal.

"Why is it that one hears most about the cloth famine in Bengal ? Is it that Bengal is economically worse off than other parts of India, or is it that Bengal is more dependent on foreign cloth than other parts of India ? In the Central Provinces, which is undoubtedly one of the poorest parts of India, the distress of the people is not so acute because the poorer classes and specially the women-folk are still accustomed to wear home-spun cloth. It is a pity that Bengal with her large population of weavers should fail to make the most of it.

"The duty of the government, however, is clear in the present situation. Something of the nature of a cloth controller should be improvised for the situation who should take stock of the available cotton fabrics in the market and prevent cornering by unscrupulous tradesmen or capitalists. The stress on the market can also be relieved to some extent by the richer classes going in for the comparatively dearer stuff made in the country, allowing the poorer people to purchase the cheaper foreign varieties. Meanwhile relief centres should be opened without delay as suggested in this review last month."

Since we wrote last on the subject more cases of suicide due to cloth-famine, of stripping and robbing of women, of theft and robbery of cloth, of poor school boys absenting themselves from school owing to want of proper clothing, have been reported in the newspapers of Bengal, and brought together in the pages of the *Ashárah* number of the *Prabasi*.

Pre-occupation with the War.

London, June 9.

In the House of Commons replying to Mr. Whitehouse Mr. Bonar Law stated that the Government was considering the question of the position of women with respect to election to the House of Commons.—"Reuter."

This is an example of entire pre-occupation with the War. Another example is furnished by the following :

A DEMOBILISATION SCHEME. Industrial Reconstruction.

London, May 29.

The military authorities and the Labour Ministry are engaged in perfecting a demobilisation scheme. It has far-reaching ramifications including eighteen dispersal depots in England, Scotland and Wales. The basis of the scheme is industrial reconstruction, not military convenience. It is understood that soldiers without occupations will have the option of remaining in the army a little longer than those who have. Many may desire to remain with the colours and with those it may be necessary to garrison India replacing men there who are anxious to get home.—"Reuter."

Indians have no reason to feel proud of the use of the phrase "to garrison India." To garrison means to station soldiers for the purpose of holding in bondage a subject population. Indians are expecting to be

partners in the Empire; but the idea of keeping them under as a subject population appears to be the idea still most prevalent in the minds of the British people or, at any rate, the British governing classes. Another meaning of "to garrison" is to station soldiers for defence. Cannot Indians be trained, equipped and trusted to defend their country even after the war?

A third example of utter pre-occupation with the war is furnished by a pretty long Reuter's telegram dated London, June 20, of which the opening sentence is: "The report is published of the Committee appointed by the Board of Trade to consider the position of shipping and ship-building industries *after the war*."

A fourth example is furnished by another longish Reuter's telegram announcing that "Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee has presented a *further report on trade after the war*."

Other examples are to be found in the following:—

AFTER THE WAR.
No Unemployment.

London, May 29.

Mr. Hayes Fisher, President of the Local Government Board, speaking at an industrial Council did not anticipate any unemployment trouble for many years after the war. He aimed at building at least three hundred workmen's dwellings within a year of the declaration of peace.—"Reuter."

IMPERIAL VS. DOMESTIC.
Separation Urged.

London, May 29.

The annual meeting of the Colonial Institute passed a resolution on the motion of Earl Brassey, urging the separation of the control of Imperial matters from the domestic affairs of the Motherland and that a settlement of the future constitution of the United Kingdom is essential preliminary to the discussion of the future Government of the Empire at the Special Imperial Conference to be summoned after the war.

These are in addition to other examples noticed in previous issues of this Review, such as the publication of the report of the committee appointed to consider the reform or reconstitution of the House of Lords, the attempt to reform the Anglican church, &c.

A most significant proof of the fact that the British people and therefore, British statesmen are thinking of many other things besides the war is that Dr. Fisher's very progressive, comprehensive and almost revolutionary Education Bill has been re-drafted and is being discussed in the British Press clause by clause. In Scotland, we read in the *Times Educational*

Supplement, April 4, "Despite the war, the average of educational activity is being fully maintained, alike by universities, teachers, and local authorities." In Wales, we learn from the same paper, the report of the Royal Commission appointed to consider Welsh educational problems was published on the eve of the college vacations.

**Limit of Admission in College classes
in Allahabad University.**

In a circular which the Registrar of the Allahabad University has sent to its constituent colleges, it is said that "while the number of students in a class should not exceed 60 in any circumstance, preferably it should not be over 45." It is said that this has been done in pursuance of a syndicate resolution. For years past in no province has there been a louder outcry against want of accommodation in Colleges than in the U. P. And yet here, not only have no new Colleges been opened, but the classes are going to be made smaller. In lecturing to classes, 45 is as good or as bad as 60; and as for paying individual attention to students, it is as impracticable in a class of 45 as it is in one of 60. Moreover with its smaller classes, can it be said that graduates or undergraduates of the Allahabad University are mentally better equipped than their fellows in the other Indian Universities where the classes are not so small?

Of U. P. Colleges which have the smallest classes, Queen's College at Benares, a State College, is one. According to the theory that the smaller the College class the better the teaching, this College ought to show good results. Of course, the percentage of success in examinations is not an ideal test of efficiency for a College, but it is the only tangible one. Now, in this year's Allahabad B. A. Examination, the percentage of success for the whole University was as low as 31. But Queen's College shows even a lower percentage of success, viz., 27. Some other small colleges which showed bad results are: Christian College, Lucknow, 24; Jaswant College, Jodhpur, 10. On the other hand some large colleges with full classes also showed bad results: Agra College, 30; M. A.-O. College, Aligarh, 30. Though no conclusions can be drawn from one year's results, the above figures at least show that students can be badly

taught both in small classes as well as in large classes. Its opposite, namely, that students can be taught well in small as well as in big colleges, finds support from the results of colleges which passed a higher percentage than the University average, which was 31. Take some large colleges: Muir Central College, 47; Canning College, 45. Take some smaller colleges: Isabella Thoburn College, 60; St. Andrew's College, Gorakhpur, 50. These figures are taken from the *Leader*.

The U. P. leaders have not yet succeeded in inducing Government or the University to raise the limit of admission in college classes. They should earnestly try to establish more colleges. This is being done in provinces like the Panjab, Bengal and Bombay. Classes in Cambridge University number from 10 to 300. At Harvard some classes are very large and some very small. Professor Taussig's class in economics there numbers in some years as many as 500 students. No doubt, at these universities there are tutors in charge of small groups of students to look after their individual needs. Tutors may be appointed in India, too. Why expect professors to pay attention to the requirements of each student individually, when this is impracticable unless their classes consist of, say, 10 or 15 students each?

What Soldiers are Paid in India and Abroad.

Before the acceptance by the Viceroy at the Delhi Conference of the suggestion that the Indian soldier's pay should be increased, the very idea was scouted by Tory Anglo-Indian journalists. Whenever our papers raised the question, they said that they were trying to get the highest price for "loyalty," or some such equally stupid thing. But see how British and Irish and American soldiers are treated. A message to the "Daily Express" from Dublin says that recruiting in Ireland will be carried out on the lines of the General Election with extensive distribution of leaflets dealing with the pay of soldiers, allowances to dependents and provision of land. In speaking on the Irish situation in the House of Lords Lord Curzon said the promise of land grants to Irish recruits was exactly the same policy as pursued in England for the last two or three years relating to soldiers' small holdings. So British and Irish soldiers

are to get small *jagirs*. Their pay also has been increased during the war, and for soldiers and sailors the income-tax has been specially reduced. The opening paragraphs of an article on "The Government and the Soldiers' Family" in the *American Review of Reviews* for April by S. M. Lindsay, Professor of Social Legislation in Columbia University, runs thus:

Every patriotic man, woman or child, who wants sincerely to "do his bit" to help win this war must expect to make some sacrifice, to do without many things which would be considered ordinarily necessary and proper, and to suffer many hardships. If, however, you know anyone who has already made the great sacrifice of giving up a father, husband, son, brother, or near relative to the extra hazardous "active service" of the military and naval forces of the country, and is at the same time suffering want or distress for lack of food or shelter which money can buy in his neighbourhood, the Bureau of War Risk Insurance in the Treasury Department at Washington wants to hear from you or from such person direct.

A just and generous Government through the action of a patriotic Congress has planned to prevent and alleviate such suffering, not as a matter of charity but of right, not years afterward, through the political favoritism of pensions, but at once by a new scientific application of the principles of social justice.

The Government expects every enlisted man to do his duty not only to his country but also to his family and those dependent upon him for support. Congress enacted in the soldiers' and sailors' insurance law of October 6, 1917—enlarging the activities of the Government bureau of war risk insurance in the Treasury Department—the most generous and far-sighted piece of social legislation that any country has yet put forth. It contains three great divisions: (1) A provision for both compulsory and voluntary allotments of pay, and family allowances to be granted and paid by the Government to the families and dependents of all enlisted men (including women) in the military and naval forces; (2) payment by the Government of compensation and indemnities for death or disability resulting from personal injury suffered or disease contracted in the line of duty, and not due to wilful misconduct, by any commissioned officer or any enlisted man or member of the Nurse Corps (female); (3) a provision for cheap insurance which commissioned officers, enlisted men or members of the Nurse Corps (female) may take voluntarily as added protection.

In America "on March 15, over 1,500,000 persons in the military and naval forces were insured for over twelve billion dollars (\$ 12,000,000,000) and for an average of over \$ 8000 per man." "Many of the largest units of the military forces are more than 90 per cent. insured." We are further informed that "Congress laid the right foundation for this [soldiers' and sailors' insurance] law by raising the pay of the enlisted men in the army and navy, making the minimum pay for nearly

all in the service \$ 30 a month, or *double what it was before* in most cases, and higher than that of any other army in the world."

Lord Ronaldsay on the War Loan.

While we support the War Loan, there are some points in Lord Ronaldsay's speech on the subject which require comment or elucidation. He said: "First, for the moment let us consider what is the financial aid which India has promised to the Empire." It is not India which has promised, it is the Government of India. The people of India and the Government of India are not identical. His lordship also expressed disapprobation of Government officials or anybody else bringing "undue pressure to bear on these people (*i. e.* the masses of the people) to subscribe to the war loan." No pressure, due or undue, ought to be brought to bear on anybody, rich or poor, to subscribe to the war loan. His Excellency also said that by subscribing to the war loan the people could keep the interest (paid from the proceeds of extra taxation) in the country. That is true. But, in Bengal for instance, the people who are subscribing largely are the foreign exploiters (like the Jute Mill-owners) and their brokers, middlemen and retail traders the Marwaris. The bulk of the people only pay the taxes from the proceeds of which the interest is to be paid, they are unable owing to poverty to subscribe and thus get back a part of the taxes in the shape of interest.

His Excellency observed:—

Much of the money which is being used for war purposes is employed to purchase commodities which at one time were imported from foreign countries, but which are now being made in over-increasing numbers in India itself (hear, hear and applause).

And he named boots, hides, and tanning materials as some of these things. In the big advertisements, too, of the War Loan appearing in the dailies, the following paragraph is to be found:

(1) ALL MONEY SPENT IN INDIA.

Probably the greatest advantage to India of the Loan will be spent in India. The money will be used to provide Wheat, Rice, and other foodstuffs, Jute, Cotton, Tea, Hides, Boots and Shoes, Tents, &c., for the use of the Army and the Allies. Therefore, the cultivators, manufacturers, merchants and every community in India will benefit.

Generally speaking, this is undoubtedly an advantage. But we have to see who

are the people actually benefited. In his evidence before the Industrial Commission at Bombay Mr. Karimbhai Adamji Pirbhai stated the well-known fact that factories or concerns owned by Europeans get an unduly large share of Government orders, sometimes in excess of their capacity to promptly execute them, whilst concerns owned by Indians do not get as much patronage as their producing capacity entitles them to. This statement has not been contradicted. Government should publish a list of the firms which receive orders for manufactures and the probable value of the orders, to enable the public to estimate the extent of the benefit to the natives of the country. Of course, even if European firms in the country get most of the orders, some Indian labourers, artisans and clerks get their wages; but that is a small part of the profits.

As for foolstuffs and commodities like Wheat, Rice, Jute, Tea, &c., we have to say something about what is produced in Bengal and Assam. We do not see how the Bengal cultivators of jute and rice are benefiting. Far from enjoying any unusual prosperity on account of the war or on account of the spending of the war loan in India, they are in such distress for want of cash that many of them cannot pay or fully pay their rents and buy cloth for themselves and their families. This has affected the landholders, too; many of them are in straits because of the non-realisation of rents from ryots. As for tea, most of the tea-gardens belong to Europeans. In Assam, where most of these gardens are situated, 549 belong to Europeans and only 60 to Indians.

Excess Profits.

The Government Statistical Department has published figures showing the profits of 42 Jute Mill companies during the last four years in pounds sterling. The following are *net* profits:

Year.	Net Profits in £.
1914	823,000
1915	4,661,000
1916	6,155,000
1917	4,689,000

Total for 4 years . . . £16,288,000

In pre-war years the net profits generally amounted to one million pounds

annually. On account of the war the Jute Companies got huge orders for bags, &c., and thus made enormous profits. So but for the war the profits would have been 4 millions in four years. Hence £12,288,000 represents the excess profits. In England and other belligerent countries excess profits, during the war, have been taxed from 50 to 100 per cent. To be precise, let us quote the scales of the Excess Profits Duty from the *Daily Mail Year Book* for 1918.

This duty is levied on the amount by which profits made in businesses between the outbreak of the war and August 1st, 1918, exceeded by more than £200 the standard of profits made before the war. If the business was started after the war began, 50 per cent. of the excess in the period ending August 4th, 1915, is payable. This rate rises to 60 per cent. for the period ending after August 4th, 1915, and before January 1st, 1917. In other cases, 50 per cent. is charged as duty on the excess for the year from the beginning of the first accounting period, and 60 per cent. on the excess earned in the period beginning at the expiration of that year and ending on or before December 31st, 1916. And 80 per cent. on any excess profits earned after December 31st, 1916.

If the Jute Mills had been taxed only 50 per cent. of their excess profits Government could have got in 4 years £6,144,000. The Cotton Mills and many other concerns also have made huge extra profits during the war. Why did not Sir William Meyer, or rather the Government of India have the courage and the fairness to tax the rich owners of these concerns, instead of taxing the poor man's salt, raising the customs duties, and increasing railway fares and freights?

Advisory Committees.

Advisory Committees to consider the cases of detenus and state prisoners have been appointed in Bengal, U. P. and the Panjab, and perhaps in some other provinces, too. We have already expressed our opinion on the degree of usefulness of these Committees. We shall be glad if in consequence of their labours, any political suspects regain their liberty. No judge, however capable and impartial, can, generally speaking, arrive at the truth by considering merely *ex parte* and untested evidence placed before him by the police. No lawyers are to be allowed to appear, and there will be no examination and cross-examination of witnesses. From the fact that no public notice or notice to the persons concerned has been given of

the sittings or mode of procedure of the Bengal committee, we do not think that the detenus will have the opportunity of producing rebutting evidence. Their memorials will, no doubt, be considered. But if they are not told definitely on what grounds they have been deprived of their liberty, about or against what are they to submit memorials?

The committees are merely advisory; their findings will not be binding on the Government.

Under all these circumstances, it will not be just to conclude that those who may remain under restraint after the committees have done their work, were really guilty of any offence.

As for the impartiality or the freedom from bias or prejudice of the Government servants or pensioners who are on the committees, we do not like to say anything regarding them individually. Speaking generally, we would ask our readers to draw their conclusions from what took place during the debate in the House of Commons, on May 9, which followed the publication of General Maurice's letter on some statements made by Mr. Lloyd George about the army. Mr. Asquith said:

The Government had admitted that there was a case for enquiry. He regarded the proposal that two judges of experience should hold such an enquiry in such circumstances as unsatisfactory. Such a tribunal would be impotent unless it had statutory powers, and he suggested a non-party committee of five members of the House of Commons, who could probably reach a decision which would be respected by the House and the country in two or three days.

He proceeded:

Any Government statement of facts would be *ex parte* and made in the absence of those who had impugned the accuracy of previous statements. Mr. Asquith urged that it was in the honour and interest of the Government, the House, the Army, the nation and the Allies and the unhampered prosecution of the war, to establish a tribunal of enquiry which from its constitution and powers would be able to give a prompt decisive and authoritative judgment. He hoped regarding some of these matters that there had been honest misunderstanding, but the clearer the case the Ministers had for proving the accuracy of the impugned statements the more cogent was the argument in favour of an enquiry under conditions which nobody could suspect of partiality or prejudice. (Laughter, in which Mr. Bonar Law joined).

Mr. Asquith, turning to Mr. Bonar Law, asked whether Mr. Bonar Law thought that a Select Committee of the House was not an unsuspected tribunal.

Mr. Bonar Law replied that every member of the House of Commons was either friendly or unfriendly to the Government, and therefore prejudiced.

Mr. Asquith retorted, "I am very sorry to hear the leader of the House suggest that there cannot be five members of the House of Commons who are not so steeped in party prejudice that they can not be trusted to judge a pure issue of fact. I leave it there."

The reader is to bear in mind that here the freedom from prejudice of Englishmen who were either His Majesty's Judges or Members of Parliament was the subject under consideration, and some of the men who were pronouncing opinion on it were men of Cabinet rank.

It may also be pointed out that when the Sinn Fein leaders recently arrested and interned were asked whether they would agree to have their cases, not tried, but simply investigated by two High Court Judges, their answers were in the negative.

Reported Suicide of a Detenu.

A report has reached us that a detenu or state prisoner named Rasik Lal Sarkar who was confined in Rajshahi jail has committed suicide by soaking his clothes in Kerosene oil and setting fire to them. We earnestly request the Government to enquire into the matter and make known the true facts.

Rigorous Imprisonment for Kutubdia Detenus.

The 17 Kutubdia detenus who openly left that place, after apprising the local police of that fact beforehand, to lay their grievances before the Magistrate, have been tried and sentenced by a special tribunal to two months' rigorous imprisonment each. This is an excessive punishment for a merely technical offence. That the detenus had real grievances, and that the Superintendent of Police did not forward many of their telegraphic and epistolary complaints to Government cannot be denied by any one who has read the report of the trial in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The tribunal says that they were over-sensitive. Ideas differ. They were not convicts (and even convicts have good water supplied to them in jail) and for them not to have good drinking water (to take only one grievance) was a real source of inconvenience and possibly ill health; it does not require any extra sensitiveness to think it so. The tribunal disbelieved the allegations of torture in Dullunda House on what grounds we do not know:

Fresh Disabilities of Indians in South Africa.

Writing to some Bombay papers, Mr. M. K. Gandhi draws attention to fresh disabilities imposed on Indians by the Union Government in South Africa by the recent introduction of railway travelling restrictions. He says, Indians would have been content if the existing colour prejudice was left to work itself but instead of the Union Government feeding the prejudice by giving legal recognition to a anti-colour campaign. Mr. Gandhi urges that the pendency of the war cannot be used as an effective shield to cover fresh wrongs and insults. He appeals to Englishmen in India along with Indians to lend their valuable support to the movement to redress the wrongs. He further points out that the Attorney-General has obtained a ruling from the Natal Supreme Court to the effect that the subjects of Native States are aliens and not British subjects and are not entitled to protection so far as appeals under a peculiar section of the Immigrants Restriction Act are concerned. Thus if the local court's ruling is correct, a quarter of Indian settlers in South Africa who are subjects of Indian States will be deprived of the security of residence there for which they fought for eight years and which they thought they had won.

The news is very serious indeed. In a letter to the *Statesman*, Mr. C. F. Andrews writes:—

Mr. Ahmed Muhammad Cachalia, the leader of the Indian community, has cabled (and the cable has passed the censor) that new statutory regulations have been passed imposing a colour bar against Indians which never existed before in the eyes of the law, and that these regulations (which have been promulgated in war time) have broken right across the settlement reached by General Smuts just before the war began in June, 1914...

I know Mr. Cachalia, the Indian leader, personally. He is a modest and retiring man, who was of the greatest help in bringing about the settlement itself by his reasonable views. He has learnt, in a very hard school of suffering, what a tragedy it would be, if Indians were obliged to take up the whole struggle once more. He would never do so except as a last resort. Yet it is he who has cabled, that Indians of all classes—Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsees and Christians—are unanimous in their decision, that this is the only honourable course left open, if these new restrictions are not removed.

Srish Chandra Vasu.

It is with deep personal sorrow that we

put on record the passing away from this world of that large-hearted scholar, Babu Srish Chandra Vasu, B.A., Vidyarnava, Rai Bahadur, retired District and Sessions Judge, on Sunday the 23rd June last at his residence in Allahabad. He was like an elder brother to us. May his great soul ever have the congenial work and the union with the Supreme Spirit for which he longed!

"A Moral Equivalent of War."

Professor William James has said that the great need of our day is a moral equivalent of war. This is true in many senses. Those who by establishing a League of Nations or other means are seeking to put an end to war, have to find out this moral equivalent of war. Men have thought it just to wage war to win freedom and independence, to maintain freedom and independence, to defend hearth and home, to abolish slavery of all sorts, to help those who fight for any of the above causes, and to baffle the evil designs of the greedy and the wickedly ambitious. The leaders of humanity have to find out a moral equivalent of war which will suffice to achieve all these objects. Further, this moral equivalent must be able to develop those qualities of character which are associated with heroism. Peace must not lead to effeminacy. Means must be found to make the world's workers as hardy and indefatigable as war makes soldiers. The high qualities of courage, of devotion, and of readiness for the utmost sacrifice at a moment's notice or no notice at all, are too precious to be lost. As in war, so in peace, they must be made to endure.

It is a high and difficult task to find a moral equivalent of war which will suffice for all these ends. But men and women live for high tasks, not for slothful ease.

Brahmananda Sinha.

In Babu Brahmananda Sinha, M.A., the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh have lost an unostentatious and public-spirited worker who took pains to keep himself well-informed about everything that he set his hands to. He was for some years principal of the Rampur State High School, and as an educationist edited and published an educational monthly. As a journalist he edited for some years the

Indian Union at Allahabad. "He was a careful and talented writer to whom," the *Leader* says, "the *Leader* among other papers was indebted." He was for some years the secretary of the Upper India Couper Paper Mills, Ltd., Lucknow, and subsequently assistant secretary of the Hindu University Society. He was chosen president of the provincial industrial conference held at Meerut in 1914, and as such delivered a very able address. This he was able to do because of his special study of industrial subjects. He was noted for his excellent character and mild and affable disposition.

Percentage of Success at University Examinations.

It is said that this year 50 per cent. of the candidates for the Calcutta Matriculation have been successful. This result is worse than that of some previous years. But the results of some examinations at Madras and Allahabad have been far worse. In fact, these latter Universities have been for years past famous for the large proportion of failures in their examinations. Neither high percentages of failures nor of successes can be accepted as proofs of the imparting of good education. But this can be said without injustice to anybody that those who are teachers and examiners alike and control both teaching and examination, are either bad teachers or bad examiners or both, if the alumni of their University largely fail to pass its examinations; for Indian boys are not dullards. That in the Calcutta University, even after the Curzonian new regulations, there has not hitherto been any narrowing of opportunities for high education or any abnormal increase of failures has been greatly due to Sir Ashutosh Mukherji's influence.

The Reform Scheme in England.

Though the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme has not yet (June 29) been published in India, many persons must have come to know its details in England. For Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and others have already pronounced their opinions on it. Various forecasts have been published here. The Curtis scheme is being made much of in England. Many articles on Indian reforms have been published there. Sydenhamites and others are quite freely doing

their best to oppose Indian aspirations. Under the circumstances, the cancelling of the passports of the Home Rule delegations has been both unjust and pusillanimous;—pusillanimous, because it indicates a panicky and guilty consciousness that it would be difficult to face even a few Indian advocates of Home Rule in England with fair arguments. The Madras Government's defence of the granting of a passport to Dr. Nair is of the flimsiest character and cannot bear a moment's examination. Why cannot men in responsible office keep silence when their case is rotten?

Back Numbers and Yesterdays.

It has become the fashion for some people to speak sneeringly or slightly of back numbers and yesterdays. While ~~we cannot~~ indiscriminately swear by or quote the authority of either back or current numbers, we must recognise that many back numbers are valuable and many better than current numbers. The fact of one being a current number is not in itself a claim to respect. Let him or it stand the test of time as many back numbers have done. As for Yesterdays, why, they are not only the predecessors of Todays, but often their progenitors, too. We have never belonged to Babu Surendranath Banerjea's party, but we do not think it serves any useful purpose to run him down in season and out of season, though nobody should object to well-founded and informed criticism. If he be a back number or a yesterday, let him lie on the shelf; why raise the dust? He did good work in his day. We confess we have not followed the charges levelled against Mr. Banerjea, or against Mrs. Annie Besant either, and to that extent we are ourselves a back number. Mr. H. W. Nevins has observed that the people of India require an accession of courage more than of intelligence. Who can deny that Mrs. Besant's personal example has made many journalists and platform speakers bolder than ever? That is an inestimable service.

Bare Facts and Emotional Language.

The bare facts relating to India are in the long run more telling than language surcharged with emotion.

King's Commissions for Indians.

In his speech at the Delhi War Conference the Viceroy said that King's commissions would be liberally granted to Indians. The publication of the *communiqué* announcing the decision of His Majesty's Government on this matter has aroused little enthusiasm in the country, one reason for which is that liberality is not much in evidence in the document. In fact, of the various kinds of commissions to be granted, no numbers are given. It is only said that *ten* Indian gentlemen will be *nominated* annually during the war for cadetships at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. Considering the vast population of India, and the vast number of Indian soldiers, the figure ten is insignificant. It is only rich men's sons who will be able to proceed to England and contribute, as required, £35 towards the cost of uniforms, books, recreation, etc., and a pocket money allowance not exceeding £50 a year. Nomination by the local governments or political administrations, is made the only door of entrance. This actually means that physical, moral and intellectual fitness alone will not suffice. A young man's guardians must be in the good books of the bureaucracy, and we know what that means. If nomination must be retained, it should be by the heads of educational institutions. They are to attach due importance to leadership in sports, athletics, &c. A much larger number than ten should be nominated in this way, and ten should be chosen out of them by means of competitive tests.

A Royal Military College, like that at Sandhurst, should be established in India, and all officers, British and Indian, required for the Indian army, should be trained here. The advantages of British and Indian cadets being trained together may be secured in this way.

We are not told whether the pay and prospects of the Indian officers are to be equal or inferior to those of British officers.

Besides the ten cadets to be trained at Sandhurst who will qualify in due course for King's commissions, His Majesty the King-Emperor has decided to grant:

(1) A certain number of substantive King's Commission in the army to selected Indian officers who have specially distinguished themselves in the present war.

(2) A certain number of King's Commissions conferring Honorary Rank in the Indian army to selected Indian officers who have rendered distinguished service not necessarily during the present war and who owing to age or lack of educational qualifications are not eligible for substantive King's Commissions. Such Honorary Commissions will carry with them special advantages in respect of pay and pension.

(3) A certain number of temporary but substantive King's Commissions in the Indian army to selected candidates nominated partly from civil life and partly from the army. Those selected from civil life will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the local governments and political administrations concerned. They must be between the ages of 19 and 25 and will be drawn from families which have rendered good service to Government and more especially those which have actively assisted in recruiting during the present war. Those selected from the army must also be between the age of 19 and 25 and will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the general officers in whose commands they are serving. In making selections preference will be shown to officers or non-commissioned officers who have displayed special aptitude as leaders and instructors.

On the termination of the war temporary officers appointed under this scheme who have proved themselves efficient in every respect and who desire to make the army their profession will be considered for permanent commissions. The remainder will be retired on a gratuity with permission to wear the uniform of the rank held at the time of retirement.

• "Those selected from civil life will be nominated by His Excellency the Viceroy on the recommendation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the local governments and political administrations concerned. They..... will be drawn from families which have rendered good service to Government and more especially those which have actively assisted in recruiting during the present war." Everyone can understand the inner meaning of these words. It is not thus that British, Colonial and American young men are chosen for commissions. It is not in this way that British college students are admitted to the Officers' Training Corps in the Universities. The arts which enable men to win the good graces of the bureaucracy in India are not the best school for developing those qualities of manhood and leadership which make for success in war. Government may and ought to reward service with honors, *jagirs* or money grants; but it is a pernicious idea that any posts, civil or military, should be given, not solely or mainly for fitness for the same, but as a reward for some other kind of service. A successful recruiter would not necessarily

make a successful officer. What similarity is there between the art of recruiting and that of leading men in battle? Is it recognised to be the right principle in any civilised country that professors, judges, engineers, &c., are to be drawn only from families which have rendered good service to government? Why then are military officers to be drawn only from such families? Government will not get the best men from such a narrow field of choice. Should the men thus chosen fail to give satisfaction, it would not be just for Government to say in future, "Indians cannot make good officers."

We recognise that Government has made a beginning and duly appreciate the value of the beginning that has been made; but we cannot say that it is a good beginning or that it is one which is full of promise.

The Calcutta University Commission.

When the Calcutta University Commission was appointed and the names of its members were announced, we frankly criticised its unsatisfactory constitution and pointed out its defects. We particularly pointed out that there ought to have been in the Commission some Indian member or members acquainted with the working of the Calcutta University but not belonging to the party of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji or dependent on him for any kind of patronage or favour. For the evils the eradication of which was undoubtedly one of the objects of the Commission, were to a great extent the outcome of the Tammany Hall methods introduced during his long term of Vice-Chancellorship and continued during his successor's regime because of the overwhelming numbers of his creatures and followers in the University. For the eradication of these evils the Commission required firsthand information proceeding from a source other than Sir Ashutosh or his party. But there is no one in the Commission who can supply such information. The president and members of the Commission have to depend for all detailed information on Sir Ashutosh. There is no one to correct or contradict him. Even as regards what the people of Bengal want or do not want, he is the only authority in the Commission. We have never denied that he has done much for collegiate and university educa-

tion. But his work has been of a very mixed quality, in which perhaps the evil has preponderated. In any case, he is neither infallible nor unbiassed. Some corrective was needed, but was not provided.

This state of things could have been partly remedied, if independent witnesses had been called to give evidence before the Commission. But truth has been sought to be shut out from the Commission in various ways. The defective constitution, already referred to, was one such means. Next, the questions framed by the Commission were such as diverted attention from the crying evils of the present system and method of administration and dissipated attention over a large expanse of other details. Then, the questions were sent to carefully selected persons, to the exclusion of certain other persons. To give an example. The editor of this Review, which has published more Notes and articles on education and higher education than all the English newspapers and periodicals in Bengal combined, did not at first get the questions. In fact, he never got the questions from the secretary of the Commission. He got them, later than those who got them direct from the secretary, from the Commissioner of the Presidency Division, whose personal assistant was a friend of a friend of the editor, who besides being a journalist has had about a quarter of a century's educational experience as a professor. We do not know in what other ways unwelcome evidence was tried to be excluded, and evidence was sought to be packed.

After receiving the questions, we criticised them in this Review and in *Prabasi*. We also gave a summary of the charges brought against the University. We sent marked copies of all the numbers of the *Modern Review* published in recent years which contained any criticism of the University, the Educational services, the present University Commission, etc., to the president, the secretary and each member of the commission. These copies were sent by registered post, and the president, the secretary and some of the members acknowledged their receipt. We also sent answers to the questions and in due course got a proof for correction. Our answers contained some of the charges against the university and criticism of university methods which had appeared in

our review. So the Commission cannot plead ignorance of what is said against the university. We do not know whether the Commission at all paid any attention to these things, or whether they took these charges and criticisms seriously. If they did, did they find them true? If, on the other hand, they dismissed them as frivolous, we do not know on what information they did so, nor why in that case they did not ask the editor of this Review to appear before them as a witness to substantiate at least those allegations which he had made in his journal and in his answers on his own authority. We do not know definitely whether the Commission orally examined any witnesses at all; if they did, who are they? The present writer is not the only person who might have been but was not called for examination. More distinguished persons can be named, but we refrain.

The Public Services Commission examined a host of witnesses. The main questions appeared in the papers, and the summaries of the evidence of the principal witnesses also appeared from day to day. Education,—University Commission, is, we suppose, not a trifling thing. The public services are recruited from the ranks of educated men. There would be no public life and public spirit without education. It is the educated young men and women of the country who are to become our future leaders and exemplars. Such being the case, it is surprising that the Calcutta Indian dailies have not attached any importance to the University Commission. Babus Motilal Ghose and Surendranath Banerjee are and pose as leaders of opposing parties in Bengal. We ask them to say what they have done in this matter in their papers. We charge them with grave dereliction of public duty. Not only have they not themselves done what they ought to have done, they have not even patronised the present writer by reproducing or commenting on anything on University affairs which has appeared in the *Modern Review*. Once indeed when a grave charge was brought against the University office in this review, an editorial paragraph in the *Bengalee* threatened the present writer with criminal prosecution, (at whose command let the reader guess), if he did not withdraw the charge. He did not withdraw the charge, but no prosecution followed. Babu Surendranath

Banerjea has a college. That may have demoralised him, as the various means of patronage and injury at the disposal of Sir Ashutosh has demoralised considerable numbers of "educated" men. But what is the matter with Babu Motilal Ghose?

No, the public press of Bengal has not helped the Commission as it ought to have done. So if the labours of the Commission and all the public money spent for it do not bear much good fruit, or if the evil consequences outweigh the good, the public of Bengal and their leaders must bear no small share of the blame. After all a people get what they deserve. We shall get what we have deserved. There are those who support and even admire what we have written all along; but few there are who have boldly lent public support to a man who cannot show even a bullock cart in token of his "position" and "respectability."

Besides formal means and channels of information available to the Commission, there was also the channel of social intercourse. Dr. Sadler, the president, has not neglected this channel altogether. It is but seldom that men like him and some of his colleagues come out to India. It would have been of much advantage to India, not merely for the purposes of this Commission but in other ways too, if at least he could have mixed, more than he has found opportunities of doing, with Indian men of independent and non-partisan views. This was more possible in a small place like Darjeeling than in a big city like Calcutta. But unfortunately, we hear, in Darjeeling, where he spent several months, it so happened or it was so arranged that among his human surroundings the Indian element had a uniformity or monotony of a certain university type which remained unvaried from day to day, and was the same even in the Governor's garden party.

Waste of Paper.

It is said Government intend taking steps to check the waste of paper. Let them begin with their own offices. In the next place, let the extravagant waste of exercise books in schools be put a stop to. The number of such books which poor parents have to buy for their sons and daughters is a great and unnecessary hardship. For most of the work done in class by pupils, slates are quite as good as and

far more economical than paper. In our school days and long thereafter, slates were used for working out sums in mathematics, for dictation exercises, and for various other purposes, including even the improvement of handwriting. The students of those days were not worse educated than their present-day successors.

The late Professor Homersham Cox.

We are sorry to record the death of Professor Homersham Cox at Vizagapatam. He belonged to a family of mathematicians and was a high Cambridge wrangler. He was professor of mathematics in Muir Central College, Allahabad. He was a very good writer of English and was one of our most valued contributors. He had studied philosophy to good purpose. Arabic literature and theology were among his subjects of study and though he was not a Christian he had extensive knowledge of biblical criticisms and exegesis. He was a man of liberal sympathies and liked to encourage patriotism among young Indians and old. In Allahabad he was known as a kind-hearted friend of the poor and maintained a free school for poor boys at his own expense. English was taught here according to the direct method. His views regarding education and the manning and control of the Education Department coincided largely with those held by cultured and well-informed Indians.

Ancient Indian Shipping.

The attention of the readers of the *Modern Review* interested in ancient Indian Shipping is drawn to a Brahmi inscription and a diagram over a cave at Duwe-Gala in the Tamankaduwa district in Ceylon published by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C. C. S. (Retired), late Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, in *The Ceylon Antiquary and Library Register*, Volume III., Part III (p. 204, plate XX., Duwe Gala No. 1). I reproduce what he writes:—

"Above the brow of cave No. 1. This *pratiloma*, or "reversed writing," record of 11 aksharas is inscribed in that older form of B. C. "Cave character" in which the ra is wavy and the palatal sa stroke bent over and drawn down level with the foot of the letter. Le of lena is the only letter not reversed from right to left.

"The quaint outline diagram, (1 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft.

71a.) carved to right of the record, depicts a barque, high of prow and stern, with mast, yard, shrouds, and a pronged device at the mast-head. It seems to illustrate the epithet *Barata*, and to connect the Buddhist eremite with the continent of India.

A tracing of the outline diagram is given below.

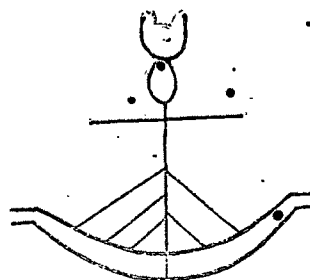
TEXT.

Ea ra ta Sa ga Ra ki ta Sa le ne

TRANSLATION.

Cave of Sangha Rakhita of Bharata (India).

Mr. Bell adds in a note, "*Barata*": Not uncommon in cave inscriptions. Mr. Parker translates 'royal messenger': here the 'ship' design may well imply that the monk came from India (*Barata-Bharata*)."



• RAMAPRASAD CHANDA.

LOVE

What is all worldly welfare without love ?
 High places, power, dignity, respect ;
 All these fall short of the one crowning joy
 Of love. It is this blessed gift alone
 Brings perfect peace into our yearning heart ;
 We may pursue ambition's perilous path
 With restless eagerness, and swelling pride ;
 But all is vanity ; it has no joy
 To satisfy the cravings of our soul ;
 One kiss of love, or clasp of friendship's hand ;
 One warm embrace, or even kindly smile
 Showing that we have really won the love
 Of wife, or child, of brother, or of friend ;
 This cheers our heart, and gives us inward joy,
 And is worth more, far more, to us than all
 The hollow flatteries the world can give.
 They are of earth ; but dropping down from heaven,
 Is the sweet tenderness of heartfelt love.

J. E. ANDREWS.



A TRYST IN THE HEAVENS.

By Courtesy of the Artist, Babu Saradacharan Ukil.

2000

Prabharat
Ramayan
—



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2. VII.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S INDIAN ADMINISTRATION

LORD William Bentinck had served as Governor of Madras but was recalled after the outbreak of the Mutiny at Vellore. The disgrace was rankling in his breast, and so he applied for the post of Governor-General of India after the retirement of Lord Amherst. The course which he adopted was an unusual one. But it has been justified on the ground that

"He wished that the country which had been the scene of his undeserved humiliation, should also be the scene of his administrative triumphs. These considerations must be taken into full account, if we would form an accurate estimate of the motives which induced Lord William Bentinck to appear as a candidate for the office."

Sir William Kaye, from whose article in the *Calcutta Review* the above extract has been made, mentions the special qualifications which Bentinck possessed for the Indian administration. He writes:

"When formerly Governor of Madras, he had devoted his active mind with great ardour to the study of Indian politics. He had made himself master of every subject connected with the internal economy and working of the Government. He had sketched out many plans for the improvement of the administration. In his eagerness to carry those views into effect, and to prevent their being subverted by superior authority, he had, in one instance, adopted the extraordinary step of quitting his own presidency and proceeding to Calcutta."†

But no Indian having any sense of self-respect and not altogether wanting in patriotism, can praise Lord Bentinck for all the trouble he took for making himself master of every subject connected with the working of the government, during the period of his governorship of Madras. True it is, that during this period of his governorship, he was quick enough to perceive the benefits which Muhammadan rule had conferred on the natives of this country and which the Anglo-Indian Government of that day from the very nature of

its constitution was precluded from doing. He wrote:

"In many respects the Mahomedans surpassed our rule; they settled in the countries which they conquered; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives; they admitted them to all privileges; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this—cold, selfish and unfeeling."

It was easy for him to diagnose the disease and mention its symptoms. He knew the remedy also—the remedy which was calculated to cure the disease. But he did not propose to apply the remedy. It was during his governorship that one of the members of his council at Madras, by the name of Mr. William Thackeray, penned a minute from which the following extracts are made:

"It is very proper that in England, a good share of the produce of the earth should be appropriated to support certain families in affluence, to produce senators, sages, and heroes for the service and defence of the state,.....The leisure, independence, and high ideas, which the enjoyment of this rent affords, has enabled them to raise Britain to the pinnacle of glory. Long may they enjoy it;—but in India, that haughty spirit, independence, and deep thought, which the possession of great wealth sometimes gives, ought to be suppressed. They are directly adverse to our power and interest.....We do not want generals, statesmen, and legislators; we want industrious husbandmen."

Referring to the above, Mr. Digby truly observes:—

"Mr. Thackeray was without excuse. Lord William Bentinck, who of set purpose selected Mr. Thackeray as his mouthpiece, they holding ideas in common, is even more without excuse."

(Prosperous British India, p. 41).

If we remember the above facts, we shall be able to understand Bentinck's policy when he held the office of Governor-General of India. Of course, he was not popular with the Anglo-Indian community of his day, because he disturbed the allowances of the civil and military

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I. p. 341

† *Ibid.*, p. 340.

officers. He was denounced by his Christian countrymen, because he touched their pockets. It is on this account that the memory of Lord William Bentinck is held in execration in the annals of Anglo-India. Even the paid historiographer of the East India Company, Mr. Thornton, had no good words to say of Lord Bentinck. The reader is referred to his *History of British India* for the estimate he formed of his lordship. * So fair-minded a writer as the Honorable Mr. Frederick Shore wrote of Lord Bentinck :

"But what has been the general result of Lord William's government? What has become of his determination to do his best for the interests of the people over whom he has been placed? Professions in abundance we have had; it has been a government of professions, which has begun and ended in words. It may have been his intention to have fulfilled them; but he forgot to add the qualifying proviso, that his good intentions were never to interfere with the main principle of the British Indian Government, profit to themselves and their masters at the expense of the people of India. * * The abominable system of purveyance and forced labour is still in full force. The commerce and manufactures of the country are daily deteriorated by the vexatious system of internal duties which is still preserved—.....the people are neither happier nor richer than they were before—indeed, their impoverishment has been progressive—for while the evils enumerated have continued in full force, the revenue screw has scarcely been relaxed half a thread of the many hundreds of which it is composed;.....while the natives, the East Indians, and the English settlers, are found equally murmuring at the little which has been practically done to improve their condition."

(Notes on Indian Affairs, Vol. II., pp. 223-224).

But because he was unpopular with his own countrymen, it does not necessarily follow that he wanted to injure them. No, he was their true friend and well-wisher.

* "It remains only to state that he (Lord Bentinck) quitted India in May, 1835, having held the office of Governor-General somewhat longer than the ordinary period; but having done less for the interest of India and for his own reputation than any who had occupied his place since the commencement of the nineteenth century, with the single exception of Sir George Barlow. His besetting weakness was vanity—the idol of his worship was popularity, and he sought to win its behests by an unrestrained sacrifice to what is called the 'Spirit of the Age.' Economy was in fashion, and therefore Lord William Bentinck was an economist. It was a period when showy and noisy pretension was permitted, in many instances, to carry off the rewards and honors which were due only to deep and solid attainments, and Lord William Bentinck challenged praise for a system designed to work in accordance with the popular feeling—professing to foster merit, but, in truth, calculated to foster only undue influence..... For all these acts, charity itself can assign no motive but a weak and inordinate appetite for temporary admiration." Vol. V. pp. 235-36.

Every political and administrative measure that he carried out in India was for their benefit and calculated to do harm to the natives of the soil.

By Indian historians in general, Lord William Bentinck is considered to have been a peace-loving Governor-General. It is true that he did not involve India in costly wars like those of which his predecessors like Wellesley, Marquis Hastings and Lord Amherst had been guilty. But then the finances of the country were in such a precarious condition when he was appointed to the high post of Governor-General that he could not indulge in the luxury of any costly war. He had to carry out retrenchments and so he was obliged to touch the pockets of his own co-religionists and compatriots, for which he was so unpopular with them.

However, there was one war during his regime by which a large province was made to lose its independence. Coorg was coveted by Anglo-Indians, because it appeared to them almost a paradise on earth. Says Mr. L. Bowring, who was for some years Chief Commissioner of Mysore and Coorg, in his "Eastern Experiences" :—

"Few parts of India are more picturesque than the little hill province of Coorg, and nowhere can be found a more gallant and loyal race than its inhabitants..... In former days, when to a native mind, the merit of a territory was its inaccessibility, few States enjoyed such an immunity from invasion as Coorg, the only approaches to it being through dense tangled woods, or up the face of steep mountains, clothed with forest trees, and cut up by stony water-courses."

It was to lift the *purdah* of and annex this beautiful land, that Lord William Bentinck made a war on its sovereign. The princes of Coorg were always friendly to the English. When the latter went to war with Tippoo, the help which they received from the then reigning prince of Coorg, made them conclude a treaty with Coorg in 1790 with the following stipulations ;—

"1. While the sun and moon endure, the faith of the contracting parties shall be kept inviolate.

2. Tippoo and his allies are to be treated as common enemies. The Rajah will do all in his power to assist the English to injure Tippoo.

3. The Rajah will furnish, for fair payment, all the supplies his country affords, and have no connection with other 'topiwallahs.'

4. The Company guarantee the independence of Coorg, and the maintenance of the Rajah's interests in the case of a peace with Tippoo.

5. An asylum and every hospitality is offered to the Rajah and his family at Tellicherry until the establishment of peace.

"God, Sun, Moon and Earth be witnesses!"—The Calcutta Review, September, 1856, p. 188.

But as usual with the East India Company, their dealings with Coorg were not fair. It would seem that Lord Bentinck was bent upon annexing Coorg because he knew its value to the colonisers of his race and creed when he was Governor of Madras. No trouble would have occurred, had the Coorg question been properly dealt with. The claims of the last Rajah of Coorg were not well founded. Revd. Dr. Moegling, in his history of Coorg, published in the *Calcutta Review* for September 1856, wrote:

"The present Ex-Rajah succeeded. He was acknowledged by the British Government without any difficulty, it appears. Devammaji's claims, and the promises of the Supreme Government given to her father were overlooked. The resolution of the Marquis of Hastings, that the Coorg question should be investigated when Virarajendra's daughter would reach majority, seems to have been forgotten."

The Raja was represented (or mis-represented) to be an incarnation of the Devil, and it was said that he delighted in murdering in cold blood his relatives and subjects. Affairs reached the climax when the Raja's sister Devammaji and her husband fearing assassination at the hands of the Raja sought protection of the Resident of Mysore. It does not seem unreasonable that she fled to the Company's territory, in order to draw the attention of the Company to her claims to the sovereignty of Coorg. It may be that she might have concocted all the stories of the cruelties of her brother in order to gain her own end. But the Resident and the Company not only took her and her husband under their protection, but they wanted to coerce the Raja. The Raja as an independent sovereign resented this interference. He was irritated beyond measure and it is alleged that he indulged in mad schemes. If he did so, his conduct was not unjustifiable. Perhaps, the authorities were seeking for a pretext to annihilate the sovereignty of Coorg and so provoked the Raja to take those measures which were necessary to maintain his dignity and safety.

This was just what the authorities were longing for. War was declared against the Raja. An expedition under British officers was sent to his territory. The Raja never meant war and so it was not difficult for the British force to occupy his

country. Even the Revd. Dr. Moegling is forced to say that

"the Rajah, incited partly by the hope.....that a reconciliation was yet possible, partly by the fear, that he might lose all, if matters went to extremities, sent orders prohibiting the Coorgs from encountering the troops of the Company. To this vacillation of the Rajah, the several divisions of the British expedition, then marching into Coorg, were more indebted for their success and even safety, than to the skill and talents of their commanders." *

The Raja submitted. He was dethroned and sent a captive to Benares. Had Lord Bentinck been an honest man, here an opportunity presented itself to investigate the claims of the princess to the throne of Coorg. He did nothing of the sort, but on the contrary annexed the province on the ostensible plea that the people of Coorg unanimously desired to be placed under the protection of the East India Company! We know the significance of this diplomatic declaration.†

The following Proclamation was issued to annihilate the national existence of Coorg.

"Whereas it is the unanimous wish of the inhabitants of Coorg to be taken under the protection of the British Government, His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General has been pleased to resolve, that the territory heretofore governed by Virarajendra Vodeya shall be transferred to the Honorable Company. The inhabitants are hereby assured that they shall not again be subjected to native rule, that their civil and religious usages will be respected, and that the greatest desire will invariably be shown by the British Government to augment their security, comfort and happiness."

Mr. Bowring writes:—

"the province being one of the very few British possessions in India which has become such no. by conquest, but by the free consent of the population. Perhaps owing to this fact, the government to which

* Ibid, p. 199.

† Thornton as an apologist for the annexation of Coorg writes:—

"The annexation of the conquered territory to the British dominions is not, on the first view, so clearly justifiable, but a very few words of explanation will shew that, in this instance also, the right course was taken. The Rajah was childless [this is not true, as one of the Raja's daughters was married to an English gentleman], and he had taken effectual measures to cut off all pretensions to the succession not derived from himself. The vacant throne was without a claimant, and the power which had occupied the country was called upon to provide in some manner for the administration of the government. A stranger might have been placed on the musnad; but there was no reason for the exercise of such self-denial on the part of the British Government, more especially as the people manifested a strong desire to become British subjects. The existence of such a desire removed every pretension for hesitation," (Vol. V., pp. 214-215).

they announced their adhesion in 1834, has, not without good reason, shown them constant indulgence, and an exceptional deference towards their feelings and prejudices. For instance, the slaughter of cattle in Coorg is, and is likely to remain, forbidden, so long as the people deprecate it, nor would it be prudent or just to ignore their feelings on the subject, in the face of a distinct promise given to them by Colonel Fraser at the time of annexation."

It is admitted that Coorg is not a conquered province. Its inhabitants are not then bondsmen of England. But do they enjoy all the rights and privileges of free citizens?

It was solemnly proclaimed that the civil usages of the inhabitants of Coorg would be respected. But this solemn proclamation was violated by the English when cash payment was demanded for land assessment. The Revd. Dr. Mœgling writes:

"Under the Rajas, the assessment had been paid in kind. The Collector of Mangalore, now demanded cash payment. This was considered a grievance, as the farmers were laid under tribute by the money changers."

There was an insurrection which was put down with a high hand.

This was how the civil usages of the inhabitants of Coorg were respected!

Lord Bentinck should be held responsible for the ill-treatment that the Ex-Raja received at the hands of the E. I. Company and to obtain redress for which he went personally to England. The wrongs of the Raja need not be dilated on here.

Coorg was annexed because it was considered fit for colonisation by English settlers. The number of Englishmen who have settled in Coorg as coffee-planters is a very large one, as may be judged from the fact of its being the largest coffee producing province in India. According to the Agricultural Statistics for 1904-5, Coorg has an area of 48,142 acres of land under coffee cultivation. Mr. Bowring wrote:

"If the progress of enlightenment among the Coorgs has been slower than could be desired, their material progress has been remarkable. This is mainly owing to the extensive operations of the coffee-planters, who began to colonise the country, the splendid forests in which promised a rich reward to the enterprising settler....."

"From the time when Europeans began to settle in the district to plant coffee, the forests, with which the country was covered, began to acquire a new value. But, at first, any applicant received permission to commence operations in woods not claimed by private individuals, or regarded as sacred forests. Very little trouble was taken about securing proper grants, permission to cultivate coffee on payment of the Government excise being deemed sufficient."

* Loc. Cit. p. 247.

After this need one wonder why the inhabitants of Coorg *unanimously* desired to place themselves under the protection of the English!*

It is true that excepting Coorg no other province of India was annexed to the British dominion by Lord Bentinck. But the policy which his Lordship pursued in the Political or Foreign Department was such as paved the way to the annexation of the States of several independent or feudatory princes of Hindustan and bringing them under the direct administration of the East India Company. The manner in which he treated those princes was not calculated to make the relations between them and the English pleasant.

Take the case of Oude. Lord Bentinck meddled unnecessarily with the internal politics of this Kingdom. His visit to Oude in 1831 did not forebode good for that Kingdom. In his report of 11th July, 1831, he wrote:

"I thought it right to declare to his Majesty beforehand, that the opinion I should offer to the home authorities would be, that unless a decided reform in the administration should take place, there would be no remedy left except in the direct assumption of the management of the Oude territories by the British Government."

It is a well known fact that this minute of Lord Bentinck strengthened the hands of Lord Dalhousie, and the Directors of the East India Company who were bent upon annexing Oude.

The King of Oude was alarmed by the hostile attitude which Bentinck assumed towards him. He intended the dispatch of an embassy to England to represent his case to the authorities. But how this was frustrated by Bentinck is not so well known as it ought to be. A correspondent under the pseudonym of "Veritas" wrote to the *Indian Examiner and Universal Review* for April 1847:

"Some ten or twelve years ago, it was generally believed, and publicly spoken of in the Calcutta

* The deposed Raja of Coorg went (in 1852) to England to represent his case to the authorities there, and to obtain redress, if possible, for the wrongs inflicted on him. He took with him his only daughter, who was converted to Christianity and married to an English gentleman there. It is needless to say that no heed was paid to his representations. That laird of the Pen, Lord Dalhousie, insulted him. The Raja's case was put before the British public in a pamphlet published in 1857 by John Rumpus, 158, Oxford Street, London, and written by an officer formerly in the service of His Highness Veer Rajunder Waddeer, Rajah of Coorg.

Journals, that the East India Company would depose the then reigning sovereign of Oudh, take his rich country and treasury, in which he had enormous wealth, to themselves, and pension the king as they had many other native princes of India whose possessions they coveted. The king, greatly alarmed at the prospect of losing his kingdom, and becoming a pensioner of the East India Company, resolved on sending an embassy to England, in order to create a sympathy in the British people, and avert, if possible, the wrongs likely to be done him.

"Having come to this resolution, his Majesty selected for the embassy Colonel du Bois, an intelligent, talented gentleman, who then held a post of honor in the king's service. A native gentleman, from the Court of Oudh, was also to accompany Colonel du Bois as joint representative of his Majesty,..... while these matters were progressing, the supreme Government of India became alarmed at the probable results of the mission,.....determined at once to frustrate the king's intentions, and to ruin the embassy immediately. A plot was accordingly laid for this purpose, in which a lady,.....took an active part, and deprived it of all its power. Charges of conspiracy against the East India Company's Government were brought forward against Colonel du Bois, as the embassy was on the eve of departure for England..... Everything was carried on in secret against him, and before the matter was brought to a conclusion the ship sailed, and the embassy proceeded, in opposition to the Government,.....The Government arbitrarily compelled the King of Oudh to dismiss his faithful servant, Colonel du Bois, on these absurd charges, brought forward for the express purpose of frustrating the King's intentions,..... Colonel du Bois, though aware, previous to quitting India, that he was charged with conspiracy against the East India Company, yet conscious of his own innocence, never supposed that he would be injured by it. What, then, must have been his horror and astonishment, on receiving his dismissal, which had been wrung from the King, his master, by the supreme Government of Bengal, and sent after him, in breathless haste, and without a moment's delay.On Colonel du Bois being dismissed from the embassy, they had nothing to fear from the native gentleman, who was left in a helpless condition, friendless, and in a strange country, where he knew not a word of the language, consequently not in a position to gain many in his favour; and, after suffering great anxiety of mind,.....he became depressed in spirits, ill in health, and ultimately died at Poonah, on his way back to his sovereign, at Lucknow..... Colonel du Bois, finding he could obtain no redress from the East India Company, eventually sent his wife Madame du Bois to Calcutta, to seek an interview with Lord William Bentinck, and to implore him to redress his grievances; but the Governor-General was inexorable, for he had himself concocted the plot; for the benefit of his masters.....After this piece of injustice from the East India Company, Colonel du Bois retired to France, and would have held a post of high honour in his native land; but Lord William Bentinck had returned from India, and was then in France, and in addition to the signal service he had done him with the King of Oudh, now prevented the King of the French from conferring this post of honour on him, by representing that Colonel du Bois had entered into a conspiracy, against the East India Company's Government, though he knew at the same time, that it was one of the foulest plots ever concocted to ruin the charac-

ter of an honourable man, and to pervert the course of justice,....."—*The Indian Examiner and Universal Review*, April, 1847, pp. 178-187.

In this connection must also be mentioned the opposition of Lord Bentinck to the embassy of the King of Delhi to England. The celebrated Hindoo reformer, Ram Mohun Roy, was selected by the King to represent his grievances to the authorities in England. As Ram Mohun Roy was his ambassador, the title of Raja was conferred on him to exalt his dignity. Lord Bentinck was much enraged at the proceedings of the King. To mark his displeasure with the conduct of His Majesty—whose vassal the East India Company, of which he was the representative, was, he did not see the King when he passed by Delhi. This act of positive discourtesy, if not disloyalty, of Lord Bentinck must have rankled in the breast of the King and of his relatives and loyal subjects and was probably one of the contributing causes of the Indian Mutiny of 1857.

Perhaps the fact is not so well known as it deserves to be that Lord Bentinck was the author of a plot which had for its object the extinction of the Mahratta Principality of Gwalior. Writes Mr. John Hope, a former Superintending Surgeon of Scindia's Contingent, and Surgeon to the Court of Gwalior, in his brochure "The House of Scindia, a Sketch," published in 1863 by Messrs. Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green.

"But if these dangers surrounded him [Maharaja Junko Scindea] in his capital, he was threatened with no less danger from the council of Calcutta. Secret deliberations were there being held, with a view to discover what profit could be made out of the troubles of this weak but most faithful young prince,A demi-official letter was written to the Resident, by the Chief Secretary of the Foreign Department, desiring him to learn, at a private interview, by way of a feeler, if the Maharajah, encircled as he was by serious troubles—troubles mainly caused by our government—would like to resign; assigning over the country to the British Government, and receiving a handsome pension, which would be paid out of his own revenues. There can be very little doubt that this demi-official document was of the genus *mystic*, and that no copy of it can now be found among the archives pertaining to India. Mr. Cavendish, than whom no Englishman ever attained a greater ascendancy over the minds of the natives with whom he had concern, declined to make such a suggestion, and his answer threw a damp upon the hopes of the annexationists..... The government officials were of course extremely angry. The press, almost entirely supported by the civil and military services which are immensely benefited by annexation, was very abusive. Presently another demi-official

letter arrived; this time from the Deputy Secretary of the Foreign department—a 'mystic' one we may be quite sure—strongly expostulating with Mr. Cavendish upon his proceedings, and concluding with this significant remark:—'You have thus allowed a favourable chance to escape of connecting the Agra to the Bombay Presidency.' Of course the Resident's doom was fixed, though not just then declared. A few months afterwards, the Governor-General gratified his feelings of resentment by removing Mr. Cavendish to another native court.....

"Lest it should be thought by any one.....that in this little sketch of his (Lord William Bentinck's) foreign policy, we have given even the slightest touch of colouring, we will relate, by way of illustration, an amusing anecdote, which is known to three or four persons now living, and which sufficiently confirms our statement that, in respect of the rights of native states, his lordship entirely overlooked the tenth commandment. It happened that Major Sutherland was selected to fill the office vacated by Mr. Cavendish..... He therefore waited on the Governor-General in Calcutta, to learn what the policy was to be at Gwalior;—was it to be intervention or non-intervention? Lord Bentinck, whose disposition, like that of Lord Palmerston, loved a joke, quickly replied: 'Look here, Major,' and his lordship threw back his head, opened wide his mouth, and placed his thumb and finger together like a boy about to swallow a sugar-plum. Then, turning to the astonished Major he said: 'If the Gwalior State will fall down your throat, you are not to shut your mouth, as Mr. Cavendish did, but swallow it; that is my policy.'.....To 'the traditionary old Indians,' the objects of so much scorn in these days, this doctrine smacks of petty larceny. Imagine a magistrate of Bow Street to say to some smart-looking man, with a cloak hanging on his arm for a purpose, 'Don't prowl about the theatres at night, picking pockets, for that is larceny; but if you see a person drop his purse, keep it; a traditionary old beak would call this petty larceny, but I tell you it is all right!' In a moral point of view, we think the two cases exactly parallel."

The Afghanistan imbroglio and disasters of 1839-1842, the subsequent unjustifiable wars in Sind and Punjab and also the annexation of those two provinces were in no small measure due to the part which Lord Bentinck played in the scheme which was euphoniously called the navigation of the Indus.*

* It was Moorcroft who first suggested the navigation of the Indus. Captain Cunningham, in his History of the Sikhs, writes:—

"The traveller Moorcroft had been impressed with the use which might be made of the Indus as a channel of British commerce, and the scheme of navigating that river and its tributaries was eagerly adopted by the Indian Government, and by the advocates of material utilitarianism. One object of sending King William's presents for Runjeet Singh by water, was to ascertain, as if undesignedly, the trading value of the classical stream, and the result of Lieutenant Burnes' observations convinced Lord William Bentinck of its superiority over the Ganges. There seemed also, in his Lordship's opinion, good reason to believe that the Great Western Valley had

The real author of this scheme was Sir John Malcolm. Its genesis was the "Memoranda on the North-Western Frontier of British India, and on the importance of the River Indus, as connected with its defence, drawn up by desire of Sir John Malcolm." This document was considered by the authorities of the East India Company, as well as by Lord Bentinck. Some extracts from this State document which was pregnant with such momentous consequences are given below:

"Should ever an enemy appear on our N.W. Frontier, the possession of Sind will become a point of the utmost importance to British interests in India, as *commanding the navigation of the Indus*; a position, in case of such an event occurring, of vital consequence to the defence of the country. A perfectly unrestricted communication on this river, can never be expected to be conceded us by the Court of Hyderabad.....The possession of Hyderabad may consequently become the object of the British Government—that effected, it is presumed, that very efficient measures might be taken to secure the free passage of the Indus. The execution would not appear to present any serious difficulties—the routes upon Hyderabad (as will be shewn) are very practicable; the fortifications of that Capital are insignificant; "The Seik" is the only foreign adjacent power—from the organization of his Government, the disposability of his force, and his political discrimination, whose jealousy of our encroachment we need fear, or propitiate; and the dissipated texture of the Scindian Force and Government, while it prevented union in those who opposed us, would afford us ample means of coercing any refractory chiefs, and of converting many into grateful allies, by substituting a liberal and beneficent rule, for the grinding tyranny of the Ameers."

Of course, the annexation of Sind was plainly hinted at in the above document.

Lord Bentinck played the part of Machiavelli in the Navigation of the Indus Affair. Sir Charles Metcalfe as a member of the Council of Lord Bentinck raised his voice of protest against this measure.

In a minute dated October 1830, Metcalfe condemned the contemplated Survey of the Indus. He wrote:

"The scheme of surveying the Indus, under the pretence of sending a present to Rajah-Runjeet Singh, seems to me highly objectionable.

"It is a trick, in my opinion, unworthy of our Government, which cannot fail when detected, as

at one time been as populous as that of the East, and it was thought that the judicious exercise of the paramount influence of the British Government, might remove those political obstacles which had banished commerce from the rivers of Alexander. It was therefore resolved, in the current language of the day, to open the Indus to the navigation of the world."

most probably it will be, to excite the jealousy and indignation of the powers on whom we play it.

It is just such a trick as we are often falsely suspected and accused of by the native powers of India, and this confirmation of their suspicions, generally unjust, will do us more injury by furnishing the ground of merited reproach, than any advantage to be gained by the measure can compensate.....

"It must be remembered that the survey of the Indus or any part of the Sind country may give us the power to injure that State, may even assist us in conquering it, and in the course of events, is as likely to be turned to use for that purpose as for any other. The rulers of Sind, therefore, have the same right to be jealous of our surveys of their river and their territories that any power of Europe has to protect its fortresses from the inspection of foreign engineers.

"It is stated in a late despatch from the Secret Committee that we must not permit the rulers of Sind to obstruct our measures; in other words, that we are to go to war with them to compel submission to our wishes. With deference I should remark that such an assumption does not seem to be warranted by the law of nations..... But the assumption is an exemplification of what I have often observed in our conduct towards the Native States, and what appears to me the greatest blot in the character of our Indian policy, although I am not aware that it has attracted any general notice in England. However much we may profess moderation and non-interference when we have no particular interest of our own concerned, the moment we discover any object of pursuit we become impatient and over-bearing, insist on what we require, and cannot brook denial or hesitation. We disregard the rights of others, and think only of our own convenience. Submission or war is the alternative which the other party has to choose.

"Thus at the present time, because we have taken alarm at the supposed designs of Russia, it would seem that we are to compel intermediate States to enter into our views or submit to our projects, although they cannot comprehend them, and instead of entertaining any apprehension of Russian designs, are more apprehensive of our own, our character for encroachment being worse than that of the Russians, because the States concerned have a more proximate sense of it from the result which they see in actual operation among the realms of India.....

"Among other uncertainties of this great question, is that of what our own conduct ought to be when the expected crisis shall arise. Whether we should meet the enemy half-way and fight the battle in foreign countries—whether we should defend the passage of the Indus and make our stand there, or await the foe on our own frontier, and force on him all the labor, and loss, and risk of coming the whole distance before we attack him—must depend so much on the disposition of intermediate countries, and other circumstances of the time, that it seems utterly vain to determine even our own course at this remote distance from the event.....

"If, therefore, I were asked what is best to be done with a view to a Russian invasion, I should say that it is best to do nothing until time shall show us what we ought to do, because there is nothing that we can do in our present blind state that would be of any certain benefit on the approach of that event.

"The only thing certain is, that we ought not to want only to offend intermediate States by acts

calculated to arouse hostile feelings against us, but ought rather to cultivate a friendly disposition.....

"No rulers have ever shown their jealousy of us more decidedly than the Ameers of Sind, which feeling we are about to stimulate afresh by an act which will justify its past existence, and perpetuate its continuance.

"If the information wanted is indispensable, and cannot be obtained by fair and open means, it ought, I conceive, to be sought by the usual mode of sending unacknowledged emissaries, and not by a deceitful application for a passage under the fictitious presence of one purpose, when the real object is another, which we know would not be sanctioned."

In a minute dated June 2, 1833, Metcalfe wrote:—

"It does not appear to me that the establishment of a British agent at Caubul is requisite or desirable in any point of view.

"The professed object of the proposal is the improvement of commerce. I believe that commerce will take care of itself best without our direct interference in the form of a Commercial Agency; and, if we sought to remove existing obstacles, our efforts would be more needed elsewhere than at Caubul, where the trade with India already receives every possible encouragement.

"A commercial agent would unavoidably become, from the time of his creation, a political agent. To the extension of our political relations beyond the Indus there appears to me to be great objections. From such a course I should expect the probable occurrence of embarrassments and wars, expensive and unprofitable at the least, without any equivalent benefit, if not ruinous and destructive.

"The appointment of an agent at Caubul would of itself almost amount to an interference in the political affairs of Afghanistan.....

"As a commercial measure, I consider the one proposed to be unnecessary; as a political one, undesirable; and therefore, on the whole objectionable."†

Kaye writes that

"The survey of the Indus and the Commercial Agency at Caubul were the *prolegomena*, so to speak, of the great epic of the Afghan War; and Metcalfe, in his correspondence both with Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, argued and protested, with equal sagacity and earnestness, against measures which could hardly fail to entangle us in such a manner with the Trans-Indian States as eventually to evolve a great and calamitous war. He left India at a most unfortunate conjuncture. His services were never so much needed as at the time of his departure."‡

Metcalfe wrote:

"We could not long exist in a state of adequate preparation, as we should be utterly ruined by the expense."§

The navigation of the Indus was

* Kaye's Selections from the Writings of Lord Metcalfe, pp. 211-217.

† P. 218. Kaye's Selections from the Writings of Lord Metcalfe.

‡ Ibid, p. 219.

§ Ibid, p. 199.

ostensibly undertaken for the purpose of presenting a coach and horses to Maharaja Runjeet Singh. Writes Prinsep :

"It was resolved to make the transmission of this present, a means of obtaining information in regard to the Indus, and the facilities, or the contrary, it might offer to navigation.....The dray horses were accordingly sent out to Bombay, and the Supreme Government instructed Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of that presidency, to take measures to have them forwarded under charge of an intelligent and prudent officer, in boats up the Indus. Some demur was anticipated on the part of the rulers of Sindh to allowing them passage through the Delta and lower part of the river, but it was assumed that the governing Mirs, situated as they were relatively to Runjeet Singh on the one hand, and the British Government on the other, would not readily incur the risk of offending both powers, by refusing a passage altogether, if it were insisted upon." (Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and Political Life of Maharaja Runjeet Singh, Chapter X.)

But Lord Bentinck had his designs on the provinces of the Punjab and Sind and so he paid no heed to the warning voice of Metcalfe.

It was because he had his eye on Sind, that he stood in the way of Maharaja Runjeet Singh's attempt in adding that province to his dominions. The treaty which was concluded with Runjeet Singh by the Government of India in 1809 expressly stipulated that that sovereign was not to be hampered in his operations on any country beyond the Sutlej. So Lord Bentinck violated the Treaty when he forbade Runjeet Singh from acquiring Sind.*

The meeting at Roopur, of Bentinck with Runjeet Singh, was a covert attempt to spy out the military strength of Runjeet Singh. Runjeet Singh threw all precautions away and did not hesitate to meet Lord Bentinck at Roopur. On a previous occasion when he had sent presents to Lord Amherst at Simla, the British Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, who passed the warm season at Simla in 1828, desired to procure an invitation in person to Lahore, but then Runjeet Singh evaded compliance with this wish.† But the Sikh Sovereign, addicted to hard drink and debauchery,

* Captain Cunningham in the seventh chapter of his History of the Sikhs, has dwelt at great length on this subject. One of the causes which provoked the Sikh War was the fact that the English to possess Sind themselves had, during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Bentinck, made use of every stratagem, artifice and excuse to frustrate Runjeet Singh from acquiring, or extending his power over, Sind.

† Prinsep's Runjeet Singh, 9th Chapter.

was losing his strong common sense for which he was noted and being easily seduced by the presents received from Bentinck, unhesitatingly acceded to the latter's wish and met him with all the pageantry of the East at Roopur.

It is said that Bentinck was not very favorably impressed with that Sikh sovereign and hence the contemptuous manner with which he treated him and the conspiracy laid during his regime of subverting that Sikh Raj. Of this conspiracy, we read in the evidence of Captain Macan before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company on 22nd March, 1832 :—

"1446. An idea has been broached that great additional security would result to our Eastern empire from the extension of our frontier to the Indus; is that a subject you have considered?—Yes, I have frequently considered it.

"1447. What is the result of your opinion?—I have heard many military men say that the Indus was our natural boundary in India: but it has been proved by late and former wars, that a river like the Indus is little or no obstruction to a well-organised invading army, and if we are to have a defensible boundary on that side, we should do more than stop at the Indus, we should push our posts into the hills, fastnesses and passes which are beyond that river; but I hold that the conquest of the Punjab (which is the country between the Indus and the Sutlej, upon which latter river our frontier posts are now stationed) would be highly impolitic and unjust. We already possess more territory than we seem capable of governing well. The chief of that state has been on amicable terms with us since the treaty made with him in 1808, the cause of that treaty was an attempt on his part to conquer the Seik Chiefs east of the Sutlej, and the purport of it (which has been faithfully observed by both parties since that period) was, that he should not interfere east of that river, nor we to the west of it. The consequence has been, that he has gradually extended his conquests over the whole of Cashmere, Mooltan, and latterly Peshawar; his territory is extensive, populous and fertile; his army numerous and efficient, perhaps the best native army in India, with the exception of the British. Again, it would be impolitic to extend our frontier in that quarter, as it would bring us in direct collision with the Afghans, one of the bravest, most bigoted, and fanatical of all the Mahomedan tribes. Now, it is well known that the Seiks are neither Mahomedans nor Hindoos, but admit converts of both, though their religion has infinitely more of the Hindoo in it than the Mahomedan; they are therefore a powerful barrier between us and those fanatical tribes, with whom if we were to come in collision, it would unquestionably have a dangerous influence on the religious prejudices of our Mahomedan subjects and troops."

Of this conspiracy we read in Baron Hugel's Travels (p. 334);

"Several articles had appeared of late in the newspapers of Hindusthan and of Calcutta, which went to

show that the English must of necessity soon march to the Indus, and make that river the Western boundary of British India, and I fancied that Runjeet Singh had thought a good deal of these articles."

Lord Bentinck did nothing to allay the alarm into which Runjeet Singh was thrown by all these writings in the Calcutta papers, which were of course all inspired by the Governor-General or his subordinates in office. It was the policy of the Company of which Bentinck was the representative not to make any alliance with Runjeet Singh, for Baron Hugel wrote :—

"A treaty offensive and defensive with the British Government, having a guarantee for the integrity of his possessions, was the only thing that could ensure the dominion of Ranjit Singh. But this would have prevented England from taking immediate advantage of any sudden occurrence which might fall out." (P. 409.)

Such was the foreign policy then of Lord Bentinck. He annexed Coorg; he interfered needlessly with the affairs of the kingdom of Oude and his Minute on Oude was made use of by those who favored the extinction of that kingdom. He unnecessarily humiliated and insulted the king of Delhi. He tried his best to exterminate the independent existence of the Mahratta State of Gwalior. He approved of and countenanced, for he made no protest against, the navigation of the Indus, which laid the foundation of all the troubles in Afghanistan, Punjab and Sind.

In the face of the above-mentioned facts, it is travesty of truth to say that Lord Bentinck was a peace-loving, honest and straightforward man in his dealings with the Native Powers of Hindoostan.

In addition to his post of Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck was also Commander-in-Chief in India. The *Meerut Universal Magazine* for 1835, in reviewing his career in the latter capacity, wrote as follows :—

"A more unfit person for a Commander-in-Chief than Lord William Bentinck it would have been difficult for any Ministry to pitch upon, nor does it reflect credit upon the Court of Directors, the Board of Control, or his Majesty's Government, that for the sake of effecting a saving of some six or seven thousand pounds a year, the welfare and discipline of an Army, should have been risked, or their interests sacrificed....."

"The first acts of Lord William Bentinck on assuming the command of the Army were taken with a view to reflect disgrace on the rule of his predecessor—and in pursuance of this system all descriptions of complaints were not only received but fostered at headquarters, squabbles long set at rest were

carefully raked from their ashes—nourished into representation, enquiries and courts martial, and the curious observer will find, that a large majority of the causes submitted to the decision of the military tribunals, were manufactured out of disputes that occurred in the time of Sir Edward Barnes..... His Lordship loved to live in an atmosphere of complaints, and so long as he received a due quantity, considered that the Army must be progressing to a state of improvement,....."

"With a man so singularly lauded for benevolence and humanity as Lord William Bentinck was, it is extraordinary how many acts we find that would lead the casual observer to a belief, that his Lordship was swayed by a selfish disregard of every one but himself or his immediate parasites :....."

"Lord William is very fond of Rupees—Lord William loves the Rupees."

In the administration of domestic affairs, Lord Bentinck did little to promote the interests of the natives of India. Indeed some of his measures were best calculated to make the natives miserable and keep them in subjection. Before his time, the executive and judicial functions were not combined in the same individual. But he combined them. That this measure has been a great curse to the people of Hindustan is evident from the fact that the Indian National Congress from its very birth has been praying for the separation of judicial and executive functions—a request which that astute Irish Viceroy Lord Dufferin pronounced to be "a counsel of perfection."

His great aim in the administration of India was to anglicise and denationalise the natives of India. He did not conceal it; because he came to believe that the anglicisation of India would be of material advantage to England. With this object, among others, in view, he tried his best to introduce English as the court language in India. (*Vide* passages quoted from blue books in the *Modern Review* for February, 1910, pp. 177-179.)

Knowing the views and opinions of Bentinck, Macaulay also did not hesitate to side with the Anglicists and wrote that minute which made English the medium of instruction in India. That minute considerably retarded the growth of the vernaculars of India.

Lord Bentinck did all that lay in his power to give impetus to the settlement and colonization in India of his co-religionists and compatriots. The free resort of his countrymen to India would lead to the anglicisation of the natives, which would be advantageous to England.

He is considered to be a great philan-

thropist because he passed that act which prevented the immolation of widows known as *Suttee*. Of course it was the right thing to do. But the ground had been paved as it were for him by the writings of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. If the credit is mainly due to anybody for the abolition of *Suttee*, it is to Ram Mohun Roy.* Bentinck was obliged to him, for it was not Bentinck but Ram Mohun Roy who was the object of obloquy and the target for ridicule and attack of the Hindus, for they knew that without the powerful aid of Ram Mohun, Bentinck would not and could not have ventured to enact the abolition of *Suttee*. But such was the sense of gratitude possessed by Bentinck that he put obstacles in the way of Ram Mohun Roy's proceeding to England as ambassador of the King of Delhi and did not recognise the title of Raja which the Moghul King had honoured him with.

It is said that Bentinck was a friend of the natives, because he recognised their claims to the more extensive employments in the service of the State and for the posts of Deputy Collectors created during his regime. It was not from any philanthropic considerations that the natives were more widely employed. It was financial necessity which obliged the authorities to resort to native agency;—the same necessity which led to the curtailment of the *batta* of the civil and military officers and which made Bentinck so unpopular with his countrymen in India.

* Lieutenant A. White, a contemporary of Ram Mohun Roy, writes in his "Considerations on the State of British India," pp. 60-61:—

"This enlightened Hindoo Ram Mohun has rendered a signal service to his countrymen in exposing the cruelty and injustice of the practice which condemns a widow to sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband; .. ."

By right, all the appointments in the public services of India belong to the natives because they are the children of the soil and also the taxpayers. Even if Bentinck employed them more extensively, we do not see any reason why he should be thanked or considered a philanthropist for merely meeting out a little justice to them.*

It should be remembered that Bentinck was no advocate of high education in India. This will be gathered from the following from the *Minute* of Sir Charles Metcalfe, dated the 16th May, 1835:—

"His Lordship (Bentinck), however, sees further danger in the spread of knowledge and the operations of the Press. I do not, for my own part, anticipate danger as a certain consequence from these causes."

That Bentinck's seven years' rule from 1828-1835 was on the whole beneficial to the natives of the country is a myth. His foreign policy was aggressive and his domestic policy was destructive of the best interests of the children of the soil. It has been good for both England and India that the East India Company's attitude towards the Indian States was not persisted in after the Sepoy War.

M.

* Prof. H. H. Wilson, in his continuation of Mill's *History of British India* in a footnote in Book III, Chapter VI, writes:—

"Regulation V., 1831. The credit of this enactment has sometimes been given exclusively to Lord W. Bentinck; but this is an injustice. That his Lordship unreservedly admitted the principle, and zealously carried into practice the employment of respectable natives in the administration of public affairs, is undoubtedly true; but the justice and necessity of the measure had been fully recognised, both in India and England, long before Lord W. Bentinck's appointment; and the provisions of the Regulation here cited were based, as mentioned in the Regulation, upon the Suggestions and Orders of the Court of Directors, prior to the arrival in India of the actual Governor-General."

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE. N.I.

CHAPTER VIII.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

9.

PARAGRAPHS and letters against me have begun to come out in the local papers; cartoons and lampoons are to follow, I am told. Jets of wit and

humour are being splashed about, and the lies thus scattered are convulsing the whole country. They know that the monopoly of mud-throwing is theirs, and the innocent passer-by cannot escape unsoiled.

They are saying that the residents in my estates, from the highest to the lowest,

are in favour of *Swadeshi*, but they dare not declare themselves, for fear of me. The few who have been brave enough to defy me have felt the full rigour of my persecution. I am in secret league with the police, and in private communication with the magistrate; and these frantic efforts of mine to add a foreign title of my own earning to the one I have inherited, will not, it is opined, go in vain.

On the other hand, the papers are full of praise for those devoted sons of the motherland, the Kundu and the Chakravarti *zamindars*. In only, say they, the country had a few more of such staunch patriots, the mills of Manchester would have had to sound their own dirge to the tune of *Bande Mataram*.

Then comes a letter in blood-red ink, giving me a list of the traitorous *zamindars* whose treasuries have been burnt down because of their failing to support the Cause. Holy Fire, it goes on to say, has been aroused to its sacred function of purifying the country; and other agencies are also at work to see that those who are not true sons of the motherland do cease to encumber her lap. The signature is an obvious new *de-plume*.

I could see that this was the doing of our local students. So I sent for some of them and showed them the letter.

The B. A. student gravely informed me that they also had heard that a band of desperate patriots had been formed who would stick at nothing in order to clear away all obstacles to the success of *Swadeshi*.

"If," said I, "even one of our countrymen succumbs to these overbearing desperados, that will indeed be a defeat for the country!"

"We fail to follow you, Maharaja," said the history student.

"Our country," I tried to explain, "has been brought to death's door through sheer fear, from fear of the gods down to fear of the police; and if you set up, in the name of freedom, the fear of some other bogey, whatever it may be called; if you would raise your victorious standard on the cowardice of the country by means of downright oppression; then no true lover of the country can bow to your decision."

"Is there any country, Sir," pursued the history student, "where submission to government is not due to fear?"

"The freedom that exists in any coun-

try," I replied, "may be measured by the extent of this reign of fear. Where its threat is confined to those who would hurt or plunder, there the government may claim to have freed man from the violence of man. But if fear is to regulate how people are to dress, where they shall trade, or what they must eat, then is man's freedom of will utterly ignored, and manhood destroyed at the root."

"Is not such coercion of the individual will seen in other countries too?" continued the history student.

"Who denies it?" I exclaimed. "But in every country man has destroyed himself to the extent he has permitted slavery to flourish."

"Does not this rather show," interposed a Master of Arts, "that trading in slavery is inherent in man—a fundamental fact of his nature?"

"Sandip Babu made the whole thing clear," said a graduate. "He gave us the example of Harish Kundu, your neighbouring *zamindar*. From his estates you cannot ferret out a single ounce of foreign salt. Why? Because he has always ruled with an iron hand. In the case of those who are slaves by nature, the lack of a strong master is the greatest of all calamities."

"Why, Sir!" chimed in an undergraduate, "have you not heard of the obstreperous tenant of Chakravarti, the other *zamindar* close by,—how the law was set on him till he was reduced to utter destitution? When at last he was left with nothing to eat, he started out to sell his wife's silver ornaments, but no one dared buy them. Then Chakravarti's manager offered him five rupees for the lot. They were worth over thirty, but he had to accept or starve. After taking over the bundle from him, the manager coolly said that those five rupees would be credited towards his rent! We felt like having nothing more to do with Chakravarti or his manager after that, but Sandip Babu told us that if we threw over all the live people, we should have only dead bodies from the burning-grounds to carry on the work with! These live men, he pointed out, know what they want and how to get it,—they are born rulers. Those who do not know how to desire for themselves, must live in accordance with, or die by virtue of, the desires of such as these. Sandip Babu contrasted them,—Kundu and Chakravarti,—with you,

Maharaja. You, he said, for all your good intentions, will never succeed in planting *Swadeshi* within your territory."

"It is *my* desire," I said, "to plant something greater than *Swadeshi*. I am not after dead logs but living trees,—and these will take time to grow."

"I am afraid, Sir," sneered the history student, "that you will get neither log nor tree. Sandip Babu rightly teaches that in order to get, you must snatch. This is taking all of us some time to learn, because it runs counter to what we were taught at school. I have seen with my own eyes that when a rent-collector of Harish Kundu's found one of the tenants with nothing which could be sold up to pay his rent, he was made to sell his young wife! Buyers were not wanting, and the *zamindar's* demand was satisfied. I tell you, Sir, the sight of that man's distress prevented my getting sleep for nights together! But, feel it as I did, this much I realised, that the man who knows how to get the money he is out for, even by selling up his debtor's wife, is a better man than I am. I confess it is beyond me,—I am a weakling, my eyes fill with tears. If anybody can save our country it is these Kundus and these Chakravartis and their officials!"

I was shocked beyond words. "If what you say be true," I cried, "I clearly see that it must be the one endeavour of my life to save the country from these same Kundus and Chakravartis and officials. The slavery that has entered into our very bones is breaking out, at this opportunity, as ghastly tyranny. You have been so habituated to submit to domination through fear, you have come to believe that to make others submit is a kind of religion. My fight shall be against this weakness, this atrocious cruelty!"

These things which are so simple to ordinary folk, get so twisted in the minds of our B.A.s, and M.A.s, the only purpose of whose historical quibbles seems to be to torture the truth!

10.

I am worried over Panchu's sham aunt. It will be difficult to disprove her, for though witnesses of a real event may be few or even wanting, innumerable proofs of a thing that has not happened can always be marshalled. The object of this move is, evidently, to get the sale of Panchu's holding to me set aside.

Being unable to find any other way out of it, I was thinking of allowing Panchu to hold a permanent tenure in my estates and building him a cottage on it. But my master would not have it. I should not give in to these nefarious tactics so easily, he objected, and offered to attend to the matter himself.

"You, Sir!" I cried, considerably surprised.

"Yes, I," he repeated.

I could not see, very clearly, what my master could do to counteract these legal machinations. That evening, at the time he usually came to me, he did not turn up. On my making inquiries, his servant said he had left home with a few things packed in a small trunk, and some bedding, saying he would be back in a few days. I thought he might have sallied forth to hunt for witnesses in Panchu's uncle's village. In that case, however, I was sure that his would be a hopeless quest.

During the day I forget myself in my work. As the late autumn afternoon wears on, the colours of the sky become turbid, and so do the feelings of my mind. When the gloaming deepens over the world, like the gaze of the dark eyes of the beloved, then my whole being tells me that work alone cannot be the truth of life, that work is not the be-all and the end-all of man, for man is not simply a serf,—what though the serfdom be of the True and the Good. Alas, Nikhil, have you for ever parted company with that self of yours who used to be set free under the starlight, to plunge into the infinite depths of the night's darkness after the day's work was done? How terribly alone is he, who misses companionship in the midst of the multitudinousness of life.

The other day, when the afternoon had reached the meeting point of day and night, I had no work, nor the mind for work, nor was my master there to keep me company. With my empty, drifting heart longing to anchor on to something, I traced my steps towards the inner gardens. I was very fond of chrysanthemums and had rows of them, of all varieties, banked up in pots against one of the garden walls. When they were in flower, it looked like a wave of green breaking into iridescent foam. It was some time since I had been to this part of the grounds, and I was beguiled into a cheerful expectancy at

the thought of meeting my chrysanthemums after our long separation.

As I went in, the full moon had just peeped over the wall, her slanting rays leaving its foot in deep shadow. It seemed as if she had come a tiptoe from behind, and clasped the darkness over the eyes, smiling mischievously. When I came near the bank of chrysanthemums, I saw a figure stretched on the grass in front. My heart gave a sudden thud. The figure also sat up with a start at my footsteps.

What was to be done next? I was wondering whether it would do to beat a precipitate retreat. Bimala, also, was doubtless casting about for some way of escape. But it was as awkward to go as to stay! Before I could make up my mind, Bimala rose, pulled the end of her sari over her head, and walked off towards the inner apartments.

This brief pause had been enough to make real to me the cruel load of Bimala's misery. The plaint of my own life vanished from me in a moment. I called out: "Bimala!"

She started and stayed her steps, but did not turn back. I went round and stood before her. Her face was in the shade, the moon-light fell on mine. Her eyes were downcast, her hands clenched.

"Bimala," said I, "why should I seek to keep you fast in this closed cage of mine? Do I not know that thus you cannot but pine and droop?"

She stood still, without raising her eyes or uttering a word.

"I know," I continued, "that if I insist on keeping you shackled, my whole life will be reduced to nothing but an iron chain. What pleasure can that be to me?"

She was still silent.

"So," I concluded, "I tell you, truly, Bimala, you are free. Whatever I may or may not have been to you, I refuse to be your fetters." With which I came away towards the outer apartments.

No, no, it was not a generous impulse, nor indifference. I had simply come to understand that never would I be free until I could set free. To try to keep Bimala as a garland round my neck, would have meant keeping a weight hanging over my heart. Have I not been praying with all my strength, that if happiness may not be mine, let it go; if grief needs must be my lot, let it come; but let me not be kept in bondage. To clutch hold of that which

is untrue as though it were true, is only to throttle oneself. May I be saved from such self-destruction.

When I entered my room, I found my master waiting there. My agitated feelings were still heaving within me. "Freedom, Sir," I began unceremoniously, without greeting or inquiry, "freedom is the biggest thing for man. Nothing can be compared to it,—nothing at all!"

Surprised at my outburst, my master looked up at me in silence.

"One can understand nothing from books," I went on. "We read in the scriptures that our desires are bonds, fettering us as well as others. But such words, by themselves, are so empty. It is only when we get to the point of letting the bird out of its cage that we can realise how free the bird has set us. This is just what the world has failed to understand. They all seek to reform something outside themselves. But reform is wanted only in one's own desires, nowhere else, nowhere else!"

I was suddenly reminded of my master's absence during the last few days and of my ignorance as to its reason. I felt somewhat foolish as I asked him: "And where have you been all this while, Sir?"

"Staying with Panchu," he replied.

"Indeed!" I exclaimed. "Have you been there all these days?"

"Yes. I wanted to come to an understanding with the woman who calls herself his aunt. She could hardly be induced to believe that there could be such an odd character among the gentlefolk as the one who sought their hospitality. When she found I really meant to stay on, she began to feel rather ashamed of herself. 'Mother,' said I, 'you are not going to get rid of me, even if you abuse me! And so long as I stay, Panchu stays also. For you see, do you not, that I cannot stand by and see his motherless little ones sent out into the streets?'"

"She listened to my talks in this strain for a couple of days without saying yes or no. This morning I found her tying up her bundles. 'We are going back to Brindaban,' she said. 'Let us have our expenses for the journey.' I knew she was not going to Brindaban, and also that the cost of her journey would be substantial. So I have come to you."

"The required cost shall be paid," I said.

"The old woman is not a bad sort," my master went on musingly. "Panchu was not sure of her caste and would not let her touch the water jar, or anything at all of his. So they were continually bickering. When she found I had no objection to her touch, she looked after me devotedly. She is a splendid cook!"

"But all remnants of Panchu's respect for me vanished! To the last he had thought that I was at least a simple sort of person. But here was I, risking my caste without a qualm, to win over the old woman for my purpose. Had I tried to steal a march on her by tutoring witness for the trial, that would have been a different matter. Tactics must be met by tactics. But stratagem at the expense of orthodoxy is more than he can tolerate!"

"Anyhow, I must stay on a few days at Panchu's even after the woman leaves, for Harish Kundu may be up to any kind of devilry. He has been telling his satellites, that he was content to have furnished Panchu with an aunt, but I have gone the length of supplying him with a father. He would like to see, now, how many fathers of his can save him!"

"We may or may not be able to save him," I said, "but if we should perish in the attempt to save the country from the thousand and one snares—of religion, custom and selfishness—which these people are busy spreading, we shall at least die happy."

BIMALA'S STORY.

12.

Who could have thought that so much would happen in this one life? I feel as if I have passed through a whole series of births. Time has been flying so fast, I did not feel it move at all, till the shock came the other day.

I knew there would be words between us when I made up my mind to ask my husband to banish foreign goods from our market. But it was my firm belief that I had no need to meet argument by argument, for there was magic in the very air about me. Had not so tremendous a man as Sandip fallen helplessly at my feet, like a wave of the mighty sea breaking on the shore? Had I called him? No, it was the summons of that magic spell of mine. And Amulya, poor dear boy, when he first came to me,—how the current of his life flushed with colour, like

the river at dawn! Truly have I realised how a goddess feels when she looks upon the radiant face of her devotee.

With the confidence begotten of these proofs of my power, I was ready to meet my husband like a lightning-charged cloud. But what was it that happened? Never in all these nine years have I seen such a far-away, distraught look in his eyes,—like the desert sky,—with no merciful moisture of its own, no colour reflected, even, from what it looked upon. I should have been so relieved if his anger had flashed out! But I could find nothing in him which I could touch. I felt as unreal as a dream,—a dream which would leave only the blackness of night when it was over.

In the old days I used to be jealous of my sister-in-law for her beauty. Then I used to feel that Providence had given me no power of my own, that my whole strength lay in the love which my husband had bestowed on me. Now that I had drained to the dregs the cup of power and could not do without its intoxication, I suddenly found it dashed to pieces at my feet, leaving me nothing to live for.

How feverishly I had sat to do my hair that day. Oh shame, shame on me; the utter shame of it! My sister-in-law, when passing by, had exclaimed: "Aha, Junior Rani! Your hair seems ready to jump off. Don't let it carry your head with it."

And then, the other day in the garden, how easy my husband found it to tell me that he set me free! But can freedom—empty freedom—be given and taken so easily as all that? It is like setting a fish free in the sky,—for how can I move or live outside the atmosphere of loving care which has always sustained me?

When I came to my room to-day, I saw only furniture—only the bedstead, only the looking-glass, only the clothes-rack—not the all-pervading heart which used to be there, over all. Instead of it there was freedom, only freedom, mere emptiness! A dried-up watercourse with all its rocks and pebbles laid bare. No feeling, only furniture!

When I had arrived at a state of utter bewilderment, wondering whether anything true was left in my life, and whereabouts it could be, I happened to meet Sandip again. Then life struck against life, and the sparks flew in the same old way. Here was truth—impetuous truth—which

rushed in and overflowed all bounds, truth which was a thousand times truer than the Senior Rani with her maid Thako and her silly songs, and all the rest of them, who talked and laughed and wandered about.

"Fifty thousand!" Sandip had demanded.

"What is fifty thousand?" cried my intoxicated heart. "You shall have it!"

How to get it, where to get it, were minor points not worth troubling over. Look at me. Had I not risen, all in one moment, from my nothingness to a height above everything? So shall all things come at my beck and call. I shall get it, get it, get it,—there cannot be any doubt.

Thus had I come away from Sandip the other day. Then as I looked about me, where was it,—the tree of plenty? Oh, why does this outer world insult the heart so?

And yet get it I must; how, I do not care; for sin there cannot be. Sin taints only the weak; I with my *shakti*, am beyond its reach. Only a commoner can be a thief, the king conquers and takes his rightful spoil. . . . I must find out where the treasury is; who takes the money in—~~who~~ guards it.

I spent half the night standing in the outer verandah peering at the row of office buildings. But how to get that Rs. 50,000 out of the clutches of those iron bars? If by some *mantram* I could have made all those guards fall dead in their places, I would not have hesitated,—so pitiless did I feel!

But while a whole gang of robbers seemed dancing a war-dance within the whirling brain of its Rani, the great house of the Rajas slept in peace. The gong of the watch sounded hour after hour, and the sky overhead placidly looked on.

At last I sent for Amulya.

"Money is wanted for the cause," I told him. "Can you not get it out of the treasury?"

"Why not?" said he, with his chest thrown out.

Alas, had I not said 'why not' to Sandip just in the same way? The poor lady's confidence could rouse no hopes in my mind.

"How will you do it?" I asked.

The wild plans he began to unfold would hardly bear repetition except in the pages of a penny dreadful.

"No, Amulya," I said, severely, "you must not be childish."

"Very well, then," he said, "let me bribe those watchmen."

"Where is the money to come from?"

"I can loot the bazar," he burst out, without blenching.

"Leave all that alone. I have my ornaments, they will serve."

"But," said Amulya, "it strikes me that the cashier cannot be bribed. Never mind, there is another and a simpler way."

"What is that?"

"Why need you hear it? It is quite simple."

"Still, I should like to know."

Amulya fumbled in the pocket of his tunic and pulled out, first a small edition of the Gita, which he placed on the table,—and then a little pistol, which he showed me, but said nothing further.

Horror! It did not take him a moment to make up his mind to kill ~~our~~ good old cashier!* To look at his frank open face, one would not have thought him capable of hurting a fly, but how different were the words which came from his mouth. It was clear that the cashier's place in the world meant nothing real to him; it was a mere vacancy, lifeless, feelingless, with only stock phrases from the Gita—*Who kills the body kills naught!*

"Whatever do you mean, Amulya?" I exclaimed at length. "Don't you know that the dear old man has got a wife and children and that he is . . ."

"Where are we to find men who have no wives and children?" he interrupted. "Look here, Maharani, the thing we call pity is, at bottom, only pity for ourselves. We cannot bear to wound our own tender instincts and so we do not strike at all,—pity indeed! The height of cowardice!"

To hear Sandip's phrases in the mouth of this mere boy staggered me. So delightfully, lovably immature was he,—of that age when the good may still be believed in as good, of that age when one really lives, and grows. The Mother in me awoke.

For myself there was no longer good or bad,—only death, beautiful alluring death. But to hear this stripling calmly talk of murdering an inoffensive old man as the right thing to do, made me shudder all over. The clearer I saw that there

* The cashier is the official who is most in touch with the ladies of a *zamindar's* household, directly taking their requisitions for household stores and doing their shopping for them, and so becomes more a member of the family than others. —T.P.

was no sin in his heart, the more horrible appeared to me the sin of his words. I seemed to see the sin of the parents visited on the innocent child.

The sight of his great big eyes shining with faith and enthusiasm touched me to the quick. He was going, in his fascination, straight to the jaws of the python, from which, once in, there was no return. How was he to be saved? Why does not my country become, for once, a real Mother,—clasp him to her bosom and cry out: 'Oh my child, my child, what profits it that you should save me, if so it be that I should fail to save you?'

I know, I know, that all Power on earth waxes great under compact with Satan. But the Mother is there, alone though she be, to condemn and stand against this devil's progress. The mother cares not for mere success, however great,—she wants to give life, to save life. My very soul, to-day, stretches out its hands in yearning to save this child.

A while ago I suggested robbery to him. Whatever I may now say against it will be put down to a woman's weakness. They only love our weakness when it drags the world in its toils!

"You need do nothing at all, Amulya, I will see to the money," I told him finally.

When he had almost reached the door, I called him back. "Amulya," said I, "I am your elder sister. To-day is not the Brother's Day* according to the calendar, but all the days in the year are really Brother's Days. My blessing be with you: *May God keep you always.*"

These unexpected words from my lips took Amulya by surprise. He stood stock still for a time. Then, coming to himself, he prostrated himself at my feet in acceptance of the relationship and did me reverence. When he rose, his eyes were full of tears. . . . O little brother mine! I am fast going to my death,—let me take

* The daughter of the house occupies a place of specially tender affection in a Bengali household (perhaps in Hindu households all over India) because, by dictate of custom, she must be given away in marriage so early. She thus takes corresponding memories with her to her husband's home, where she has to begin as a stranger before she can get into her place. The resulting feeling, of the mistress of her new home for the one she has left, has taken ceremonial form as the Brother's Day, on which the brothers are invited to the married sisters' houses. Where the sister is the elder, she offers her blessing and receives the brother's reverence, and vice versa. Presents, called the offerings of reverence (or blessing) are exchanged. —Tr.

all your sin away with me. May no taint from me ever tarnish your innocence!

I said to him: "Let your offering of reverence be that pistol."

"What do you want with it, Sister?"

"I will practise death,"

"Right, Sister. Our women, also, must know how to die, to deal death!" with which Amulya handed me the pistol.

The radiance of his youthful countenance seemed to tinge my life with the touch of a new dawn. I put away the pistol within my clothes. May this reverence-offering be the last resource in my extremity. . . .

The door to the mother's chamber in my woman's heart once opened, I thought it would always remain open. But this pathway to the supreme good was closed when the mistress took the place of the mother and locked it again. The very next day I saw Sandip; and madness, naked and rampant, danced upon my heart.

What was this? Was this, then, my truer self? Never! I had never before known this shameless, this cruel one within me. The snake-charmer had come, pretending to draw this snake from within the fold of my garment,—but it was never there, it was his all the time. Some demon has gained possession of me, and what I am doing to-day is the play of his activity—it has nothing to do with me.

This demon, in the guise of a god, had come with his ruddy torch to call me that day, saying; "I am your Country. I am your Sandip. I am more to you than anything else of yours. *Bande Mataram!*" And with folded hands I had responded: "You are my religion. You are my heaven. Whatever else is mine shall be swept away before my love for you. *Bande Mataram!*"

Five thousand is it? Five thousand it shall be! You want it tomorrow? Tomorrow you shall have it! In this desperate orgy, that gift of five thousand shall be as the foam of wine,—and then for the riotous revel! The immovable world shall sway under our feet, fire shall flash from our eyes, a storm shall roar in our ears, what is or is not in front shall become equally dim. And then with tottering footsteps we shall plunge to our death—in a moment all fire will be extinguished, the ashes will be scattered, and nothing will remain behind. (*To be continued.*)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

A LETTER FROM FRANCE

THANK you so much for your letter! It was deeply interesting reading, especially your remarks about affairs in India. Things indeed are going forward at home and it is a joy to me to know it. We cannot absolutely afford to lose a single minute. We must push forward with all speed and energy, but we must take both deep and quick thought, and see at each step that we are going forward on right lines. . . I am so glad to hear that Delhi has determined to secure compulsory primary education, and I hope every municipality in India will make haste to do the same. We must strive to the last bit to get that! And now when England itself has acknowledged the good of sound education for its own sons and daughters in such a marked manner, surely she cannot and will not hold it away from us, who need it so urgently. I am right glad to hear this news, away here in France, about compulsory primary education, and I wish God speed with all my heart to all such healthy and legitimate efforts!

But you are quite right in saying that we need careful and clear thinking, if we are to go forward in a healthy manner. I have learnt that lesson out here, through seeing the hospital work. Clear thought, and the wise following out of our thoughts in action, can alone make us avoid the great dangers that beset our complex situation in the future. God grant to us and God grant the Government clear sight in this most vital of all matters!

I left Rouen on Wednesday with a party of Indian Cavalry officers who were invited to visit Paris. Everything has been done for us free of all cost and we have been able to see the places of interest under the best auspices. I have also been made quite at home during my stay here in the intellectual and artistic society of this great city. Only yesterday I attended a lecture given by Professor Berillon of the Paris University, who is said to be the greatest living psychologist of our times. I went to his clinique for nervous diseases. Then I heard his lecture, in the course of

which he paid a very high tribute to the ancient Hindu philosophers and thinkers, —especially those who worked out the Yoga System of thought. He said that those great men of the past had really worked out the *Idea*; that he and the men of the West were mere craftsmen and apprentices applying these old principles, which the Hindu thinkers discovered, to practical results.

He spoke so clearly, and he used such simple words that I was able to follow him right through while he spoke on in French; and it was a most delightful lecture to listen to. The language was beautiful, the illustrations were apt and attractive. The style was simple, and as clear as sparkling water. There was also just a light ripple of mirthful comment and observation which made the whole subject pointed and full of charm.

Then I also heard Madame Berillon lecture to a class of French ladies who were coming forward to help as nurses at the front and behind the lines. It was a great privilege to be at this lecture also and it was so kind of Madame Berillon who gave me a special invitation. Paris is really fascinating with its intellectual and cultured life, and the French people are so free and affectionate, especially towards us Indians. These people indeed know how to live and to work.

Amidst all this wealth of music, art, colour, one sees the more serious side of France, in the Lecture rooms of great teachers like M. Berillon, and also in their modest and quiet homes. The home of the Berillons is in Rue Mazzarine, one of the older parts of the city. It is on the third story, the rooms are of ordinary size, quietly but really artistically arranged and cleanly and tidily kept. There is no servant,—a war economy,—the girls, boys, aunts and wife of the house do the whole menage. They all know English as they know French, and are thoroughly interested in their country and in the deep things of the world of thought and science. They have taken a very great interest in India and its people. Like many French families here in Paris they have thrown their doors

wide open to the Indian officers and men who have come to their city. There is no stiffness or aloofness at all, and no coldness. They are simple and homely, yet high and great at the same time.

In all these experiences I can never forget the villages of dear India! Since my contact with the army I have been drawn more and more strongly towards our villages and to the people who live in them rather than towards the cities. It is in them that our own simple and affectionate

Indian life lies and there is wonderful intelligence also. And when one comes to think of it, the village world of India is really the world that must count when we look forward to progress in the future.

But personally there is no doubt—not the least—that before I really begin my own work on my return, I should get through a thorough course of stiff studies. I am not too old for it yet and I am by no means down-hearted.

PENSION SYSTEMS IN SCHOOLS

IT is said of Themistocles that his father, to dissuade him from accepting any public employment, showed him some old galleys that lay worn out and neglected on the sea-shore, and said, "Thus, my son, do the populace neglect their leaders, when they have no farther use for them." Every student of History knows how true the prophecy of the father turned to be.

This story of Plutarch has a significant bearing on the life of modern social-workers in India. We cast our social-servants out of employment in their old age, when the best portion of their lives have been spent for the cause of society. They have little saving to fall back upon, and to enter into any new profession, when they are past their prime, means a good deal of unlearning many habits and learning new things, for which their weak brain and body are least fitted.

There is a wide-spread tradition that corporations have no souls. But of all soulless corporations, our educational institutions probably have the smallest compassion, so far as the question of dealing with their servants and devoted workers is concerned. Few of the business corporations are as heartless towards an old officer as a very large proportion of our schools and colleges are. None of our modern institutions have ever thought it their duty to maintain the old servants who have worked ceaselessly for the benefit of society. Our schools and colleges should not divest themselves of a humane duty towards an old or worn out teacher.

There is no doubt that our private institutions are under no obligation to establish a general and permanent system of retiring allowance to the superannuated workers; but "the obligation for a service performed is one thing, and the question of taking an obligation for service to be performed is quite another."

Pensions are in vogue almost all over the world in the military department. Governments pay a vast amount of money to combatant, and non-combatant officers and privates, disabled soldiers and widows of soldiers. Besides these many hereditary Dukes, Princes, and Rajas receive no inconsiderable sums from the public treasury in recognition of some half-forgotten past services or some dubious claims, not of themselves but of their ancestors! Vast sums of public money are thus every year spent in many monarchal countries. In England and America the pension system had had to be recast after each war. But the Old-age Pension System, for the silent millions, who work in the offices of Railways, Post and Telegraph Departments, Dockyards and Arsenals and a thousand such departments and those selfless silent people who work in Schools and pass away silently without the world knowing what a life of untiring work and god wishes they have borne, is a very recent growth.

"Modern Pension Systems appeared in the nineteenth century and have shown rapid growth. Their extension to all orders of society has been a feature of the opening decade of the 20th century. This result is due chiefly to two facts; first, to our quicken-

ed sense of humanity; secondly, to the clearer appreciation that such humanity means more effective service and an improved condition of society."

It was Germany which first appeared in the field of state-controlled Pension System for all superannuated workers in the Empire. Other countries were not far behind her and followed her in this most humane work. It was only in 1908 that England fully realised the condition of the working millions, and enacted a law, which, must be admitted, was a very perfect one.

But in India the condition is quite different. In Europe, America and other more fortunate countries the people and the state are identified. The interest of the Government is not in conflict with that of society. Here the country belongs to the British, but the British public are not responsible to the people of India. Thus there is a distinct line of demarkation between the work of the Government and that of society. Here society and state work at loggerheads and people and Government, if not positively jealous of each other's work, look askance when one or the other is suddenly roused to activities. Co-operation, confidence and a right spirit of emulation are totally absent from the field of India's social and political activities. Self-Governing countries have responsible Governments and the State is there responsible for the welfare of the individual. This care of the individual is the duty of the State, when society has been dead. The underlying principles of modern legislation seek "freedom, not for some men only, but for all men." I do not know whether people have been happier than before or worse than ever, but their sufferings in old age have been a little mitigated. In Germany

"Insurance against old age and invalidity comprehends all persons who have entered upon their 17th year, and who belong to one of the following classes of wage-earners: artisans, apprentices, domestic servants, dress-makers, charwomen, laundresses, seamstresses, house-keepers, foremen, engineers, journeymen, clerks and apprentices in shops, schoolmasters, schoolmistresses, teachers and governesses, provided their earnings do not exceed £100 per annum. The insured are arranged in five classes, according to the amount of their yearly earnings, £12, £17 10s.; £27 10s.; £47 10s.; £57 10s.; and £100. The contributions affixed to a "Pension-Book" in stamps, are payable each week and amount in English money to 1.45d., 2.35d., 2.82d., 3.30d., and 4.23d. Of the contribution one-half is paid by the employer and the other half by the employee, whose duty it is to see that the amount has been properly entered in the Pension-Book. The Pensions in case

of invalidity, amount (including a state subsidy of £2 10s. for each) respectively £8 8s., £11 5s., £13 10s., £15 15s., and £18. The Old-age Pension (beginning at 70 years) amount £5 10s., £7; £8 10s., £10 and £11 10s. The old-age and invalid insurance is carried out by 31 large territorial offices, to which must be added nine special unions. The income of the 40 establishments was in 1903 £8,500,000 (including £1,700,000 imperial subsidy). The capital collected was upwards of £50,000,000" [*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Ed. Germany.]

Besides this insurance against old age and invalidity,

"Under an imperial law of 1883 and amending acts (codified in 1912), workmen must be insured against sickness, and must themselves pay two-thirds of the contributions, their employers paying one-third. For accident insurance, under an Act of 1884 and amending Acts, the contributions are paid entirely by the employers, and they for mutual protection have united into associations according to the nature of the industries in which they are engaged." "On January 1, 1916, the number of persons insured against sickness, was 4,747,613 men and 4,019,564 women; total 8,767,177." [Statesman's Year Book, 1917, pages 911,912].

In England under the National Insurance Acts, 1911 to 1916, provision is made for compulsory insurance against loss of health, for the prevention and cure of sickness, for compulsory insurance against unemployment. The number of insured persons under the Health Insurance Scheme at the beginning of 1914 was about 12¼ millions, including 260,000 deposit contributors. The number of unemployment contributors in February, 1917, was about 2,100,000, exclusive of those serving with the Army or Navy, and of the munition workers, etc. [Statesman's Year Book, 1917]. Among her colonies the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, Nova Scotia have introduced the Old Age Pension system in their respective states. In Nova Scotia, "a pension scheme is on operation whereby teachers under certain conditions receive an annuity." In France it was only in 1910, that the Old-Age Pension Law was fully given effect to; there contributions are paid up to the 60th year of the worker's life, and the State contribute 100 Francs. This sum is increased by one-tenth for every insured worker who has brought up 3 children of the age of 16. On December 31, 1913, 8,011,138 persons were registered under the scheme." [S. Y. B. p. 839].

It is needless to add here that almost all the civilized States have taken some measures for mitigating the miseries of the people, which modern industrialism

and modern legislations have brought them unto. The Educational departments have all been keen on the subject of pensioning the old teachers.

"Pensions are justified upon practically two grounds: first, those of a larger social justice; secondly, as a necessary condition to an efficient public school system. The first of these reasons applies in marked measure to pensions like that of the teacher. Society, as at present organized, desires to get the best service it can out of the various vocations and callings into which men are naturally distributed. In some of these callings great prizes are to be won, and these serve as incentives for high performance. In other callings, like that of the teacher, there are no longer prizes in the way of pecuniary reward (it would be a wise thing in society to create such). Society desires to obtain of the teacher a service quite out of proportion to the pay which he receives. Intelligence, devotion, high character—all are necessary, and the state seeks to obtain them at an average salary of \$500 [or 1,500 rupees] a year. It is clear that, if the State is to receive such service, some protection for old-age and disability must be had, if the best men and women are to be induced to enter upon such a calling as a life work. Secondly, from the standpoint of efficiency in organization, whether a governmental one or business one, there must be some means for retiring, decently and justly, worn out servants. In the past we have in most cases turned out men and women no longer able to teach, but the conscience of our time does not permit such action. Outworn teachers remain to the direct injury of the pupils themselves. As a matter of efficiency, some humane means of retirement for public school teachers is necessary."

[Report of the Carnegie Foundation.]

The above passage is as true of India as it is of the United States of America, the only difference is that our Schoolmasters would be content with five hundred rupees a year, instead of being discontented with 500 dollars in America. In America 13 of her States have already made State laws for the pension of Teachers.

The first individual who felt the crying need of a reform in the education department in this respect was Mr. Andrew Carnegie, the owner of the biggest steel trust in the world, who made a munificent donation of 15,000,000 dollars for the pension of old professors of colleges and universities. He clearly saw that able men would not be drawn to this profession until a prospect of decent living and an honourable retiring allowance be given them. He in his letter to the trustees of the foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, wrote thus: "Able men hesitate to adopt teaching as a career, and many old professors, whose places should be occupied by younger men, cannot be retired." But it is a pity Mr. Carnegie made

this provision only for college and university Professors. The President of the same Foundation in a report, in considering the problem of school teachers, says:

"But if there is a justification for pensions for Teachers in colleges, there is a still stronger justification for Pensions for teachers in Public Schools, where salaries are lower, work is harder, and the conditions of service are in every way most difficult. One of the greatest weaknesses of our [American] Public School Systems to-day lies in the fact that only a small number of men can be induced to undertake permanent careers in it. Before we can hope for the best results in education, we must make a career for an ambitious man possible in the public schools. To do this dignity and security must be given to Teacher's calling and probably no one step could be taken which will be more influential in including able men and women to adopt the profession of the teacher in the public schools than to attach to that vocation the security which Pension brings."

In India the schools in lower grades are filled up by most worthless men, of course there are honourable exceptions. The reason is not far to seek. Teaching is indeed a fine art; but the fact that it is an art is not a sufficient incentive and consolation for young men to join this service. Very often people disqualified from other services or unsuccessful in other lucrative professions, have recourse to teaching at last, as if the least degree of qualification and minimum amount of knowledge are the prerequisites of this profession. Teaching is no fine art to them, it is *merely* a means of subsistence. To others in India, it is a stepping stone to higher stations of life. I do not know if there be a single graduate working in office or pleaders practising in the Bar, who has not, once in his life, done some teaching work. It is not infrequently that a barrister or a High Court Vakil is appointed a professor with his one hand in the pockets of his clients and another in the college office! These people, as soon as they have a good practice, throw away the college work. Teaching is indeed a stepping stone to them. How can we hope for efficient teaching until and unless we can draw people, who would gladly stick to this line of work? And the only means of attracting efficient men, is to pay them decently. I do not say that the profession should be made wealthy by paying its workers lavishly; but its members should be protected against want, anxiety, neglect and bad conditions of labour. "To do his best work one needs not merely to live, but to live well." But our school masters and "Native" professors live in eternal

poverty. Poverty in a society where wealth is held in great honour, is a crime. There can be little doubt that unless a thorough reorganisation in the Educational department in respect to pay, retiring allowance or provident fund or pension system be made, little have we to expect in the line of efficiency. Let us see what percentage of the teaching population reap the benefit of pension in the Educational line in India. The following passage is quoted from the Education Report for 1907-1912.

"At the quinquennium there are 10 directors of Public Instruction. There are also (excluding the 14 posts in chief's colleges) 175 officers in the I. E. S., the average monthly pay is 783 (less than the actual by reason of the fact that many officers have not reached Rs. 1000 grade). Of these 4 are Indians. There are 380 officers in the provincial service (of whom 328 are Indians and some of the other members of the domiciled community); the average pay is Rs. 318 a month. The subordinate and lower subordinate services contain 7,811 officers (of whom 200 were Europeans) drawing an average pay of Rs. 55 a month. There are also 465 ungraded posts (of which 43 are held by Europeans) on an average pay of somewhat over Rs. 75 a month; and 104 posts which cannot be classified (of which 90 are held by Europeans) on an average pay of slightly over Rs. 152 a month. The total number of officers in these services is thus 8,945."

"These officers, however, turn but a small section of the host of Teachers, who number 215,518. Of these only 7,598 are in Government service; 51,979 are in employ of Boards; 9,121 in that of municipal bodies; and 1,46,820 belong to privately managed schools. The conditions upon which last three classes work are less favourable than in the case of Government servants."

"But the principal disqualification is the general want of some provision for old age. Government servants look forward to their pensions. But, generally speaking, those teachers in private employ have no prospect of pension and no contribution fund. This is a matter in which reform is urgently called for." [Pp. 31,32]

In Europe and America much storm has blown over the question of the adaptability of contributory and non-contributory systems of pension. We cannot think of introducing non-contributory system in our Education Department until an Indian Carnegie comes forward to pay for the poor teachers. The condition of schools and colleges, in every case, is not solvent and it would hardly be possible for our institutions to grant pensions or any retiring allowance once for all without the non-contributory method. In the German Universities long before the state had taken the burden on its own shoulders, the pensions began with the contribution of the professors themselves, and only after a long discussion on the economic and

moral questions involved in it, was the burden of these pensions shifted from the shoulders of the teachers to the treasury of the Government-aided organization.

It is needless to add here that in India the difference between a School-master and a Professor or a School Inspector or his subordinates is very great. This difference is not merely in the amount of salary they draw, but also in the degree of recognition in society. In Germany, the salary of a Director is from £300 to £400 per annum and of a teacher from £130 to £250. These salaries, however, carry pensions. (Germany of Today, page 144). "On the whole the university professors are not highly paid. A professor in ordinary, if he be of great national importance and highly respected, may in Prussia be in receipt of an income amounting to about £600; the average salary in Prussia is about £350, to which should be added lecture fees, which in certain instances may amount to another £100 per annum." (P. 155). In India we have every reason to believe that the whole structure of Education is top heavy; one set of people are growing fat at the cost of the people, whereas another set in the same sphere of work are on the verge of famine. This anomaly should be done away with and let us hope that some day the socialisation of work and pay would be introduced in the department.

The specific things that I have to propose before the public are the following:— (1) a fair retiring allowance after 55 years of age or the benefits of a provident fund; or (2) a disability allowance after 25 years of service as a teacher, in case of a failure in health so complete as to unfit him for his work as a teacher; (3) the payment to the widow of a teacher, who has had 25 years of service, of a pension equal to one-half of the allowance he would have been entitled to at 55. But there is one great difficulty in its way in private services. For there is no co-ordination of work and no co-operation between schools. It should be the duty of the University to improvise certain means to meet these difficulties.

I believe, it would not be out of place just to mention the great financial and actuarial difficulties which some of the Banks and Insurance Companies in connection with pension system have met in the United States of America and Australia.

"In New South Wales the Government had to fight hard with uncertain facts, unreliable data for years and at last in 1903 the economic disaster, which the expert actuaries repeatedly warned the Government of, came down with a crash; the superannuation account has no funds left in its treasury. Over £1,000,000 had been contributed to it during its existence, but it was all gone..... It is calculated that in 1936 this drain upon the treasury will have ceased finally."

Such disaster befell many of the Pension Funds in New York. Our difficulties and dangers in this direction are tremendous. We shall have to work hard with

such problems as longevity, expectation of life and a thousand such other question connected with the Theory of Probabilities. The time is ripe for our society, Government and the universities to join hands for the amelioration of the dreadful and wretched condition of the most useful of social workers, viz., its teachers.

City College, PROBHAAT KUMAR MUKHERJEE.
Calcutta.

THAT PERFECT ONE

A MEDITATION BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.

"Know that Perfect One, who is worthy to be known, so that Death may give you no pain."

KNOW the Deathless. Then Death will give you no pain. Take shelter in Him, worship Him, know Him who is worthy to be known.

Death's cruel image is ever before us. The world itself is Death's symbol: Everything dies that is born. The restless, fleeting imagery of life, the changing, transitory history of man remind us incessantly of Death. Death is all around us and about us. How can we escape from its fears?

We are freed from all fear by taking shelter in the Deathless. In this world there is fear, but there is no fear in the dwelling-place of immortality. In this world the pangs of death may overtake us: Yet even now, by taking refuge in the Deathless, we may get courage and win hope.

How wonderful, that in the midst of Death we may know the Undying! How wonderful, that we who are so feeble can take shelter from our terrors with the King of Kings and Lord of Lords!

Amid all the varied happenings of the world, man alone can consciously fulfil the gracious purposes of God. Birds and beasts, fish and fowl, live and move and have their being all unconscious of the kindly care of the Creator. They do His will, but know it not.

But man has this supreme gift of know-

ledge. Of his own free will he becomes one with the gracious purposes of God. Living in the midst of death, he alone attains the Deathless. Dwelling in the region of fear, he alone takes shelter in the Fearless.

When thus we learn consciously to depend upon that Perfect One, we move in a new world; we can never lose the joy of our soul. We may have suffering to endure, we may have danger to encounter, we may have sickness to overcome; but the joy of the inner spirit will remain unquenched. Taking refuge in the dwelling place of the Immortal, the terrors of Death cannot affright us.

Therefore, so long as we remain in this world, with all its fears, let us not turn away, but draw near to the Deathless. The scripture says,—“Let me not turn away from God: let God not turn away from me; let there be no disunion.”

Apart from God, all life would be waste and void. From God flow all our joys. He never forgets us for a moment.

Utter ruin would be ours, if God were to forsake us. So the scripture says again,—“Who could move or live, if this Being, whose very name is Joy, filled not the infinite space?”

God is the Giver of all joy. From our birth He has nourished us with His love. He remembers us at all times, that we may not become forgetful of Him.

How can it be possible for man to forsake Him? Have we not cares, anxieties, suffering, depressions of mind? Can we, then, bear to live without Him? Have we not fears and terrors? Can we, then, neglect His haven of Peace? Have we not sins and stains? Do we not need the shelter of Him who can make pure the defiled?

None but God Himself can give peace to our restless hearts. None but God Himself can drive away our fears in this fear-haunted world. If we forsake Him, we lose our highest good. Our best deeds become selfish, our purest enjoyment becomes ungracious.

In our times of joy, let us remember the Giver of joy. In taking our food, let us call to mind the Giver of our daily bread. In our repentance for sin, let us come to the Fountain of purity. Let us surrender ourselves to Him, and attain the new life of the soul.

Some may ask for instruction as to the manner of His worship. The worship of Him, whose tender care we enjoy, needs no instruction. The love of God, the great Giver of Good, cannot be taught by rote.

God Himself is the Teacher of teachers, the Father of us all. Let us come simply

to Him in childlike adoration. Worship will be natural to us, if we are true to our nature. Only let our inner life grow freely, and we shall learn, each in our own way, to worship Him.

Those desolate countries where God is not worshipped, those destitute homes where His Name is never uttered, those vacant hearts wherein His seat is not spread, are the dwelling-places of despondency. Therefore from to-day take shelter with Him and begin your inner worship. Bring your thoughts and actions, your faith and conduct, into harmony.

As a child runs to its mother's arms without fear, so enter fearlessly into His presence. Oppressed with sin, take refuge in Him with tears of repentance. And He, who is tender to the desolate, will give you freedom. Worship Him, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

If any have the knowledge, but lack the joy of worship, then let them persevere in earnest prayer for purity of heart. Surely they too will feel His goodness.

At last, by all, in the inmost heart, the scripture will be understood,—“God does not forsake me; let me not turn away from God.”

(Translated from the Bengali.)

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., L.T.

V. RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS IN PEACE :— SEC. 3. *Alliances and Treaties.*

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS.

It was noted in the last section how alliances and treaties were among the most important functions of ambassadors. In this an attempt is made to consider the various causes, characteristics and kinds of alliances and treaties. As has been already seen¹ there were political units of organisation of different grades and of unequal strength and resources in the various ages of the ancient history of India. Naturally, there arose the necessity for constant intercourse among these

states for various purposes and what in modern technology of international relations are known as alliances, leagues, confederacies, ententes and coalitions became absolutely necessary.

Alliances, variously styled सन्धि, संधय, आश्रय, and सहाय्य, are reckoned by all writers, secular and religious, as forming a separate department of statecraft.¹ It is defined as seeking the protection of another,² a means by which even the weak may become powerful.³ The works on polity place

¹ The six attributes of statecraft are Sandhi, Vighraha, Samsraya, Asana, Yana and Dvaitibhava.

² Kautilya : Arthashastra, VII. 1.

³ Sukraniti, IV. 7, l. 472.

¹ See *Mod. Rev.* June 1918.

great insistence on the king keeping up the 'balance of power' among the circle of states that surrounded him (मण्डल).¹ A *mandala* consisted of twelve kings of different attitudes and varying relations to each other.² It was to the interest of a state to manipulate the relations with others in such a way as never to allow itself to be overwhelmed. It should have round it friendly, hostile and neutral states arranged so as to secure the safety of its own position. A balance of power was to be aimed at and there was little chance in such a case of the particular state being invaded by hostile armies because there were the other intervening states who might form coalitions to resist the invasion on the principle of 'self-preservation.' The wise king should thus make himself the *nabhi* (centre of gravity) of the *mandala* and make the surrounding states the *neri* (spokes) of the wheel.³ In this Kautilya and the rest touch on the importance of constant alliances and counter-alliances between the various powers.

Thus, alliances were from the beginning of our history of great necessity and importance, considering the multiplicity of the nature and the number of states in ancient India and the divergent tendencies and opposing principles which characterised the dealings of a ruler against the rest.

HISTORY OF ALLIANCES.

Alliances are in evidence even in the earliest age of the history of India. In the Rig Veda⁴ we find that some of the Aryan tribal communities entered into an alliance with each other and with the non-Aryan tribes to form a 'confederacy' of ten tribes against the most powerful Aryan political organisation of the Tritsus under their leader Sudās. The result was the 'Battle of Ten Kings'⁵ which is made mention of in some of the hymns. The apparent cause for the formation of the confederacy was

the desire on their part to check the growth of Sudās.

In the Epics there are many instances of alliances actuated by different motives in different cases. We read of the names of a good belt¹ of Aryan and non-Aryan kingdoms that took sides with the combatants in the Mahā Bhārata War. The 'alliance' was for offensive and defensive purposes and was formed with a view to crush one of the rival powers and to lead to the rise of the other. The frequent quarrels among some non-Aryan and Aryan tribes offered no doubt another opportunity for some of the alliances of Aryan and non-Aryan powers that are in evidence in the age. The alliance of Rama and Sugriva² as against Vāli and Ravana is a case in point. Another instance is met with in that of the Pāndavas and the king of Virāta against the Kauravas.³ These, we may say, were formed to keep up the balance of power or to uphold the cause of the righteous against the wrong-doer.

Coming to later times, we find, Magadha and Avanti were for long the dominant states in Hindusthan and naturally enough alliances were formed between the various smaller states to thwart the growing ambition of these Imperial states and to preserve their own integrity and independence. The Pratijnāyagandharāyana⁴ of Bhāsa illustrates how king Pradyōta, Mahāsēna of Avanti was trying to realise 'the world ideal' and how he tried to overcome the Prince of Kausambi who alone had managed to be independent. An early example⁵ of alliance in the history of Magadha may be seen in the confederacy of the eight Licchavi clans. The coalition of these clans was formed in order to act as a bulwark against the growing aggression of Magadha which was trying to stretch its arms on all sides especially under the reigns of the most powerful of its sovereigns Bimbisāra and

1 Arthasastra, VI. 2.

2 These were besides the king in point अरि, मित्र, मध्यम, उदासीन, अरिमित्र, मित्रमित्र, अरिमित्र-मित्र, पार्ष्णिग्राह, आक्रन्द, पार्ष्णिग्राहसार, and आक्रन्दसार।

Arthasastra, VI. 2; See Manu, VII. 155-157.

3 Arthasastra, VII. 2.

4 and 5 Rig Veda, VII. 18. 23 for example.

1 Chief of these were the Uttara Kurus, Uttara Madras, Gandharas, Bahlikas to the north; Angas, Magadhas, Kikatas to the east; Bhojas, Andhras, Satvas on the south; Nichyas, Apachyas, Bhils, Kambhojas, and Tangaras on the west.

Mahabharata : Bhishma Parva : Bhagavatgita Parva.

2 Ramayana : Kishkindhakanadam, 17.

3 Mahabharata : Virata Parva.

4 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

5 V. A. Smith: Early History of India, page 36 citing Jacobi : Jaina Sutras.

Ajatasatru. The latter is said to have defeated this coalition and acquired for himself a large tract of territory. A little later there is the alliance between Udayana of Kausāmbi and Darsaka of Magadha which forms the historical background of the Svapna Vāsavadattā.¹ In the same period we read of Chandragupta Maurya having displaced the Nandas from the throne with the help of the 'Lion' and the 'Elephant'.² These alliances were actuated either by the desire of acquisition of kingly power and territory or to prevent the danger of being overcome by more powerful enemies.

CAUSES FOR THE FORMATION OF ALLIANCES.

From this brief sketch of political alliances we are enabled to gather the causes that led to their formation. The occasion for these varied apparently in different cases. But for the most part they were made for defence against the aggression of other powers; and as Kautilya³ said 'whoever was lacking in the necessary strength to defend himself sought the protection of another.' It was in certain cases to prevent the dangerous overgrowth of one particular state or to thwart the designs of the enemy by show of combination and thus attain one's object.⁴ Other causes for alliances appear to have been the desire for the acquisition of territory or for keeping up the balance of power among the states in ancient India. It may be noted, in general, that the alliances were entered into mostly for the purposes of war against others. At other times the ordinary rules of statecraft⁵ and the attitude of one state towards another in normal times regulated the conduct of the states to each other. In the latter case there was no special necessity for the formation of alliances. In fact all states which were not enemies, either natural or artificial, were allies to one another.

NATURE OF AND NECESSITY FOR ALLIANCES.

The following points may be noted as

¹ See Svapnavasavadatta : Triv. Sansk. Ser.
² These were the emblems respectively of the king of Simhapuram in Rajputana and the Gayapatis of the south.

See Indian Antiquary for 1916,

³ Arthasastra, VII. 1.

⁴ Manu Smṛiti, VII. 168.

⁵ See Ante for April and May 1918.

regards the nature of and necessity for alliances.

"One should ally oneself with a king stronger than one's neighbouring enemy. In the absence of such an ally one should ingratiate oneself with one's neighbour. There can be no greater evil to kings than seeking protection with a king of enormous power unless one is actually attacked. A king situated between two powerful kings shall ally himself with the stronger or with the more reliable or with both on equal terms. He may make alliance with a neutral. Of two powerful kings friendly to each other a king should choose to seek the protection of the one who likes him most and who is liked by him."

This, says Kautilya,¹ is the best method of making alliances.

KINDS OF ALLIANCE.

Alliances were of various types—*offensive* and *defensive*—the former mostly during war, the latter in peace times as well. A second type is in evidence in the alliances on *equal* or *unequal* terms² (समान and असमान or हीन). Apparently in the first class both parties that entered into the alliance had equal advantage, while in the latter case, from its very nature the less powerful states of the alliance were bound to the larger states in various ways. In fact, any alliance between greater and smaller states, where the initiative is taken by the latter, being hard-pressed to keep up its own existence, was, generally speaking, an instance of the latter class of alliances (असमान). In the Harsha Charita³ we meet with an alliance of this kind entered into by Kumārārāja, the king of Kāmarupa with the king. The position of an असमान ally corresponded in a way to that of the feudatories to the suzerain. They were bound, it would appear, 'to do suit' as is indicated by the order⁴ that was given by Harsha to his ally. "I desire you to come at once to the assembly with the strange Sramana you are entertaining at the Nālanda convent." The subordinate character of Kumārārāja in relation to Harsha is clear from the place accorded to him in the procession with the image of the Buddha as described by Yuan Chwang.⁵

¹ Arthasastra, VII. 1.

² Manu, VII. 163 for e.g.

³ Chapter, VII. I am indebted for this suggestion to Dr. Banerjea's 'Public Administration in Ancient India.'

⁴ Yuan Chwang : 'Buddhist Records of the Western World,' I. 216.

⁵ Ibid, I. 218.

The duties of a subordinate ally roughly speaking were as follow :—

(1) To agree to accept the superiority of his ally, and

(2) To leave with him in the main the conduct of the affairs for which the alliance was formed.¹

(3) To give him help in various ways, providing him with men, money, etc., and giving him all auxiliary help.²

(4) To attend on him when called on to do so.³

(5) To be bound to abide by the terms of the alliance.

Alliances may again be either *voluntary* or *purchased*.⁴ The former depended on the good will of the parties and were certainly more stable depending on mutual good understanding. The latter were in the face of them mercenary and intended to stand only for so long as the object for which the alliance was formed was achieved. These, it is held, were not alliances proper. Alliances with *feudatories* and *vassals* were in evidence, though they were not considered quite desirable, as is clear from the statement in the *Sukraniti*⁵ to the effect that a king may make peace with feudatories in order to conquer his enemies. Throughout there were not only the alliances of the *Aryan* or the non-*Aryan* states among themselves but also of mixed nature formed of *Aryan and non-Aryan powers*. The alliances mentioned in the *Rig Veda* and in the epics are cases in point.

MATRIMONIAL ALLIANCES AS SECURITY FOR POLITICAL ALLIANCES.

Very often a political compact was strengthened by marriage alliances between the sovereigns. And here we are reminded of the system of 'Dynastic Marriages' which prevailed in Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. To cite only a few instances. Vatsa, the country of Udayana, is overrun by his enemies under the arch rebel Aruni. He is compelled to flee and protects himself in *Lāvānaka* for a time. In order to win the support of Darsaka, king of Magadha, a marriage is

contrived¹ by Udayana's skilful minister Yaugandharāyana of his king with Padmavati, the sister of Darsaka. "The marriage was of political significance to Udayana as it meant not only Darsaka's abstention from activity helping the insurgents in the Vatsa country, but prompt aid in putting the rebellion down."² An instance of a different type may be seen in the alliance between Seleucus and Chandragupta where the latter is offered the hand of the daughter of Seleucus.³

TREATIES AND THEIR FORMATION.

Alliances were made to depend on treaties as to the purpose, duration and object of such alliances. Those of honour were certainly the most praiseworthy.⁴ But there were, as we have seen, other kinds, e.g., those that concluded the wars and those that were secured by purchase—in the case of which specially there was the necessity for the stipulation of the terms on which they were concluded and possibly also for the mention of penalty in case of breach. The treaties in these cases were necessary to keep up the subordinate character of the less powerful of the states of the alliance. These were concluded by the ambassadors, or other accredited ministers of the sovereigns or as oftentimes happened the kings met in person and made the agreements of peace. It would appear that though the general terms of the alliances may be settled by the ministers appointed for the purpose, the sovereign was the final treaty-making and ratifying authority.

CHARACTERISTICS OF TREATIES.

A treaty has been defined as that which bound sovereigns in faith to one another.⁵ Those actions by which the powerful foe becomes friendly constituted a treaty.⁶ A treaty for its observance generally depended on the word of honour (सत्य श्रमण्य). Securities (प्रतिभूः) and hostages (प्रतिग्रह)

1 As is implied in the very definition of the term.

2 Agni Purāṇa.

3 Yuan Chwang, *op. cit.*

4 Sukraniti, IV. 7. l. 578.

5 Ibid, IV. 7. l. 481.

1 See Svapnavāsavadatta of Bhāsa, *op. cit.*

2 *Ind. Ant.*, 1916, *op. cit.*

3 Smith : Early Hist. of India, p. 119.

4 These were the only honourable and proper forms of alliances. This idea is probably implied in the statement in the *Sukraniti* : 'Everything else other than alliance implies a species of gifts.' IV. 7. ll. 476-7 ; & *Arthasastra*, VII. 17.

5 Kautilya : *Arthasastra*, VI. 17.

6 *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. 466-7.

were demanded in certain cases of doubtful intention.¹ As the Sukraniti holds, gifts were given according to the strength of the adversary. Sometimes one had to bind oneself to do some service; even to part with one's children, wealth and property.² Ascetics and nobles sometimes stood as securities to avoid the breach of treaty obligations. In cases where there was the fear of breach of honesty, one party exacted from the other an oath by fire, water or the sword.³ According to the older teachers, says Kautilya,⁴ a treaty of the second and third classes was considered stable (स्थाय), while one of honour was unstable (चञ्चल). Sukraniti which comes later lays down that without gifts there is no (good) form of agreement.⁵ Kautilya, however, holds the view that a treaty depending on सत्यपथ was more permanent as being useful not only during life on earth but also in the world beyond, unlike the latter kinds which served men only in this world.⁶

DURATION OF TREATIES.

A treaty was generally in force until the object for which the powers had treated and the conditions stated therein had been accomplished. In the case of alliances and treaties between unequal powers, the lesser states were placed in less advantageous positions and possibly the penalty inflicted on them, in case of a breach of the terms, was heavier. The breach of the conditions laid down in treaties proved one of the various causes of war on the state that did not keep its word. There was the chance of the defaulter-state not only incurring the odium of being untrue to its word—the most serious violation of the rules of Dharma and therefore a great stigma on the state that was not सत्यव्रत—but being blotted out of existence by a combination of other powers to assert the cause of the right. Securities were necessitated because, as Kautilya⁷ with his usual practical wisdom said, the state whose power was rapidly increasing might at any time break the terms of the agreement.

In this connection we are reminded in a way of the spirit with which agreements and treaties have been safeguarded by some of the European nations of modern times. It is a sad feature to note that the high sounding guarantees of safety and security were given effect to by some of these only so far as they served their own ends and if they had no more prospect of gain the nearest opportunity was possibly taken hold of by them to deal with them as no more valuable than scraps of paper. Instances are apparently rare in Ancient India of breach of the terms of the treaties entered into. But in the case of 'treaties depending on promises to pay in future large hoards of money, there was the possibility that owing to distance and owing to its having been kept long the amount of the tribute may sometimes fall in arrears.' Also, in the case of agreements to pay more than the land could yield, where it was exacting more than one could manage, there was the possibility of the promise not being fulfilled. In these cases a reasonable period of time either stipulated or not was allowed. There was next the possibility of the evasion of the terms of the agreement, which had to be allowed, under the 'plea of loss of results from works.'¹

KINDS OF TREATIES.

We have next to take note of the various kinds of treaties recorded in our literature, and among these the most common were those that concluded the wars. Kautilya² mentions quite a large number of these. They have been roughly classified under :—

- (1) Dandōpanata.....offering the army.
- (2) Kōśōpanata.....treasure.
- (3) Dēśōpanata.....territory.
- (4) Suvarna.....amicably settled (peace with honour).

(1) Under दण्डोपनत are mentioned :—

(a) आत्मनिष—'Agreement on the understanding that with a section of the army or with the flower of his troops the sovereign should present himself.'

(b) युद्धान्तर—'That made on the condition that the commander of the army and the crown prince should present themselves.' 'This kind of treaty is conducive

¹ Arthashastra, VII. 17.

² Sukraniti IV. 7 430 f.

³ Arthashastra VII. 17.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ IV. 7.476.7.

⁶ Arthashastra, VII. 17.

⁷ Do. VI. 17.

¹ Arthashastra, VII. 3. (See *Infra*).

² Do.

to self-preservation as it does not require the attendance of the king.'

(c) अदृष्टवृत्त—'The one made on the agreement that the king or some one else appointed should march with the army to some place as required.' 'This form is conducive to the safety of the king and the chief's army.'

(2) Under कोशोपनत are :—

(a) प्रक्रिय—'When by the offer of wealth the rest of the elements of sovereignty are set free.'

(b) उपग्रह—'When peace is concluded by offer of money capable of being carried on one's shoulders.'

(c) क्षपाव—'When by offering large amount of money peace is concluded.'

(3) देशोपनत has the following subheads :—

(a) अक्षिप्त—'When by cession of a part of territory the rest of the land is saved.'

(b) उच्छिन्नसन्धि—'If the part of the terri-

tory is ceded but devoid of all resources therein.'

(c)* अवक्रय—'By which the land is set free on the understanding that payment will be made of the produce thereof.'

(d) परिभूषण—'Agreement to pay more than the land could yield.'

(4) सुवर्ण—'When between the parties making the treaty there is the amicable union of hearts.'

The last was by all means the most desirable form of peace-making. Whereas the other forms depended on promises to cede wealth, land or forces, in the last the cessation of hostilities or the settlement of disputes depended merely on the word of honour of both parties.

This chapter closes the section on Rights and Obligations in Peace. The next chapter will begin with the section on War.

NEWSPAPER REPORTERS IN THE GALLERY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A., BAR-AT-LAW.

OF the London reporters, the most distinguished are the men in the Gallery of the House of Commons. The Press Gallery is the height of reportorial ambition, and the Gallery men are justly named the Olympians of this department of journalism. A visitor on his first visit to the stranger's gallery in the House of Commons will see the long gallery above and behind the Speaker's head, the occupants of which are continually moving, as, after every few minutes, one of them rises and is at once relieved by another. The fact that the occupants of this Gallery are continually moving and diligently writing is sufficient introduction to the visitor, and leaves no doubt in his mind that they are the Press Reporters who are there to report Parliamentary proceedings, speeches, etc. He will at once know that they are not members of the House or its state officials, but representatives

of the Press. "The Times", being the first newspaper in the United Kingdom, enjoys the privilege of three representatives in the Gallery—Chief of Staff, reporter, and summary-writer. Other leading papers, such as "The Daily Telegraph", "The Morning Post", "The Daily News and Leader", "The Daily Chronicle" have the privilege of one representative only. Many papers do not send representatives, and depend for their parliamentary reports on the Press Agencies. The editors of the newspapers too occasionally come into the reporters' gallery when important debates are going to take place in the House.

The right-hand corner of the Press Gallery is reserved for Hansard. Here sits the representative of Hansard. The reader will naturally ask at this point, "What is Hansard?" The answer is that Hansard is the name of the official record of the proceedings in Parliament which are

published every year in a bulky volume. These records are most useful to a politician for reference purposes, especially to a member of the House of Commons. Hansard is named after Luke Hansard, a printer, born at Norwich in 1752. In his early days he left Norwich, where he was a Printer, came over to London, and found employment with Hughes, who was at that time printer to the House of Commons. His employer died and he succeeded to his business, and soon acquired reputation as an accurate printer of Parliamentary proceedings and papers. He died in 1828, and his business in the House of Commons was continued by his family. In the eighties Hansard became a public company, and since then its work has been greatly increased, and is carried on by a large body of staff. At first Parliamentary reports printed by Hansard were often modified by the members of the House of Commons at their own pleasure. But the case of *Stockdale versus Hansard* (1839) put a stop to this sort of practice. In that case the House of Commons had authorised Hansard, its printer, to publish a report which contained a libel upon Stockdale. Stockdale sued Hansard for libel, and Hansard pleaded in justification the authority of the House of Commons. It was held that the House of Commons cannot, by its own resolution, "alter the law of the land so as to legalize an otherwise illegal act; and further, that a resolution of the House declaring its privilege would not prevent the court from inquiring into the validity or otherwise of such privilege." In consequence of this, and in order to render Hansard immune from the consequences of libel, in future, an Act was passed in 1840 which provided that in such cases a certificate, signed by the necessary officials, to the effect that the publication was by order of the House, would operate as a stay of proceedings.

The history of the reporter in the Gallery of the House of Commons is as fierce and steady in fight as the history of the fight for the freedom of the Press. The House of Commons at first did not look upon the reporter as a desirable person, but for years—nay for more than a century—looked upon him as a "stranger." First of all it was Lord Marchmont in 1762 who used to take a special delight in insisting on the imposition of the statutory penalties on the newspaper men

who would mention the name of any member of the House of Commons in the report of a debate. In 1793, Wyndham in his attack on the newspaper men described them as "bankrupts, lottery-office keepers, footmen, and decayed tradesmen." But this abuse was so keenly felt by Sheridan that it led him to the championship of the representatives of the Press whom he described as "men of education and even of literary distinction." But the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn tried to pass a resolution that no man who had written for a newspaper should be admitted to the Bar. But in this they were opposed by James Stephen, Master in Chancery, who supported Sheridan, and thus killed the resolution. In fact, James Stephen himself had been once a reporter for the "Morning Post", and could not stand his amateur profession being thus degraded. In 1833, Daniel O'Connell made an attempt to clear the reporters' Gallery in the House, but failed. Then he tried to adjourn the sitting by the traditional remark, "I spy strangers." But this too came to nothing. In 1875 Mr. Biggar attempted to clear all the galleries. He was successful in so far that all those present, among whom was His late Majesty King Edward the Seventh, as Prince of Wales, excepting the members of the House, had to withdraw. But Mr. Disraeli condemned this strongly, and "moved the suspension of the order requiring the withdrawal of strangers who thereupon returned, the Prince being the first to re-enter the House."

The reader will be astonished to know that though Parliamentary reporting has been going on for more than a century past, it is still illegal, and is a breach of privilege of the House of Commons. Both the House of Lords and the House of Commons have frequently declared by passing resolution that the publication of debates of either House constitutes a breach of privilege. This privilege was strictly enforced by the House of Commons till 1771, and if reports of Parliamentary debates did appear now and then in the papers, the names of members were either not given or they were given fictitious names. For instance, Edward Cave, who founded the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1736, and who is considered to be the first man to publish reports of speeches in the House of Commons and who engaged

Dr. Johnson for the parliamentary work in 1740, for two years, i.e. till 1738, disguised a speaker's name with a blank. But when in 1738 the House threatened him with its vengeance in case he went on with his impudent practice of reporting parliamentary speeches, he became more careful and adopted fictitious names, though made his reports fuller by giving them such titles as "Debates in the Senate of Great Lilliput." But the chief credit of bringing the system of parliamentary reporting to perfection belongs to William Woodfall, editor of the "Morning Chronicle", and James Perry of the "Gazetteer". The former worked from memory, as it was then perilous to be seen taking notes in the House, and the latter organised the system of relays of reporters, and thus published the parliamentary speeches on the very morning following the debate. In 1771, the House of Commons sent a messenger to arrest Miller, a printer of Parliamentary debates. Miller gave the messenger into custody for assault, and the Lord Mayor and two aldermen committed him for trial, though releasing him on bail. Upon this the House of Commons at once caused the entry to be erased from the book of recognizances, and sent the Lord Mayor and two aldermen to the Tower. This aroused a feeling of indignation, and the House waived the right to restrain publication of its debates. But, it should be noted, this right is still permitted upon sufferance only, and the House can still exercise the right of punishing the offender if he wilfully misrepresents its debates. But it was the case of *Wason v. Walter*, 1868, which decided that "faithful and fair reports of parliamentary proceedings although containing matter disparaging to individuals, is privileged; though the publication of a particular speech mala fide, with the object of damaging an individual, would not be privileged."

But the Parliamentary reporter is now-a-days declining in importance. There was a time when the famous journalists wanted to get into the Gallery of the House of Commons, and the public used to attach greater importance to the Parliamentary reporter than to the ordinary reporter. But with the advent of modern journalism imported from America, the parliamentary reporting in its entirety has been practically abandoned, and the majority of

London papers now content themselves with a lively sketch of the proceedings and a full report of two or three important speeches in the course of the whole session, which speeches can easily be procured from the news agencies at a small cost. Now-a-days the Gallery is considered to be a fine training-ground for the man who wants to see how things are done and who wants to know the leading politicians of the day. But it is no place for the man who wants to be known as a journalist. Moreover, the pay of a parliamentary reporter is rather meagre in comparison to the pay of a man who works on the staff of a leading London daily. The fact of the matter is, that the glory of the man in the Gallery of the House of Commons has, practically speaking, gone. I am, of course, referring to the parliamentary reporting and not to the sketch writing.

The sketch-writer of parliamentary proceedings, etc., has come to the fore. He is at present in great demand. He is known by what the journalists call "Lobbyist". His duty is to pick up gossip connected with parliament and its members. He walks up and down the lobby, and interviews the members of the House upon any subject of public interest and thus picks up any item of parliamentary intelligence. Before the sketch-writing of parliamentary intelligence came into fashion, "The Times" had its daily summary, but it was really an unpicturesque affair. It was Mr. (now Sir) H. W. Lucy of "The Daily News" (now "Daily News and Leader"), "whose delightful letters made the actual drama of Parliament a living thing for newspaper readers." No other English journalist (Mr. T. P. O'Connor bracketed) has done more than Sir H. W. Lucy to enlighten the Londoner on affairs of the House of Commons. For many years he was the representative of "The Daily News" in the Gallery of the House of Commons. He also represented that paper in the lobby. Even when Mr. Labouchere, at one time proprietor of "The Daily News", appointed him the editor of "The Daily News", Mr. Lucy was usually seen in the Gallery. In fact he was not at home in "the chair". He, no doubt, as an editor wrote leading articles, but it was his parliamentary letter in his paper which was much appreciated by the public. His portraits of Major Gorman, Sir Patrick O'Brien, and Mr. Tom

Collins are still fresh in the minds of the reader. But his pen pictures of Mr. Gladstone are simply delightful. Another English journalist who has done more than others to make the parliamentary affairs most interesting and charming to the average Englishman is Mr. T. P. O'Connor. He writes regularly every week for the "Reynolds Newspaper" on Parliamentary affairs, and I am simply doing justice to him and nothing more—I mean no flattery—when I say that as descriptive writing of parliamentary affairs, I have not read anything of its kind in any other London paper. To me he seems to be not only one of the most versatile, experienced and original writers, as journalists say, but one of the fastest descriptive writers in London. In addition,

his account of parliamentary affairs is always unbiased. Of course, he is an Irishman, and is, therefore, naturally and honestly inclined towards the Irish people, and is one of the strongest advocates of Irish Home Rule. But this fact alone does not detract from the value of his being an impartial and sound critic and writer of affairs in general. Anyone, whether Britisher or Foreigner, who wants to be acquainted with Parliament, its members and its affairs, cannot do better than read Mr. T. P. O'Connor's weekly article in "Reynold's Newspaper". No wonder, he is called "ever-green" T. P. O'Connor, as he is always so fresh, original and natural. At present he is away in America.

London,

2nd May, 1918.

THE MONUMENTS OF SANCHI

"There is a stern round tower of other days,
Firm as a fortress with its fence of stone,
Such as an army's baffled strength delays,
Standing with half its battlements alone.

And with two thousand years of ivy grown,
The garland of eternity,—where wave
The green leaves, over all by Time o'erthrown.

What treasure lay so locked, so hid? A hermit's
grave."
—Byron.

WHILE all else,—battlements, fortresses, and palaces of ancient India,—have been completely swept away by Time, without leaving behind a vestige of their existence, some of the hermits' graves may still be met with amidst the ruins. Such are the principal monuments of Sanchi.

Sanchi, a small village on the saddle of a low hill in the Diwangunj Sub-Division of the Bhopal State, has come to enjoy a world-wide celebrity on account of the matchless monuments in its neighbourhood, universally recognised as the most magnificent examples of ancient Indian Architecture. This place now occupies a convenient situation for a station on the G. I. P. Railway, and stands in the environs of the once populous city of Bidisa, the ancient capital of Eastern Malwa,—well-known to Sanskrit scholars as the scene of a drama of Kalidasa.

Very little information about these monuments is, however, available in ancient Indian literature or in the writings of the Buddhist Pilgrims from China. General Taylor, of the Bengal Cavalry, encamped near this place during the campaign against the Pindharis in 1818, was perhaps the first British officer to visit these monuments. The discovery, thus left entirely to chance, brought in its train more ravages from the hand of Man than from that of Time. Many hasty excavations, by bungling antiquaries or greedy searchers for coins, precipitated the dilapidation of several important structures, which had been still in tact in the beginning of the last century. An inscribed stone-pillar, set up by Asoka, was broken into pieces by a local Zamindar that he might utilise the shaft in a sugar-cane press! Thus continued to perish the monuments, which represented the art and achievements of the people during an epoch of nearly fourteen hundred years of their unrecorded past,—a past which approximately synchronised with the rise and fall of Buddhism in the land of its birth.

The first service for the preservation of these ancient monuments, carried out by the Government of India, was, however,

partly insufficient and unhappily inefficient. To the generosity of the noble-minded Ruler of Bhopal, the celebrated Nawab Sultan Jehan Begum Sahiba,—and to the specially skilled experience of Sir John Marshall, Director General of Archaeology in India,—is due all that has at last been done in a scientific method to investigate and preserve what still endures of these interesting and instructive memorials of the past. This work has indeed been one of *Jirnoddhara*, rightly eulogised in Indian literature as more meritorious than original construction, conferring greater blessings upon the restorer than upon the builder:—

(i) According to the Devi Puranam—

मूलाच्छतशुभं पुण्यं प्राप्तुं याज्जीर्ण-कारकः ।
तस्मात् सर्वप्रयत्नेन जीर्णोद्धारमाचरेत् ॥

(ii) According to the Hayasirsha Pancharatram—

वापी-क्षुप-तडागानां सुरधानां तथानघ ।
प्रतिष्ठानां सभानाञ्च संस्कर्त्ता यो नरो भवेत् ।
पुण्यं शतशुभं तस्य भवेत्कूलान्न रंशयः ॥

These texts, testifying to the devout interest once taken by the Indian people in the restoration and conservation of their public monuments, have now been more than amply borne out by the actual discovery of undeniable proofs of repeated restorations carried out by them even as late as the latest mediaeval period. This meritorious work, which had to be unavoidably abandoned and allowed to remain neglected during the long continuance of Mahomedan Rule, has now once more been resumed during enlightened British Rule with commendable earnestness and superior scientific skill. It is a happy sign of the times that not only the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal, but also another Mahomedan Ruler, His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, have generously condescended to push forward this praiseworthy act of *Jirnoddhara* or restoration of ruined monuments of bygone days. All India must remain grateful to them and to Sir John for the timely inauguration of this scheme of archaeological excavation and conservation. Ancient Samskrita texts not only recommended such work as a pious act for ordinary individuals, but also in an indirect manner laid down the duties of the Ruler of the country in this

behalf. For, according to the *Viṣṇu-dharmottara*,

यस्य राज्ञस्तु विषये देवदेवस्य विप्रोर्वीर्यते ।
तस्य सौदति तद्वाजी देवदेवस्य यथा तथा ॥

These purports to lay down the maxim that the kingdom of the Ruler, who allows temples to fall into ruins, falls to pieces like the buildings in question. In the absence of more definite information, these texts give us a glimpse of the ideas and aspirations of the Indian people regarding the preservation of their national monuments. They will, therefore, be instinctively delighted to appreciate the modern endeavours in this behalf.

A guide to Sanchi by Sir John has just been published to give us a refreshing chapter of information about all up-to-date investigation, which is destined to throw useful light upon the earlier writings of Cunningham (1852), Fergusson (1868), Cole (1882), Maisey (1892), Burgess (1902) and others. More than ordinary interest is, therefore, attached to this latest publication, which places in the hands of the general reader the cream of the Official Annual Report of 1913-14.

In the short compass of 154 pages, the author has very thoughtfully inserted maps, plans and photographs in fifteen well-executed Plates, which have undoubtedly enhanced the value of the publication. The letter-press has been divided into ten chapters, supplemented by a short Bibliography and a brief sketch of the life of the Buddha with particular reference to the sculptures of Sanchi.

These monuments consist chiefly of the remains of Buddhist Stupas, Gates, Pillars, Temples and Monasteries, some of which have only been recently unearthed since 1912. Five years' judicious and painstaking labour has thus made Indian Archaeology justly proud of this praiseworthy achievement.

In one respect these memorials are all unique,—in that none of them is in any way connected with the life or acts of the Great Master. This may to some extent account for the absence of reference to them in the ancient writings of the country, which may be excused for taking little notice of this isolated neighbourhood of subordinate sanctity. Yet the pulse of the people throbbed here with no less vigour than elsewhere, inasmuch as their devotion left behind them lasting monuments to

bear eloquent testimony not only to their faith but also to the culture of which that faith was an outward manifestation.

"It is indeed a strange coincidence," observes Sir John, "that these remains should be at once the most magnificent and the most perfect examples of Indian Architecture." (P. 2) This might as well be due to the circumstance that this particular area enjoyed a freedom of construction which was unhampered by any primitive sacred models, like those which had been hastily set up by the faithful in all places sanctified by the Great Master himself. Situated far off from all such places of pilgrimage, Sanchi and its neighbourhood had to be satisfied with the commemoration of the devotion of lesser personages,—the saints and teachers of the faith. This was continued to be done during a long epoch of gradual development of art in a province, which, by its geographical situation, enjoyed greater facilities for enlarging its angle of vision than the tradition-bound insulated middle country (Madhya desa) of India.

The real key to the exceptional magnificence of the matchless monuments of Sanchi must, however, lie buried in its local history of which hardly anything more than the bare outlines is clearly visible in our day. In this state of limited knowledge, the earlier writers should have done well to remain more satisfied with their actual discoveries than with plausible interpretations which at first sight might appear to account for everything. Caution in Archaeology, as one of its first principles, was more ignored than recognised by most of these earlier writers whose attempted explanations, extremely fanciful in some cases, did, however, stimulate research and lead to discovery.

Time has now come when we may look forward with hope to an early publication of the promised special monograph, which is to be issued both in English and in French with numerous plates illustrating the whole series of these remarkable and richly decorated structures. Meanwhile the small "Guide to Sanchi," already before us, deserves a hearty welcome from all students of Indian History.

Chapter I—Topographical—of this Guide book deals with the old and modern sites. "The hill on which the monuments are clustered is not in any way remarkable." (P. 2) But near it grew up the

remarkable city of Bidisa, with its flourishing community of Buddhists, to whom the hill supplied convenient spots to build their monuments and monasteries,—'far from the madding crowds' ignoble strife," yet close by to attract hosts of devout worshippers.

When did these building works actually commence was a problem of local history, which could not be satisfactorily solved without searching excavations on the spot. While only a few monuments were hitherto visible to the eye, most of them were "buried in such deep accumulations of debris and so overgrown with jungle that the very existence of the majority of them had not even been suspected." Recent excavations have, therefore, opened a new vista through which posterity may hopefully look for reasonable solutions. The name of Sir John Marshall is thus destined to be inseparably connected with all future investigations regarding these memorials of the past.

The main ancient approach from the city, shewn in Plate XIV, will have to be looked upon as an important guide to old topography, as it was by this approach that the pilgrims from the city reached the Great Stupa as it stood in their day. It came "direct from the north-east" by the edge of an old tank, which now goes by the name of the "Purainia talab."

Chapter II—Historical and Artistic—is the most interesting chapter, in which an account of local history has been interwoven with the author's views on the origin and development of Indian Art. This chapter, however, suffers from extreme conciseness, inasmuch as it raises many important issues for a full discussion of which one must wait till the publication of the special monograph. For the sake of this conciseness, the long history of Sanchi has also been compressed into three periods only—"the first extending from the reign of Asoka to the overthrow of the Kshatrapa power about 400 A. D. by Chandragupta II; the second from the advent of the Imperial Guptas to the death of the Emperor Harsha in 647 A. D.; and the third embracing the late mediaeval period down to the close of the twelfth century." (P. 7)

In this first or early period the name of Sanchi is not known; that of another place Kakanada is known only from

inscriptions; while that of Chetiyagiri from the Mahavamsa,—the Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon—was once supposed to be known. The authority of this Chronicle, regarding the origin of the monuments of Sanchi, is not, however, free from doubt, inasmuch as it rests entirely upon a tradition, which has been found to possess more than one version. Be that as it may, the archaeological remains have induced Sir John Marshall to declare with some definiteness that "the history of Sanchi starts during the reign of Asoka in the third century B. C." (P. 7) Burgess in his paper on "The Great Stupa at Sanchi-Kanakheda," (published in the J. R. A. S. 1902, pp. 29-45) came to the same conclusion, although he thought that the Great Stupa itself (as it stands in our day) belonged to the reign of Asoka. He evidently overlooked the circumstance that the present "confined and awkward positions of the Asoka-pillar in the angle of the balustrade by the side of the south gateway," would make his supposition highly improbable. It had been discovered as early as 1822 that "the core of the structure was composed of solid bricks laid in mud." The addition of the stone envelope increased the diameter of the Stupa to over 120 feet and its height to about 54 feet. It is, therefore, clear that this addition of a stone-encasement was made, as an act of restoration, after the pillar of Asoka had been set up near the original brick-built Stupa. The history of Sanchi must have, therefore, started with the construction of the original Stupa of bricks. Was it before or during the reign of Asoka? We have hardly any written record to answer this question.

Here Sir John has very cautiously expressed an opinion to the effect that the original Stupa of brick was most probably built by Asoka at the same time as the column was erected." (P. 31) This opinion seems to be chiefly based upon the size of the bricks (16" x 10" x 3") which "correspond approximately in size with the bricks in other structures of the Maurya epoch." (P. 32) In this connection the text of the inscription on the pillar set up by Asoka might also have been taken into consideration. This inscription proclaimed the same pious commands which were proclaimed at Sarnath and Kausambi, viz., "the monk or nun who shall cause

divisions in the Sangha shall be compelled to put on white robes and to reside apart." (P. 93) This may indicate the existence of a Sangha near Sanchi, like the Sanghas at Sarnath and Kausambi, of sufficient importance to make Asoka anxious to select this place also as one of the necessary sites for the proclamation of his edict. It may, therefore, appear more probable that the Sangha near Sanchi had its centre of attraction in a Stupa of some sort, with which must have started the real history of this locality from before the age of Asoka than that Asoka himself had caused the first Stupa to be built. In the absence of direct evidence to support the erection of the brick Stupa by Asoka himself, this probability seems to be further strengthened by the fact that Stupa-building did not originate in the reign of this monarch. The division of ashes of the Buddha, for being enshrined in Stupas at different places, indicated the prevalence of the practice even in the days of the Great Master. If we have as yet met with no such structures of undoubted pre-Asokan period, we have at least good grounds to suppose that they actually existed and that their ruins may yet be discovered. But in our present state of knowledge one need not seriously dispute the tentative opinion of Sir John. In this connection it may, however, be noticed that Sir John raised an expectation by the observation that "there is good evidence, as we shall presently see, to show that the Buddhists established themselves at Sanchi for the first time during the life-time of Asoka" (pp. 8 & 9); but this expectation has not been adequately fulfilled in any subsequent portion of the Guide-book.

The discovery in Stupa 3 of the relics of Sariputra and Mahamagalana, two disciples and companions of the Buddha, who laid down their earthly frames before their Master, might lead to an inference that their relics were enshrined near Sanchi as soon as they had departed this life. But structural proofs could not support such an inference. The core of the Stupa 3, in which their relics lay enshrined, was not composed of bricks like that of the Great Stupa. It was "homogeneous throughout, and composed of heavy unwrought blocks mixed with spar." The enshrinement of the relics of these disciples of the Buddha cannot, therefore, be ascribed to an age prior to that in which this stone-Stupa

was built. It was built evidently after Asoka, almost contemporaneously with the encasement of the original Great Stupa in stone. The enshrinement of the relics of two persons in one Stupa naturally tends to show that their relics must have been collected from two original contemporaneous Stupas now buried in oblivion. If they existed anywhere near about Sanchi, the Sangha of this place would justly claim a greater antiquity than that of the age of Asoka.

Even if the history of Sanchi be taken, for the sake of convenience, to have started in the reign of Asoka, as surmised by Sir John, we have in its interesting neighbourhood many remains of Indian architecture, which go back to more than two thousand years. It is no wonder, therefore, that Sanchi has come to engage the earnest attention of the learned world for the study of the origin and development of Indian art and architecture in stone.

The real origin of Indian art is, however, still buried in oblivion. Nothing deserving the name of a work of art has yet been discovered which can be referred with confidence to a time prior to that of Asoka. Yet it must be admitted that his father and grandfather, nay, many others who ruled over the country before them, must surely have built palaces, public offices, and devotional edifices suitable to their dignity, and proportionate to their affluence. That no trace of them seems to survive may best be explained by the supposition that all such early works of architecture must have been constructed of perishable materials like wood, which was so easily available in all parts of India. There is yet another reason to rely upon the existence of an earlier art. The art of the Asokan age is a "mature art," which tends to show that Indian art had an earlier history. Prof. Percy Gardner observes that the art of Asoka was "in some respects more mature than the Greek art of the time, though, of course, far inferior to it, at least in our eyes." As it is now impossible to trace in detail the stages of the growth of this art, we must be content with that on which we can lay our hands with certainty. They belong almost exclusively to the age of Asoka, during which the adoption of stone as the most suitable material seems to have been made. This might be due to some extent to that noble monarch's commendable zeal to leave be-

hind him monuments intended to last as long as "the Sun and the Moon should endure" in the heavens; but it might very largely be due also to the living examples of memorials in stone then existing in other countries to which Asoka sent his missionaries. Art as an exponent of a nation's ideas and aspirations, must, however, be necessarily indigenous." Substantial originality of Indian art must, therefore, be accepted as a general result of examination of all foreign influence. That foreign example made wood to be gradually replaced by stone would not materially affect the case.

From remotest antiquity, the Indian people have always been primarily noted for plain living and high thinking. This was more so in the earlier epochs of their history. Their artistic conceptions were, therefore, naturally manifested more in minute ornamentation than in any form of ostentatious building-work. The goldsmith, the ivory-monger, and the wood-carver practically represented the chief agency through the exertions of which Indian art continued to develop, giving rise to what may be called the Early Indian School of Art. As soon as their art-instinct received a new impetus to manifest itself in ostentatious building-works, their first attempt must have remained satisfied for a time with the immediate need of the age. The origin of Indian architecture was thus primarily indigenous. Its forms have long been recognised and admitted to be particularly Indian. It was composed chiefly of wood and brick in the early stage of its development. As soon again as an active intercourse came to be established with the outer world during the reign of Asoka, Indian art received a fresh impetus to develop itself with the help of a new material—stone—to suit the requirements of architecture and sculpture of a more lasting type than that which already existed in the country. Even here the carpenter's devices continued for a long time to influence all work in stone, as may be noticed in the Gates near Sanchi. The art of this age was no doubt characterised by its "frank naturalism," giving us a reflection, as in a mirror, of the social and religious life of India, which it primarily attempted to immortalise in stone. But it also betrayed from the first some tendency to lapse ultimately into an equally frank idealism.

"The indigenous art in the time of

Asoka," observes Sir John, "was still in the rudimentary state, when the sculptor could not grasp more than one aspect of his subject at a time, when the 'law of frontality' was still binding upon him, and when the 'memory picture' had not yet given place to direct observation of nature." (P. 10) This opinion seems to have taken it for granted that in the reign of Asoka the true sculptor had already replaced the time-honoured wood-carver of India.

The only authentic example of Asokan art at Sanchi, which may be cited without hesitation, is, however, the Edict-bearing pillar standing near the south gate of the Great Stupa. It cannot bear out the above observation. This pillar is of peculiar interest both for its material and workmanship. The sandstone block, out of which it was carved, "came from the quarries of Chunar, several hundred miles away." The task of shifting so ponderous a mass and of hoisting it up the steep hill-side of Sanchi "was one, of which any engineer might well be proud." (P. 93) When intact, it was about 42 feet in height, and "consisted of a round and slightly tapering monolithic shaft, with bell-shaped capital surmounted by an abacus and a crowning ornament of four lions, set back to back, the whole finely finished and polished to a remarkable lustre from top to bottom." (P. 91) If this pillar was the product of indigenous art, it could not have been "still in the rudimentary state."

Sir John is, however, of opinion, like some other European scholars, that this pillar is the handiwork of a Perso-Greek sculptor "who had generations of artistic effort behind him," (p. 92) so that its existence in India could not be inconsistent with the rudimentary state of the purely Indian art of its age. Several pieces of a stone umbrella, probably belonging to the original Great Stupa of brick, found by Sir John, have been described by him as specimens of exceptional artistic merit, "displaying all that exquisite precision which characterises every known specimen of the mason's craft in the Maurya age, and which has probably never been surpassed in the stone carving of any country." (P. 32) This excellence of the umbrella has not, however, been ascribed to foreign workmanship. It is, therefore, difficult to reconcile the praise bestowed

upon it with the opinion that "in the time of Asoka, indigenous art was still in the rudimentary state." The other opinion, that the pillar is the handiwork of a Perso-Greek sculptor, seems to be based upon the following data:—

(i) Persian or Greek influence is, indeed, apparent in every feature of the monument as well as in the edict incised upon it. It has long been known, of course, that the decrees of the Achaemenian monarchs engraved on the rocks of Behistun and elsewhere furnished models on which the edicts of Asoka are based.

(ii) It was in Persia also that the bell-shaped capital was evolved.

(iii) It was from Persian originals, specimens of which are still extant in the plain of the Murghab,—at Istakhr, Nakshi-Rustam, and Persepolis, that the smooth unfluted shafts of the Mauryan columns were copied.

(iv) It was from Persia again that the craftsmen employed by Asoka learnt to give so lustrous a polish to the stone,—a technique of which abundant examples survive at Persepolis and elsewhere.

(v) Lastly, it was to Persia, or, to be more precise, to that part of it which was once the satrapy of Bactria, and was at this time asserting its independence from the Empire of the Seleukids, that we must look for the Hellenistic influence, which alone, at this epoch of the world's history, could have been responsible for the modelling of the living forms on this pillar at Sanchi, or on the still more magnificent pillar of Asoka at Sarnath. (P. 92).

These data, taken singly or collectively, without any dispute as to correctness, may raise a presumption in favour of an influence of foreign examples. They can, however, hardly supply unquestionable premises for an inevitable conclusion that the pillar "is the handiwork of a Perso-Greek sculptor," unless we are forced to acknowledge that the truly Indian art of the period was "still in the rudimentary state."

If it was really so, there would be every reason to accept this conjecture as almost inevitable. But adequate proof has yet to be disclosed and discussed. In the absence of such proof, this conjecture may be accepted only upon the authority of the varied experience of the learned author, in the hope of meeting with more elaborate exposition in the promised monograph.

On the death of Asoka the Empire of the Mauryas fell rapidly to pieces; and ultimately their throne passed to the Sungas, whose power endured for a little over a century. Regarding the art of this period Sir John is of a different opinion. "It is," he says, "essentially indigenous in character, and, though stimulated and inspired by extraneous teaching, is in no sense mimetic. Its national and independent character is attested not merely by its methodical evolution on Indian soil, but by the wonderful sense of decorative beauty which pervaded it and which from first to last has been the heritage of Indian art." (P. 12) A curiosity naturally arises as to what contributed so rapidly to such wonderful advancement of Indian art, if it was only a few decades ago "still in the rudimentary state."

On the decline of the power of the Sungas, the Andhras are known to have extended their sway over eastern Malwa for two or three decades before the Christian era. "It was under this dynasty," says Sir John, "that the early school of Indian art achieved its zenith, and that the most splendid structures of Sanchi were erected, viz.—the four gateways of the Great Stupa, and the single gateway of the third Stupa." (P. 12)

The materials for a critical study of this early school of Indian art are barely sufficient to enable us to do more than lay down the outlines of its history, subject to modifications in the light of every newly discovered example. A few specimens of this art have survived the ravages of time, while a great majority of them, in less durable materials than stone, must have perished for ever. The remains of Sanchi are, therefore, of peculiar interest; for, it is here that, from a careful study of what exists, we may make a reasonable guess regarding the details of the stages through which art had gradually advanced.

In this connection a further observation of Sir John will be found to be interesting and instructive. "That Hellenistic and western Asiatic art affected the early Indian school during the Andhra even more intimately than it had done during the Sunga period," says Sir John, "is clear from the many extraneous motifs in these reliefs, e.g., from the familiar bell-capital of Persia, from the floral designs of Assyria,

or from the winged monsters of western Asia; and it is clear also from the individuality of many of the figures, e.g., of the hill-men riders on the eastern gate, from the symmetrical character of some of the compositions, and from the 'colouristic' treatment, with its alternation of light and dark, which was peculiarly characteristic of Greco-Syrian art of this period." (P. 14)

These descriptions relate more to the letter than to the spirit of the art of this period. They have, therefore, been supplemented by a considerate observation that "though western art evidently played a prominent part in the evolution of the early Indian school, we must be careful not to exaggerate its importance. The artists of early India were quick with the versatility of all true artists to profit by the lessons which others had to teach them; but there is no more reason in calling their creations Persian or Greek, than there would be in designating the modern fabric of St. Paul's Italian. The art which they practised was essentially a national art, having its roots in the heart and in the faith of the people, and giving eloquent expression to their spiritual beliefs and to their deep and intuitive sympathy with nature. True alike from artificiality and idealism, its purpose was to glorify religion, not by seeking to embody spiritual ideas in terms of form, as the mediaeval art of India did, but by telling the story of Buddhism or Jainism in the simplest and most expressive language which the chisel of the sculptor could command. And it was just because of its simplicity and transparent sincerity that it voiced so truthfully the soul of the people, and still continues to make an instant appeal to our feelings." (Pp. 14 & 15)

It has not, however, been clearly demonstrated how or why these observations cannot as well be applicable to the Indian art of the Asokan period. The "round and slightly tapering" monolithic shaft of Asoka may agree as well with the definition of a Mahastambha of the Vritta type as laid down in the Vastusastram. There is evidently no special feature in this shape, which may be deemed inconsistent with purely Indian origin. Wooden pillars were already in use in connection with Vedic ceremonies. Indeed the evolution of the shape of a pillar in the land of palm-groves might very naturally adopt this shape,—

"round and slightly tapering" towards the top. The "bell-shaped" capital, ascribed to foreign imitation, does not disclose the real shape of a bell. "It is somewhat like a bell in shape," as noted by Cunningham (Bhilsa Topes, p. 194), "but with a greater swell near the top." If this was the shape of the *ghanta* (bell) in those days, it could not have been unfamiliar to the Indian artist. It rather agrees with an inverted Padma-kumbha, regarded as an auspicious symbol from hoary antiquity and recommended as a suitable ornament of pillars. The lotus (padma), the national flower of India, is responsible for the evolution of so many fantastic conventional types, that this type of capital may easily have been one of them. The fine finish and polish (due to the application of a paste, the Vajra-lepa, described in detail by Varaha-Mihira), appear to be more Indian than foreign inasmuch as the ingredients are mostly indigenous to India. It may, therefore, be premature to call it foreign before the ingredients have been properly analysed by competent experts.

The capital of the Asoka-pillar, like its shaft, is monolithic. It is composed of three members,—the capital proper, an abacus above it, and a crowning piece at its top. The "so-called "bell-shaped" member had hardly anything in it which could surpass the skill of Indian artists. But the abacus had something in it which could not be successfully executed by a foreigner. It was decorated on its edge with bas relief designs of purely Indian origin. The crowning piece, a sculpture in the round, represented either a sacred symbol like the wheel, or a symbolical animal or group of animals,—the Elephant, the Bull, the Horse, and the Lion. The ability of an Asiatic Greek to represent these Indian animals so well may very well be doubted. This doubt induced Vincent Smith to hesitate to accept the conjecture of Sir John that the composition might be the work of an Asiatic Greek. He was accordingly obliged to modify it by another conjecture,—"that the brilliant work typified by the Sarnath Capital may have been designed in its main lines by foreign artists acting under the orders of Asoka, while all the details were left to the taste of Indian workmen, much in the same way as long afterwards the Kutab Minar was designed by a Mahomedan architect and built by

Hindu Masons, under the orders of the Sultan Iyaltimish." It is hardly necessary to note that this conjecture is more clumsy than reasonable. The skill with which the Indian artists incised the beautiful inscriptions of Asoka, either on native rock or on artificial stone-pillars, would disclose their dexterity in manipulation which might also be credited with an equal capacity for carving out the pillar, even if the main idea had been actually suggested by any foreign example.

The development of Indian art may be studied from another standpoint,—the development of Indian life rather than the facilities of intercourse with foreign lands. The archaeological remains of India, gradually unearthed and illustrated with commendable skill, are daily placing before us valuable materials for an independent research from this standpoint.

The rule of the Andhras in eastern Malwa was finally overthrown by the great satrap Kudradamama, after which Sanchi and Bidisa remained in possession of the western Kshatrapas until the close of the fourth century, when Malwa was annexed to the Gupta Empire. Here then was a period of foreign occupation during which an active intercourse was maintained with north-western countries, for a longer period than in the reign of Asoka. Indian art did not flourish with this foreign connection, nay, it remained all through these centuries "at a relatively low ebb." Buddhism showed no signs of low vitality to account for this stagnation of art.

The rule of the Guptas came with a new spirit. It marked the most brilliant epoch of Indian history. The effect of the intellectual vitality of this age was conspicuous and far reaching. The Imperial idea, lying dormant since the downfall of the Maurya Empire, was once more resuscitated; and the whole of northern India, as far south as the Narmada, was once more consolidated into a powerful empire, marked by a re-awakening,—a true Renaissance. In dealing with the history of this epoch, Sir John observes with genuine appreciation, that "the new intellectualism was reflected in architecture and the formative arts as much as in other spheres of knowledge and thought." (Pp. 19-20).

This Renaissance did not, however, come quickly to an end with the break up

of the Gupta power, although for a time northern India lay bleeding under the feet of the blood-thirsty Huns until their despotism was effectively shattered by the final overthrow of Mihiragula. Sir John has rightly discovered that here there was a period of quiescence during which the people retained sufficient vitality which only needed the agency of a strong national central power to make them what they were. Harsha made an attempt in that behalf with partial success for a while, after which came the gradual fall and inevitable stagnation. It was eastern India, the kingdom of Bengal, which made a subsequent attempt in the same direction, but it had no connection with the history of Sanchi.

Thus it may appear almost self-evident that the real secret of the history of Indian art, of its rise and fall, lay in the life of the people more than in any extraneous influence of foreign example. There were two powerful Empires,—one of the Mauryas and another of the Guptas. The first enjoyed a greater extent of territory and larger spheres of influence in foreign lands than the second. Yet Indian art advanced more rapidly in the second than in the first. May it be that the life of the people in the first had less spontaneous national awakening than the life of the people in the second? Time has now come when all India will look forward to Sir John Marshall and to his learned colleagues to discover in their promised joint monographs the real merit of Indian art from the standpoint of the life of the Indian people as evidenced by their literature and art.

Whatever impetus Indian art might have received during the reign of Asoka, it was, like the spread of Buddhism, practically dominated by the strong will of that benevolent autocrat rather than by the natural upheaval of national life. The first efforts of Indian art to manifest its achievements in stone necessarily received substantial encouragement from Buddhism and its great supporter. Side by side with this there must have existed artistic manifestations in older and more perishable materials than stone in Hindu and Jaina architecture and sculpture. That the earliest available examples relate almost exclusively to Buddhism need not necessarily raise any presumption that Indian art owed its real origin to that

faith. As Buddhism was a growth of Indian culture, so Buddhist art, as it is loosely called, was a development of Indian art. In both there was a natural tendency to adopt everything which was not fundamentally inconsistent with the new doctrines.

The Sanchi sculptures, examined from this standpoint, may disclose the adoption of many well-known traditional symbols. The universal chakra (wheel), the trisula (trident), kalasa (pitcher), and the padma (lotus) are there. The volute ends of the architraves of the magnificent gates may be easily recognised as instances of the adoption of another well-known auspicious symbol,—the *Srivatsa*. The sacred animals in the round, placed in the open spaces between the uprights separating the architraves, indicate the same purpose. All these symbols have not as yet been exhaustively examined, while some have been sought to be explained as peculiarly Buddhist.

The seated female figure, flanked by two elephants pouring water over her, hitherto identified with the image of Sri, the goddess of prosperity, has now come for the first time to be discovered and recognised by M. Foucher as an image of Mayadevi, the mother of the Buddha.

In this latest attempt to interpret the sculpture with a Buddhist leaning, the critic has been obliged to suppose (i) that the two elephants really represent the two Nagas, who, according to the Buddhist Scriptures, bathed the new-born babe; and also to suppose (ii) that instead of doing that duty, these Nagas, "in the form of elephants," were pouring water over the mother, because, up to the time of the erection of these gates, the figure of the Son had not come to be represented by human form, but only by symbols, such as his foot-prints, his seat, his tree of knowledge, or his Stupa, to account for his presence. In this connection it may be interesting to enquire whether in the age of the construction of these gates, the tradition about the Nagas bathing the new-born Buddha had gained sufficient currency. It may be equally interesting to enquire that while the Nagas appeared as Nagas in other scenes, what artistic reason made them appear in the form of elephants in this particular scene; and that why Mayadevi was represented in a seated posture like Sri instead of in the standing

one in which she was well-known to have given birth to the Buddha.

The alleged figure of Maya may be examined in the light of the description of Sri as noted in the Matsya Puranam, chapter 261. The reproduction of this scene by Prof. Grunwedel agrees better with the Pauranika description of Sri than with any known description of Mayadevi. There is not only one but several lotuses, in various stages of development, to indicate the favourite environment of the lotus throne of Sri. A pair of foot-prints, a single tree with or without a seat under it, a single horse, and a single Stupa, may very well stand forth as happy symbols of the presence of the Buddha. But the lotus to indicate his birth is not so self-evident. Even if it were so, multiplicity of lotuses near about the seated female figure would defeat the proposed purpose of the symbol.

The identification of this scene with the pictorial representation of the birth of the Buddha, will appear to every Indian as a far-fetched imagination,—more ingenious than sublime. For, there would be questionable artistic reason to indicate birth by an after-birth incident, although death might be very appropriately represented by the funeral pyre or the sepulchre raised over the ashes. Birth to the Indian is a happy expectation which loses its æsthetic charm by a realistic representation. The Gandhara-style was in this respect decidedly non-Indian.*

The study of Indian Iconography is still in its infancy. In the eagerness to arrive at an interpretation it is still liable to lead us astray,—sometimes very far off indeed from the real basis of idealisation upon which the representations were originally based. However fantastic the ultimate development may appear to us in the present age, the original conception centered round an initial idea which was not only simple, and primitive, but also self-evident to the people.

* This gross realistic representation of the birth of the Buddha was modified in course of its Indianisation by the Bengal school of sculptors as may be noticed in a specimen collected and deposited in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society. The Mother there stands in the conventionalised posture, with the right hand catching hold of the branch of a tree, and the left placed round the shoulder of a female attendant. The child is shown on the right side at the level of the waist of the mother; but the actual process of miraculous delivery is not shown at all.

The iconography of the reliefs inserted in the Guide book, is based upon a note sent to the author by M. Foucher whose brilliant labours have placed the meaning of the sculptures beyond dispute. But there is in some cases, as in the above instance, still room for doubt, which has to be cleared up.

The abacus-reliefs and the crowning figures of Asokan pillars, though slightly different in different specimens, appear to possess a symbolic character, which has not as yet been adequately explained. The abacus of the Lauriya-Nandangarh pillar is "decorated by a row of flying sacred geese." The abaci of the pillars at Allahabad, Sankisa, and Rampurwa "exhibit elegant designs composed of the lotus and palmette or honeysuckle." The Sanchi pillar has on the edge of its abacus four pairs of chakravak birds (Anas Casarca). A horse once crowned the pillar at Rummindei, the Lumbini garden. The Sankisa pillar exhibits an elephant, now unhappily badly mutilated. The two pillars at Rampurwa bear the bull and lion respectively. The Sarnath and Sanchi pillars had four lions sitting back to back. Vincent Smith offered an explanation that "the elephant represented the guardian of the east, the horse of the south, the bull of the west, and the lion of the north." All these four animals are, however, carved in relief on the sides of the Sarnath abacus. They do not appear to bear out the above explanation.

The lion was identified with Atman (आत्मन्) in the Rig Veda. It was subsequently used as a symbol of the Buddha, probably by way of an adaptation of the Vedic symbolism. But the four lions at Sarnath and Sanchi could hardly have been used as symbols of the Buddha. The Sarnath abacus may in this connection suggest a clue.

Even in our own day the pitha (pedestal) of the image is supposed to rest ultimately upon eight legs, four of which are placed in the directions of N. E., N. W., S. W. and S. E., and are represented by Aisvaryam (affluence), Vairagyam (attachmentlessness), Jnanam (knowledge) and Dharma (religion). These abstract ideas are respectively represented by the material forms of a black elephant, yellow horse (?), green lion and red bull. Thus,—

रक्तं चर्मं वृषतनुमयादौ हरिं श्वामयम् ।

ज्ञानं रक्षो दिग्भिः स्रजति पौतश्च वैराग्यमयम् ।

भूताकारं हिरदतनुमैश्वर्यमौशि च कण्ठं
नज्ज-पूर्वं स्तैर्यजतु दिशि चित्राणि गात्राणि पीठे ॥

—Prapanchasara, VI. 20.

Here the lion is a symbol of knowledge. From a verse quoted by Hemadri in his *Vratakhanda* (chapter I) the lion would appear to have once stood as a symbol, not only of knowledge, but also of the three other abstract ideas noted above. Thus,—

धर्मं ज्ञानञ्च वरन्ममैश्वर्यञ्च तथैव हि ।

सितरत्नपीठकण्ठ-हिन्दुरूपाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

May it be that the four crowning lions of the Sarnath pillar indicated the same symbolism as the four animals on the abacus purported to disclose? The position assigned to these animals on the abacus should be studied in this connection before the surmise of Vincent Smith can be accepted as satisfactory.

The evolution of the ultimate shape, as evidenced by the Great Stupa of Sanchi, has yet to be accounted for. Even in our own day, in places far off from the Ganges, a piece of charred bone from the funeral pyre is carefully secured by the orthodox Hindu and kept buried in his courtyard under a small tumulus of earth until suitable arrangements are made to consign the sacred relic to the holy stream. This humble tumulus of earth appears to have supplied the primitive model which led to the gradual development of the full-grown Buddhist Stupa. It came ultimately to consist of a medhi (a high terrace) rising from the ground up to some height round a lofty anda (dome) nearly hemispherical in shape with a harmika (pedestal) on which stood the umbrellas. The two paths, one on the ground level, and another on the terrace, intended to facilitate pradakshina (going round from left to right), appear to have been subsequent additions to the original model.

The august simplicity of the lofty dome as well as the series of umbrellas appear to suggest their symbolic character. May it be that the original shape of the Stupa gradually developed into a sacred symbol to indicate the three worlds and the Nirvana-loka of the Buddhists by the four distinct architectural devices of the medhi, and a harmika, and chhatravali? The original object of enshrining a sacred relic in a simple tumulus of earth might have been gradually associated with the further

object of developing the shape as a symbol to represent the faith and its particular transcendental philosophy. As divine architecture in ancient India was the handmaid of religion, it must have been more or less symbolic in its character, which left a limited freedom to the artist to follow the unlettered dictate of his craft. His apparent incapacity in any respect from a purely architectural point of view might have been due in a great measure to this unavoidable obligation to supply the requirements of the creed. Before these points are adequately cleared up, the real merit of Indian ancient art will remain liable to be under-estimated by a mere comparative study with the help of specimens from the different parts of the civilised world.

The real work for which the name of Sir John Marshall is destined to be associated with Sanchi is not, however, one of interpretation, but of discovery, which has thrown much new light upon the subject. With his varied experience and consummate skill, Sir John has happily combined a sympathetic frame of mind, which makes him take a genuine interest in his work, with a scrupulous regard for accurate procedure. This work has been not only arduous, but extremely difficult, requiring unflinching resoluteness to bring it to a successful termination. In the absence of written records, these remains are now the chief materials for constructing a history of ancient India. The discovery of these tangible proofs of a nation's activities in successive epochs required more discrimination than mere manual skill. It is here that Sir John has given proofs of his rare ability, which has manifested itself in the remaining chapters of the Guide Book. The work of conservation has been no less painstaking than that of excavation. Most important and most difficult of achievement, which this task entailed, have been "first, the dismantling and reconstruction of the south-west quadrant of the Great Stupa, which was threatening to collapse and to bring down with it south and west gateways as well as the balustrade between them; secondly, the preservation of Temple 18, the ponderous columns of which were leaning at perilous angles, and had to be reset in the perpendicular and established on secure foundations; and thirdly, the repair of Temple 45, which had reached the last stage of

decay, and was a menace to any one entering its shrine." (P. 29)

"A small but adequate museum" is already in course of construction for the purpose of "protecting the numerous moveable antiquities which lay scattered about the site," where the visitor will find sculptures, inscriptions and architectural fragments to assist him in the study of the unique monuments of Sanchi. The im-

provement and beautification of the area around the Great Stupa by "roughly leveling and turfing it, and by the planting of trees and flowering creepers" have now made the impenetrable forest a garden of pleasure,—a fit environment of the remains which testify to the aesthetic culture of ancient India.

A. K. MAITRA.

AUSTRALIA AND INDIA

IT is time that the legend current in India about Australia was exploded and in this article I shall do my best to bring about the explosion.

The legend briefly is this, that Australia is just as bad as South Africa in its treatment of Indians. The truth is, that in this respect there is an entire psychological difference between the two countries. I have lived in both places in company with Indians and I can speak from personal experience. In what follows, I shall relate what I have seen with my own eyes and heard with my own ears and I can vouch for its general accuracy.

Before proceeding, I should add that in South Africa itself, which is a vast country, a distinction must be made. In Cape Town and throughout Cape Colony there are much fairer conditions than in Natal and the Transvaal and Orange Free State,—just as, I believe, there is far greater friendliness to Indians in the Eastern States of Canada than in British Columbia. If I may judge from what I have read and seen, it is in the southern part of the United States, in British Columbia, and in South Africa, that the colour prejudice,—which is a direct denial of our common humanity,—exists in its most repulsive form to-day. I feel certain from what I have seen that it would be wrong to add Australia to this list.

In spite of very harsh economic exclusion laws, I have found in Australia very little arrogance and prejudice in the *personal* treatment of other races. I do not wish to give more credit for this than is

deserved: it is probably due to an almost entire lack of contact and not to any special innate virtue. If the 'problem of the negro' had been present in Australia as acutely as in America, I could not vouch for what would have happened to kindly human sentiment. The earlier treatment of the Australian aboriginals and the ruthless exploitation of Kanakas in Queensland have left stains upon the history of the colonisation of the South Pacific which cannot easily be obliterated. And the brutalities of traders in the Islands are by no means merely a thing of the past, though public opinion is now ranged strongly against them.

Yet, in spite of very much that is still unquestionably evil, I would repeat that the personal attitude of Australians, on the whole, towards members of other races is neither harsh nor intolerant. There is a rapidly growing sentiment in favour of humanity and equal treatment. With regard to the aboriginals this sentiment has taken the form of almost indiscriminate charity. Once I travelled with an aboriginal and his wife, who were very helpless and destitute and by no means cleanly, and I saw how Australians befriended them at every turn,—paid their fare, sat with them, gave them tea and food at the different stations. They were treated by every one almost like spoiled children. In New Zealand I have seen the Maories (who are a far superior race) treated in a similar manner. I remember, for instance, on the long journey from Wellington to Auckland, how one Maori,

who was quite drunk, kept walking up and down the passage between the seats, bargaining and knocking against the passengers. I expected to hear a chorus of angry remonstrances, but it was all tolerated with good humour and there was not the least sign of resentment.

But to come at once to salient facts relating to the treatment of Indians. First of all, I met Indian soldiers in Australia who had been accepted and welcomed into the Australian army on exactly the same terms as Australians themselves. They were receiving the same liberal pay (nearly 140 rupees a month); they were dining at the same mess and sharing the same tents. These Indian soldiers obtained exactly the same pension and invalid allowances, in case they were wounded or invalided, and they had the same opportunity for getting commissions in the Australian army with Australians themselves.

I had ample time to talk with these Indian soldiers, privately and separately, and they were warm in their praises of the equality of treatment which they had received. One soldier whom I met was a man of property, owning seven thousand acres of land, and when I told him about some Sikhs in Fiji who were old soldiers and desired to go to the front, he at once offered to bring them over, at his own expense, and enlist them in the Australian army. He would never have done this, if he had been dissatisfied with the conditions of the Australian army service. I found, in New Zealand, that the Maories had been enlisted in the same way. Once, in a mess room of returned Australian soldiers, I asked about some disturbances which had happened in Egypt among the Anzacs.—“Why!” said one of them to me, “they started calling our Maories ‘niggers’ and we wasn’t going to stand that!”

I do not, of course, guarantee in any way the accuracy of this soldier’s statement, but the speech and tone were significant and the other soldiers present nodded their heads and expressed approval. Again and again, in the streets of Sydney and Melbourne, I have seen an Australian stop and shake vigorously by the hand some bearded Indian in a turban in memory of the days when they were fighting side by side with the Sikhs in France or at Suez. Once I watched, out of curiosity, and saw this happen three times in the space of a couple of hundred yards!

To turn to the more fundamental question of education. I found in Australia Indian children, the sons of indentured Indian parents, who had come over from Fiji. These were receiving a free education, side by side with Australian children, in the public schools. They mixed with, played with, made friends with Australian children in the ordinary, normal school-boy way, and were treated without any race distinction. I found that the same was the case in New Zealand. At Tamaranui, I spent the day with a group of Indians of the labouring class,—such as would be called coolies in India. These men were earning 250 rupees a month: their children were allowed to go to the public schools: they themselves had votes and full rights of citizenship and were admitted into a Labour Union. They told me how the Member of Parliament for their district had come down specially to visit them and to solicit their votes. They spoke to me, in Hindustani, with some amusement, concerning the efforts of the two rival candidates, at election time, to win them over.

During the visits I had to make in Fiji I met grown-up Indian men who were sitting side by side in class with little Indian children busily occupied in learning their alphabet, so that they might quickly obtain the very small amount of reading and writing necessary to gain admission into New Zealand. I saw a letter sent to Fiji by the New Zealand Government authorities stating, with regard to the admission of Indians into the country, that there was no necessity for the steamship companies to take any £100 bond or security, for there was only the one test, namely, ability to speak and write English. One of the finest Indian young men in Fiji had been sent to New Zealand for his education. His father was wealthy and had sent his boy to the best College in New Zealand, and his second son had gone later to the same College. I had the privilege of seeing some letters about these boys from their tutors and they were very pleasant reading.

I think I am right in saying that there has never been any restriction against educated Indians in New Zealand. The question of any large influx of Indians into that country has never been acute and those Indians who have settled there have become readily absorbed. But in Australia

the problem, during the time of the old indenture system, was always critical. It was one of the great issues between labour and capital. The capitalist was ever wishing to exploit indentured Indian and Chinese labour for his own ends, and the Australian Labour Party resisted this to the utmost in order to avoid the reduction of their own standard of living.

How great the danger of an influx of indentured Indian labourers was, in earlier days, I myself experienced in a somewhat dramatic way. I was invited down to Glenelg, near Adelaide, in South Australia, to spend the day with a very old man of 82 years of age, who had been one of the pioneers of modern Australia. In the afternoon we had a long talk about the conditions of labour under the indenture system in Fiji, and I noticed that he listened intently to what I had to say. At the end he turned to me, in his invalid chair, and said, "Do you know, Mr. Andrews, more than twenty years ago I was on the very verge of introducing indentured labour from India into Australia myself. I was Chairman of a large Syndicate established for that purpose and we had got permission from the Indian Government. But, at the last moment, there was some hitch in the business arrangement and the plan fell to the ground. I'm an old man now,—over eighty years of age,—and looking back I must say I cannot be too thankful that I haven't got *that* to answer for to my Maker when I meet my death."

I made full enquiries in Australia and it became more and more clear to me, that if the Labour organisations had not exercised their influence very strongly indeed, indentured labour from India would certainly have been introduced in the early years of the present century. And, at that time, the Indian Government was so supine and Indian politicians were so helpless that there would have been no serious opposition. All the moral evils of Fiji might have been repeated in Australia on a far larger scale, and a racial sentiment similar to that in South Africa might have grown up,—a sentiment of contempt and arrogance.

But fortunately for India and for humanity the democratic elements in Australia came to the front and these have influenced the politics of the country ever since. There have been evils,—terribly

serious evils,—under democracy, and selfish things have been done. The first Restriction Acts were of this selfish character; and the "White Australia" cry has led again and again to coarsely brutal acts. The Chinese have suffered from these more than one occasion. But there has been nothing so brutal and inhuman as the evils of sweated labour, which the Australian Democracy has swept away.

The first Restriction Acts, as I have said, were almost wholly selfish. They gave the power to the people to exclude every one belonging to a foreign race, and they were specially directed against Asiatics. But one of Australia's greatest statesmen came into power,—not himself belonging to the Labour Party, but full of keen sympathy with the poor,—a man whom I can never forget,—Mr. Alfred Deakin. When Mr. W. W. Pearson went out with me for the first visit to Fiji, we had an introduction to him. He was in shattered health, owing to a nervous breakdown from over-work, but the moment he heard that we knew the Poet, Rabindrarath Tagore, he put on one side his doctor's prohibitions so as to meet us; and again, on the way back from Fiji, we had long conversations with him and he wished us God-speed in our longing desire for the complete and speedy abolition of indentured labour in Fiji. He wrote to me from time to time in India; and on my second visit to Australia I was received by him with a warmth of affection for the Indian people which touched me very deeply indeed. He was a complete invalid; but his interest in India and in the Fiji question was vivid and keen. It was Mr. Alfred Deakin, and others with him, who were able, in spite of opposition, to introduce the modifications of the Immigration Restriction Act in 1904. These permitted Indian merchants, students and tourists to enter Australia freely, without any restriction, provided they did not claim to be permanent residents. I have the actual documents with me, in my own possession, which show that from October 1904 there has been no barrier at all on the Australian side to the entrance of educated Indians into Australia. *This has been the actual Law of Australia ever since that date.*

There were two points in these Regulations on which I wished for information, and I went to the Department of External Affairs in Melbourne about them. The first

point was as to the nature of the passport which the Indian Government gave to a student desirous of going to Australia for study. I asked the Minister, Mr. Glynn, and his Secretary, Mr. Attlee Hunt, very precisely, whether this passport was for any other purpose except attestation that the immigrant belonged to one of the three classes of merchant, student, tourist. The answer was 'No.' It was pointed out to me that without such a passport it would be easy for Indian labourers to pass themselves off as students or tourists,—this danger had already been a very real one in the case of Chinese. The aim of the law was to give perfectly free and unrestricted access to Australia in the case of those educated Indians who wished to come over for a special purpose. They were anxious to welcome Indian students, both men and women.

The permanent secretary, Mr. Attlee Hunt, who was in office when the Act itself and its new modifying regulations were drawn up, gave me copies of the State papers and asked me very earnestly to go back to India and make the true situation known. Both he and Mr. Glynn gave me every opportunity of talking the whole matter over and entering into every particular. They were genuinely surprised that so little advantage had been taken by Indians of this offer of free entry, which had now been held out to Indian students by Australia for nearly fourteen years. They fully realised that the restrictions against Indian labourers must cause soreness among Indian thinkers, though they wished that Australian economic difficulties with regard to the cheapening of labour could be taken into account. But while they acknowledged that their Restriction Act was open to serious objection, yet they had done their best, they said, to modify it as far as they felt they could go safely. Nevertheless, they found, after fourteen years, that not a single Indian student had taken advantage of the modification! Mr. Attlee Hunt asked me, again and again, why this boycott of Australia by Indian students had taken place. I could only answer that every Indian student I had ever met was ignorant of the Law of Australia on the subject. The universal opinion was that Australia was a closed country—as tightly closed to educated Indians as South Africa. I told him also, quite frankly, that this

false impression had never been dissipated by the Indian Government.

After this, I had many opportunities of talking with the leading statesmen of Australia on both sides of the House. Their assurances were positive. The laws of Australia clearly and definitely admitted Indian students. If, therefore, Indian students came, in accordance with those laws, they would receive not only a welcome, but all the hospitality for which Australia is famous among western peoples.

As the question is so important, and at the same time so novel, I think it will be best to copy down the exact words of the Australian Commonwealth Regulations; they refer to Indian merchants, students and tourists:—

"On arrival in the Commonwealth the Education test prescribed by the Immigration Restriction Act will, in these cases, not be imposed *and such persons are to be allowed to land without restriction*; but in the event of their wishing to stay longer than twelve months, an application for a Certificate of Exemption for the desired term should be made before the expiry of such time, stating the reason for such extended stay."

In this last sentence occurs the second point to which I have referred above as needing explanation. I mentioned to Mr. Attlee Hunt that an Indian student with a five or six years course of Medicine would hardly embark on such a course unless he were assured of his certificate of exemption at the end of the first year. Mr. Hunt stated positively, in answer, that the only single reason for this clause being added was the same as the reason for the passport, namely, to make certain that men were not coming in as pretended students and then at once starting as hawkers or pedlars or small tradesmen. If this guarantee, that the student was a bonafide student engaged in his studies could be obtained in any other way, it would serve the purpose of the Australian Government just as well.

I proposed that in the case of students the clause should be altogether cancelled and arrangement should be made where the Registrars of the Universities should be responsible for certifying that the Indians, who were on the rolls, were bonafide students actually in residence. This proposal was favourably received and

have little doubt that it would be accepted by the Australian Government as satisfactory. There could then be no need at all for any certificate of exemption.

I asked Mr. Attlee Hunt the pointed question,—“Could an Indian student stay on for six or eight years, or even longer, provided he was a bona fide student?”

The answer immediately followed:—“Most certainly. Why not? That is what the Law implies.”

In the face of all this information, which was given with frankness, openness and sincerity, I was startled to read the following paragraph in the “Indian Daily News” of Calcutta.

“The Madras Government, it is stated, has nothing to do with the refusal of a passport to Mr. Jeenarajadasa. . . When passports are applied for by Indians the procedure in the first instance is to refer the matter to the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia and only after their approval does the Madras Government issue passports. If the Australian Government objected to Mr. Jeenarajadasa's advent, the Madras Government had nothing to do with it.”

The paragraph astonished me. If there had been an atom of truth in it, then all that I have written above would be shown at once to be mere idle words. But the actual telegram of Mr. Glynn has since been published, and it completely discredits this shameless fabrication.

One point, which I have italicised, needs careful enquiry. If the Government of India is still adopting the cumbersome procedure of sending first to Australia before granting any passport, then it is high time that this should be given up. The Government's duty in the matter is a very minor one. It is merely to certify that such and such an Indian is a bonafide merchant, student or traveller and to state the probable duration of his visit. It is not their duty to act the part of Grand Inquisitor, nor yet to send useless letters to Australia asking the Australian Government if they are willing to receive one whom that very Government itself has declared by its own laws to be eligible for admission.

I wish now to show in some detail how our Indian students have been deprived, by this remissness and lack of interest on the part of the Indian Government, of privileges which would have helped them

in the midst of their desperate struggle, in face of poverty and privation, to get on in the world.

I visited Perth in Western Australia and stayed there for a considerable time making enquiries. There is a rising University at Perth, in a perfect climate. This University charges no fees at all to its students. It is within 9½ days' sea voyage from Colombo. A deck passage across would not cost more than £4 or £5 and a second class passage from £10 to £12, and there were large and comfortable fortnightly steamers running before the war began. The University, though in its infancy, has already obtained a very able staff of European Professors, especially on the Science side. I met them, one by one, and had long, leisurely talks with them discussing the whole problem. They expressed the keenest interest in welcoming Indian students, if only they were ready to come over to Australia. Later on I saw the Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar, and they were equally willing to welcome both men and women students from India. I saw also the Labour Leaders of Western Australia,—for Labour now wields immense power in all political and social matters. These, including the editors of the Labour newspapers, gave me their support. Last of all I met the different West Australian Women's organisations,—and how ardently they supported the proposal may be easily judged by the letters which have appeared from them in the Indian Press, declaring their sympathy with Indian women in their struggle to abolish indenture. On both subjects,—the admission of Indian students into Australian Universities and the amelioration of the lot of Indian women in Fiji,—I had from first to last the strongest support of the women in Australia.

[I must add in a parenthesis that ever since the attitude of Indian leaders on that which was in Australia the one supreme issue, viz., the abolition of indentured labour, has been known by the Labour Leaders of Australia, they are willing to support the admission of Indian students. They have no wish whatever to shut the door of knowledge, however much they may wish to close the door to cheap Indian labour. Their attitude from first to last was: “You pledge us that you will send no cheap Indian labour, and we

pledge you we will not object to your Indian students coming here to study."]

I discussed with the Science Professors in all the Universities the openings for study in their different subjects. I should state that the standard in Science is high, and some of the most brilliant men are carrying on research with eminent success in Australia. One of the Science Professors at Adelaide obtained quite recently the Nobel Prize. This will serve to show the standard reached. I gained the following information :—

At Perth, West Australia, mining engineering, electrical engineering, and dry farming in agriculture, were special subjects in which help could be given to Indian students.

At Adelaide, there were admirable laboratories for chemistry, physics and engineering. There was also a good Medical School. The Professor of Chemistry was especially keen to receive Indian students as his pupils.

At Melbourne, all the chief sciences were represented. The Medical Course took a high place. Bacteriology was specialised in. Mechanical engineering was strong. This ranks with Sydney as the chief University.

At Sydney, Science in its main branches has been a special feature of the University from early days. Medicine rivals that of Melbourne University. Indeed, in every way, Sydney and Melbourne are the Oxford and Cambridge of Australia.

I was unable to make full enquiries with regard to Brisbane University, because it was the Long Vacation when I visited that city. It stands with Perth as among the newer Universities of Australia.

Every one of these five Universities is open to Indian students. As to the rate of payment,—while Perth is free from all lecture and University fees, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane have moderate charges. There are scholarships, which would be open to Indian students, and there are possibilities of earning money, by the healthy open-air life of fruit-picking, during the Long Vacation. Ordinarily, tuition fees do not come to more than about £20 a year, or 25 rupees a month. Good lodging and board can be had very cheaply and if a student is economical he should be able to manage all his expenses on 100 to 120 rupees a month. To give an example, I stayed myself at a

house close to Adelaide University where the food and accommodation was ample and the people of the house were most kindly disposed towards Indians. They would be willing to take two Indian students at 60 rupees each per mensem. It should be understood that, though travelling and hotels in Australia are expensive, it is always possible to live in one's own house very cheaply indeed, on account of the abundant supply of fruit and vegetables and bread and milk.

One further point needs to be emphasised. The climate of Australia is probably the most healthy in the world. This vast continent, with its deserts, is very sparsely inhabited. The air has never been contaminated with disease germs to any great extent. The sunshine is abundant, and yet there is a bracing cold especially at night. The people themselves are a healthy people. From an Indian point of view, I can imagine no life more truly health giving and invigorating than a student life in an Australian University. It is a land of bright days, large open spaces and keen fresh air. The physical stature of Australians is remarkable and I feel certain that Indian students would come back after five or six years in Australia with a new physical vigour that would stand them in good stead for the rest of their lives. There would be none of the terrible depression which most Indian students feel during the dark cold fogs and sunless winter days of England or Scotland.

When I saw the hospitable welcome which Australians of all classes were ready to give to Indian students, I confess it was with something akin to indignation that I remembered that all these facts had been known to the Indian Government and yet they had been so remiss as not to make them widely and fully canvassed among the Indian public. I began to question with myself,—was this mere blackness, or was it intentional? Was the atmosphere of Australia too free, too democratic, too 'advanced' for Indian students? It was a significant thing, that without a single exception Australians who talked with me were of the opinion that Home Rule should be given to India. "Why don't you let Indians govern themselves?"—this was a question repeatedly asked. Just as every one wished Ireland to have Home Rule, so also they wished

India to have Home Rule. In this they were consistently democratic.

I return from this discussion of the admission of students from India to give one or two more personal experiences, for these, after all, will make the picture most vivid to the mind.

In the city of Perth, West Australia, I asked a group of ladies if there were any Indians in their home neighbourhood. One of them described to me an Indian who lived near to her own home so clearly that I can remember her description still. She said to me: "You should just see Mr.— coming down the street with the children hanging on to him in the morning as he goes to catch the train, and the mothers looking out of their doors as pleased as anything. And he generally brings something back in his pockets for them in the evening. He's a rare one for children."

I stayed many days with a Chinese graduate of Hong Kong University who was a clergyman in the Church of England. He had the pastoral charge of Australian congregations, and just before I left he was asked by an important parish, where the parishioners were entirely Australian (not Chinese), to become their parish priest.

Again, on board the ship, coming home, —there were six young Australian mechanics who were going out to Singapore to work on the tank steamers. When we reached Macassar, on the Dutch island of Celebes, we all went ashore. That night on returning one of them said to me:

"Mr. Andrews, we've seen a sight to-day that we've never seen before in all our lives. If I was to write home and tell my mother about it, she wouldn't believe me."

"What was it?" I asked curiously.

"Why, there were natives all over the place actually dragging white men about in those rickshaws, as they call them, and

the white men were treating them just as if they were slaves or animals. Just fancy being dragged about like that! No, I'm never going in one of them things! I'm an Australian!"

He spoke that night with great excitement. Three weeks afterwards I met him in Singapore and asked him:

"Have you ever been in a rickshaw yet?" He said to me: "No! and I'm not going in one either. I'm an Australian!"

I felt that there was something great in a country's traditions of manhood and freedom when they could make this young Australian artisan refuse steadfastly, at all costs, to use as a kind of beast of burden his fellow man.

After reading over what I have written I do not wish to minimise for a moment the dangers that lurk behind the cry of 'white Australia,' which is itself an insult to other races. This cry, started as a purely economic watchword, may at any future time become a fanatical and unreasoning religion and create a subtle enmity and dread, in Australia, of all Asiatic neighbouring races. There were signs in Australia that this was beginning to take place, and I heard on the Domain at Sydney speeches by Socialist Labour Leaders which were appeals to anti-Chinese prejudice, pure and simple.

But, all the same, here to-day is Australia stretching out her hand to India with an offer that is both just and timely, —the offer of an open door of welcome for Indian students into her Universities. For Australia's own sake, as well as for the sake of India, —I trust that this opportunity of human fellowship will not be lost.

Shantiniketan.

C. F. ANDREWS.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

GERMANY'S LOST COLONIAL EMPIRE, by John H. Harris, London, 1917.

This is a rapid review for the busyman, who has little time to spare, yet is anxious to know the extent

of the colonial territory lost by Germany in the present war. This has been illustrated by diagrams which make out the extent to be five times that of Germany. The birth of these colonies was due to Prince Bismarck, "the Alpha and Omega" of whose policy was "a place in the sun" for the surplus population of the Fatherland. It will, however, appear

from the lecture delivered before the Royal Colonial Institute by Professor Bonn, that this attempt did not succeed. Be that as it may, the attempt changed the aspect of the country and the prospects of the original inhabitants. A writer on African affairs has described the result in three sentences: (i) "the native has his ultimate retort"; (ii) "it is a final one"; (iii) "he just dies." Those, who have not died, have, however, found better friends in the allied powers.

A VINDICATION OF AURANGZEB, by Sadiq Ali.

Professor Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* appears to have prompted the publication of this *Vindication*. It rests partly upon the author's doubts regarding the genuineness of some and credibility of other proofs on which is based the current estimate of Aurangzeb's character as a Man and a Sovereign; but it rests mainly upon what the author calls "a difference of opinion". This difference is a noticeable feature of the book. For, according to the author, "Akbar's marrying Rajput ladies really sapped the foundations of the lofty edifice of his empire"; and Dara was an apostate and infidel, who, "according to Muslim Law deserved punishment of death." The value of Manucci's *Storia de Mogor*, and Bernier's *Travels*, as well as the character and capacity of their authors, are, according to our author, very low indeed. The genuineness of some of the letters of Aurangzeb, which evidently stand against him, has been seriously questioned by the author, who entertains "a difference of opinion" about them. In one portion of the book the author quotes from an Indian's account of his estimate of French character, which should hardly find place in any decent publication. This *Vindication* has, however, found favour with a section of the Young Islam of India, who have been taught to look upon Aurangzeb as an ideal Ruler, far superior to the Great Akbar, evidently because he could say his prayers before every political murder and could "quote scriptures too." With his well-known thoroughness of action, Aurangzeb did not overlook the necessity of his vindication. He himself wrote out with his own hand the vindications of his acts and addressed them to the sufferers, as may be seen from his letter to his old father while he lingered as a state prisoner of his son. He too entertained "a difference of opinion" even in his own day.

MAHARANA KUMBHA, by Har Bilas Sarda, F.R.S.L., Ajmere Scottish Mission Industries Company Limited, 1917.

Kumbha, the scholar, soldier, and sovereign of Mewar rightly deserved a biography, and rightly has it been compiled by Pandit Har Bilas Sarda with the help of all up-to-date information. Ere long this Prince of Rajputana was known to the Pandits of Bengal as the author of *Rasika-priya*, a Sanskrit commentary on the *Gitagovinda* of the Bengali poet Jayadeva. Col. Tod published in his monumental work valuable materials bearing on the life and achievements of Kumbha. Since then historical research in Rajputana, though still in its infancy, has added many interesting details. The author has made good use of them. Kumbha, constantly engaged in war,—conquering new territories, building forts, strengthening the defences,—found time to cultivate fine arts. Kumbha as a scholar is the title of the last chapter of the book which may be studied by our landlords with profit to themselves and to their country. Pandit Sarda's book is interesting and

instructive. It furnishes not only stimulating reading but also supplies a nucleus for an outline of Rajput history. It has not, however, been cast in the shape of a monograph for the scholar, but as a narrative for the enlightenment of the general reader. The six illustrations and the artistic get up and silken cover of the book will make it an attractive volume for presentation.

MAITRA.

MAHARANA SANGA, THE HINDUPAT—By Harabilas Sarda. (Published by Scottish Mission Industries Company, Limited, Ajmer. 1918.)

This small volume is one of the series of biographical studies in Rajput history undertaken by Mr. Sarda. Mr. Sarda's method is most up-to-date. His facts are based on contemporary records, inscriptions and official chronicles. Being a gentleman of the Rajput country and fully familiar with the living traditions of history still current in that country and with Indo-Mahomedan histories, he occupies an unrivalled position as a Rajput historian. His writings have the further advantage of being products of a pen used to judicial weighing of facts. Tod's work is classical and can never be superseded. But since Tod's time new materials have come to light. Manuscripts and inscriptions are being discovered every day. For instance, the great soldier Maharana Kumbha who has left at Chitor that "Pillar of Victory like that of Trajan at Rome but in infinitely better taste as an architectural object than the Roman example" (Fergusson) and which "tells of deeds which should not pass away, and names which must not wither" (Tod) and who built one of the wonders of Indian art, that Jain temple of Rampur at the cost of a million sterling inlaid with mosaics of cornelian and agate, has now to his credit manuscripts of eight works on Hindu architecture composed under him (see *Maharana Kumbha*, p. 94, by Mr. Sarda). Kumbha the great general, on the evidence of inscriptions and manuscripts, is disclosed to be an equally great scholar, an authority on Hindu music and Dramaturgy of such eminence as to win the title of "Modern (abhinava) Bharatacharya" from his contemporaries. Inscriptions recording the events of the reign of Maharana Rai Mal now explain the historical misfits in Persian Histories as wilful falsification of facts, turning disastrous defeats of the Sultans of Gujrat and Malwa into glorious victories. Mr. Sarda takes note of these new materials and labours of scholars and brings the accounts of Col. Tod up-to-date.

"Sanga" (popular form of 'Sangrama Simha') is a small book of 158 pages, but on account of the subject matter, it is really an epic booklet. Personalities vie with each other in nobleness, valor and sense of honour. The mind becomes awestricken by stories which are more romantic than the greatest romances. Their virtues thrill the heart and electrify the soul. Take for instance, the career of Prithviraja, the elder brother of Maharana Sanga or of Tarabai, wife of Prithviraja, or Surajmal, uncle of Sanga and Prithviraja. From the age of 14, up to his death at about 29, Prithviraja did nothing but conquer. With two companions he went and redeemed the Rajput principality of Tocha which had passed under an Afghan conqueror. His wife Tarabai was the most beautiful woman of her time, she was one of the trinity who confidently jumped amongst the enemy, paralysed and killed the

Nawab and conquered back Toda. The elephant which barred the way of Prithviraja was driven away by an amazon blow of the sword of Tara which cut off clean the trunk of the monster. The honour of shooting down the Afghan intruder, also belonged to the heroine on horse-back. Tara not only claimed the Hindu right of being the half-self of her husband, but she actually shared his risks and glory in this patriotic *anushthana* of 'redemption.' Surajmal, who had turned a rebel to the throne of Chitor fought Rana Rai Mal (Prithviraja's father). The battle being indecisive the two armies bivouacked in sight of each other. Prithviraja, whom his contemporaries called 'the winged' owing to his meteoric marches covering at times 150 miles a day, had suddenly appeared on the scene and had retrieved the day for his father the Maharana. At night Prithviraja went to his uncle Surajmal and enquired after his health and wounds. He told his uncle that he had not yet seen his father. The uncle whose wounds had hardly been sewn got up to receive the Crown Prince and declared himself healed by the pleasure of seeing the nephew while some of the wounds were actually bursting by the exertion. The uncle and nephew dined from the same plate and wished good bye with the hope of meeting next morning on the battle-field. On a later occasion, when the uncle and nephew were warring against each other and dining together at the same time, the household of Surajmal being sick with their continued exile and struggle, put poison in the food which was to be served to Prithviraja. Surajmal suspecting it, proposed to dine from the same plate as the nephew, whereupon the household was confused and the food served was hurriedly removed. In an instance Prithviraja read the whole situation, and moved by the sense of honour of Surajmal, he resigned his future right of succession to the throne in favour of the uncle Surajmal. Surajmal proudly replied to his 'child' (nephew) that he disowned even as much claim on Chitor as to drink water in its territory. He retired to the wilds of Kanthal to found the small state of Deolia, where his descendants still reign. For the "winged Prithviraja" it was a sport to capture Mahomedan kings on the battle-field. But he would not destroy their life, he would bring them captives to Chitor, keep them with full honour and restore them back to their homes.

His younger brother Sanga, was called 'Hindupat' or the leader of the Hindus by his contemporaries. He had the same valour which characterised his house. It cannot be better described than by a description of his person when he closed his eyes. 'He exhibited at his death the fragments of a warrior.' 'One eye had been lost in a duel, one arm had been lost in the battle where he defeated the Lodi King of Delhi, a cannon ball had made him further cripple,' 'while he counted 80 wounds from the sword and lance on various parts of his body.' (Tod) His rival, Babar, dreaded him on the battle-field and paid tribute to his sword after his death.

Sanga lived at one of those junctures which history produces for itself to take a definite turn. The Afghan power had been broken by the Hindu power arising from the sands of Rajputana, encircled all round by Mohamadan kingdoms. The Lodis of Delhi had been successively defeated, the kings of Malwa and Gujrat had been made captives and liberated in actions after actions. The moment was awaiting an empire-builder. The battlements from the shores of Gujrat upto Delhi and Jaunpur were waiting for a new standard. All eyes turned on the Hindu-

pat. Sanga was going to be the lord of all the Hindus. The flag of Suryavamsa was going to be hoisted again over Aryavarta. Time demanded a change.

Sanga's deeds and democracy marked him to carry out that change. After his greatest victory Sanga requested the nobles and chiefs of Rajputana to elect a new king out of themselves to occupy the throne of Mewar and Hindu leadership, for he had lost a limb and become incapacitated in the eye of Hindu law. Only when the princes re-elected him, he ascended the throne of the Maharana. The deeds of valour inspired under his leadership filled the Hindu world with pride and enthusiasm. At the storming of the fortress of Ahmadnagar Kanh Singh Chauhan 'rushed to the gate, covered the spikes with his body' and invited the elephants who had been refusing to force the portals against the iron spikes. Kanh Singh nullified the spikes by the cover of his body and urged the elephants to do their duty, "himself being impaled." (Sarda, p. 81). No sacrifice was too great for the Hindus to make under the banner of that 'fragment of a warrior.' The Hindupat, as Erskine rightly says, "inspired all his countrymen with hopes that a change of dynasty was about to take place; and they hailed with joy the prospect of a native Government of India."

But an incident that occurred on the 16th of March, 1527, made history take an unexpected turn. On account of that incident, Sanga missed 'the crown of India' (Sarda, p. 50); which in the language of Tod, "might again have encircled the brow of a Hindu" and occasioned the transference 'of the banner of supremacy' from Indraprasth to the battlements of Chitor. This incident was the fatal mistake of removing the wounded Maharana from the battlefield.

Mr. Sarda performs the function of real historian when he appraises the qualities of Babar in words rightly due to that man of destiny. He was "Maharana Sanga's equal in courage and determination and not inferior to him in personal valour. And if he was inferior to the Maharana in chivalry..... he was superior in circumspection, perseverance, judgment....." "Sanga was a greater hero and a more chivalrous leader of men, Babar was a greater politician and a more skilful general." Probably Mr. Sarda regarded a discussion of the military genius displayed by Babar at Khanua beyond the scope of his work. When the army under Babar had lost faith in themselves, fancied death staring at them and were praying, Babar was conceiving a wonderful stratagem. He adopted the Turkish *turugma*, massed all his guns in one place under cover, fired them as if of one calibre and broke the tide of advancing Hindus. The same method, used on a gigantic scale by the Germans, annihilated the Russian army before Warsaw.

When Babar and his companions were suing for peace and gaining time, when his army evinced, as Babar himself says, "universal discouragement," and "total want of spirit," Sanga would not attack, for the enemy was not ready to accept battle! The Rajput ethics of war differed from the code of war of his ancient forefathers as much as the religion of a decadent period differs from the religion of the founder. The spirit was sacrificed to form. The ideal of the Rajput had come to be "to die well in battle," "not to win it." It was glorious but it was a form of glorious degeneracy, the epitaph of which is "But for repeated instances of an ill-judged humanity the throne of the Moguls might have been completely overturned" (Tod).

judged humanity is a sure feature of decadent society.

The Maharana missed his imperial crown and Hindus their liberty. In the place of liberty to the Hindus the Maharana however won and bequeathed to them that moral empire of his name and honour which time will not destroy. And we must thank Mr. Sarda for reminding us of the same.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

THE FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE JAINA PHILOSOPHY by *Hirachand Liladhar Jhaveri* with an Introduction by L. D. Barnett, M.A., Litt. D. (London), Second Edition. Pp. 55. Price As. 10.

This little book forms the 5th number of the *Jaina Vividha Sahitya Shastramala*, and offers in a suitable way an outline of the Jaina Philosophy.

SRIKRISHNA, THE SOUL OF HUMANITY, A critical study of his life and genius, by A. S. Ramaiah, Editor "Everyman's Review," published by K. A. Hebber, Proprietor, The Kanara Press, Madras. Pp. xvi + 167. Price. One Rupee.

We are not glad to read it.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH.

A VEDIC READER FOR STUDENTS by *Arthur Anthony Macdonell*, M.A., Ph. D., Boden Professor of Sanskrit, Fellow of Balliol College, etc., etc., containing thirty Hymns of the Rigveda in the original Samhita and Pada Texts with Transliteration, Translation, Explanatory Notes, Introduction, Vocabulary. *Humphrey Milford*, Oxford University Press, 17-19 Elphinstone Circle, Bombay, 10 Esplanade, George Town, Madras. Pp. xxxi + 263. Price Rs. 4.

The author is too well-known to require any introduction. Readers of this Review may remember his excellent *Vedic Grammar for Students* noticed by us. This reader is meant to be a companion volume to his aforesaid grammar. We know no Vedic Chrestomathy better than it. In every respect it is good and leaves nothing to be desired for the students.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

BHASA'S (1) SVAPNAVASAVADATTA (2) MADHYAMAVYAYOGA (3) PANCHARATRA with the commentary of *Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri*, Editor of the *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, L. Ramaswami Sastri, Managing Proprietor, Shidhara Printing House, Trivandrum. Price Rs. 1-8-0, 0-8-0, 1-0-0, respectively.

As the discoverer of the lost dramas of Bhasa *Pandit T. Ganapati Sastri* is now well-known to the lovers of Sanskrit. We welcome his new commentaries which are worthy of him. They will greatly help the wide circulation of Bhasa's works.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-HINDI AND HINDI.

GANDHI HARBHAI DEVAKARNA JAINA GRANTHAMALA. NO. 1. ARTHAPRAKASHIKA or the Commentary in Hindi of the Mokshashastra by the late *Pandit Sadasukhaji Kashlival*, pp. 543. Price for Non-Jainas Rs. 2-6, for Jainas Rs. 3-8. NO. 2. HARIVAMSA PURANA translated in Hindi by *Pandit Gajadharlal Nyayatirtha*, pp. 12 + 627. Price for Non-Jainas Rs. 4-8, for Jainas Rs. 6. Edited and published by *Pandit Pannalal Buklival*, General Secretary, Bharatiya Jaina-Siddhanta Prakashini Samstha, 9, Vishvakosa Lane, Baghbazar, Calcutta.

In Jainism and particularly in Jaina philosophy *Tattvarthadhigama-Sutras* hold a unique place. One intending to learn Jainism must read it. It has many commentaries in Sanskrit. The present work is a commentary in Hindi of those Sutras. It is elaborate and will undoubtedly be very useful to Hindi readers.

Jaina Puranas in which Harivamsa is included are important not only for their expounding Jainism in its various aspects, but also for the different versions of many stories and tales found in Brahmanic Puranas and Epics and other works. Among other things the book before us describes the family of Hari or Yadus, hence it is called *Harivamsa* like the Brahmanic one. The story of Charudatta in Bhasa's *Charudatta nataka*, or Sudraka's *Mricchakatika* differs very widely from that found herein. Students of History will have ample food from these Jaina Puranas. The Hindi translation of the Harivamsa under notice reads well, but owing to the want of original Sanskrit we cannot say how far it is accurate.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

MARATHI.

NATYA RAMAYAN AND NATYA BHARAT, MARATHI BOOKS 1 & 2 OF HOLKAR SARKAR BOOK SERIES, by *Mr. Vasudev Govind Apte*, B.A., Editor Anand, each six annas. Published by the Manager Anand, Poona City.

The books are an attempt to put the stories of the Ramayan and the Mahabharat in the continued dialogue form. The incidents are aptly chosen and described in an interesting manner. The dramatization of the Bible Stories and events in English History has secured a place in English Juvenile Literature long since but the experiment appears to have succeeded for the first time in an Indian language in these books. Mr. V. G. Apte's labours for providing suitable Marathi literature for young children are well known, and these new books of his would go a long way towards adding to his reputation. The get up is good particularly in view of the present war conditions and the price is moderate. It may be possible to illustrate the books with pictures in normal times when they will also be more useful.

D. B. R.

HINDI.

GAREEBON-KA-DOCTOR, IN HINDI, by *Mr. Gopal Ramchandra Date*, Vakeel, Jamner, East Khandeish; Price Rs. 2.

"Neem Hakeem, Khatre Jan" - "Half Doctor is Danger to Life," could not be better illustrated than

by this book. The author describes twelve drugs and proceeds to show how they can cure no less than ninetythree diseases. Whether these lists exhaust all known drugs and diseases would be too much to say for a layman nor can much be written about the efficacy of the prescriptions: but the attempt to compress all knowledge of the medical science in two hundred and odd pages is apparently too bold. The language can more definitely be described to be very bad showing complete ignorance of the writer both of the idiom and the grammar of Hindi and the style is cumbersome. These may keep off readers from the contents of the book and serve as the thorny hedge which protects men from falling into a deep ditch of dirty water covered over with dried grass.

D. B. R.

AKASHBANI by Bhagwati Manjukaishi Daivi and annotated by Mr. Shrivindu. Published by the Shrivindu Mitra Mandal, Gorakhpur. Crown 8vo. pp. 76. Price—as. 5.

These are some poems fit for being sung for entertainment. The notes to the poems may be said to be learned and exhaustive.

MRS. BESANT KA ANTIM PATRA, published by the Home Rule League Office, A. B. Road, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 12. Price—anna one.

This is a letter written by Mrs. Besant just before her internment. She left this letter behind, while going to see the Governor of Madras, fearing that she might be interned then and there. The contents of the letter are very well known. The translation is faithful and good.

CHARU DATTA, by Mr. Braj Lal Mahajan, B.A. and printed by the Doaba Educational Press, Anarkali, Lahore and to be had of Messrs. Atmaram and Sons, Booksellers, Lahore. Crown 8vo. pp. 75. Price—as. 4.

This is a short novel. The plot is not very good. But it has got some antique taste about it and therefore will not be found uninteresting. The description here and there is worth perusal.

UPASANA KHAND by Shrimati Rajrani, C. o Shri Raj Narain, Vakil, Jhansi. Demy 8vo. pp. 256. Price—as. 14.

This is a comment on several selected lines of Tulsi Das's Ramayan. The comments are very instructive from the stand-point from which they have been written. There is also an exhaustive discourse on the part of the authoress in which many quotations from the Ramayan have been given. The views of the book may be said to be old-fashioned, still they deserve attention. The modern ways of females have been criticised. In most of the reflections, the criticisms are partially correct. Considering the great value of the book, its price is very low.

SANJIBANI BOOTI, PART I, by Mr. Satyadeva. Published by the Manager, Satya-Grantha-Mala office, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 136. Price—as. 9.

Another of the well-known books of Mr. Satyadeva in which there are not much of his political and social views. It is meant for young boys and most of the pit-falls which impede their progress have been graphically pointed out. The name of the book suits it well and it would really work the part of nectar for the juvenile readers who might have gone astray

or who might be on the path of going astray. The description is characteristic of the author, and needs no comment beyond what has been said with respect to his previous books already revised. Its get-up is nice.

BALIKA-VINAY by a Jain-Mahila and published by Kumar Devendraprasad Jain, Prain Mandir, Arrah. Crown 16mo. pp. 44. Price—as. 2.

These are short and simple poems meant for being recited by small girls. The style is nice and suited to those for whom it is meant. The poems are undoubtedly very instructive and range over all the necessary subjects. They are about 19 or 20 in number.

SOOCHIPATRA of the books exhibited at the Seventh Hindi-Sahitya-Sammelan, Jubbulpore and published by its Reception Committee. Crown 8vo. pp. 164. Price—as. three.

This is a collection of the names of the books that were exhibited on the 7th Hindi-Sahitya-Sammelan which was held at Jubbulpore. To those who might desire a good collection of Hindi books, the publication is invaluable. All the necessary information has been given and there are very short reviews also. It may be said to be a sort of catalogue giving all the necessary details. A publication like this will be very useful for libraries.

ROMESH CHANDRA DUTTA, published by Pandita Onkarnath Bajpai, at his Press at Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 136. Price—as. 5.

This is a life of Mr. R. C. Dutt and a very well written life indeed. We find that the series of the books is very useful and will supply a long-felt want. There ought to be a large number of such biographies in the field. We give the publication all possible encouragement.

BOOKS ON THE SWARAJYA SERIES published by the "Pratap" office, Cawnpore. Prices of the tracts, annas three, two, and one according to the size.

These are several booklets of the Swarajya series. Most of them have reproduced thoughts of prominent Indian leaders. The tracts Nos. 2 and 3 reproduce speeches of the Hon'ble Mr. Chittamani at the Jhansi Provincial Conference. The tract No. 5 in the same way reproduces the views of Babu Ambica Charan Mazumdar on Swarajya as set forth in the thirty-first Indian National Congress which was held at Lucknow. The tract No. 6 similarly gives views of Pandit Jagat Narain. The tract No. 7 gives the memorable speech of the Hon'ble Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya which was delivered on the 10th of August 1917 at the U. P. Special Congress sitting held at Refahe Am Hall, Lucknow. The tract No. 1 gives general views on the subject of self-government. The tract No. 4 is a collection of very nice songs which are meant for being sung at national meetings.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

VADODARA NI SHARIRIK SUDHARANA, ANE AROGYA MANDIR (વડોદરા ની શારીરિક સુધારણા અને આરોગ્ય મંદિર) by Prof. G. Y. Manikrao, printed (cover only) at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover, pp. 60. Unpriced (1918).

The writer is the director of a well-known gymnasium at Baroda, and is known all over Gujarat as one devoted to his art and profession. Such a person is not necessarily a good exponent of his art on paper, nor can he be always to the point. The book furnishes very discursive reading; its main purpose, the cult of physical exercise, takes up only a small portion of the contents.

HINDU DHARM NI BALPOTHI (हिंदू धर्म नी बालपोथी) • by Prof. Anandshanker Bapubhai Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., of the Gujarat College, Ahmedabad: Published by the Director of Vernacular Education of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. Cloth Cover, pp. 126. Price As. 11 (1918).

The Government of H. H. is to be doubly congratulated for the selection of the subject, and for the selection of its expounder. The book is a primer of Hindu Religion, intended for juveniles, a subject of vital necessity and interest at all times, and the expounder is Prof. Dhruva, than whom no other Gujarati could have done better justice to the subject. By a skilful arrangement, he takes the young student, from the very primary and simple elements of our religion to its highly developed form, Vedant, by such easy stages, and in such an interesting way, that one hardly feels that one is slowly gliding into one stage from another. Hindu religion—or rather religions—because Buddhism and Jainism also find a place in this book—is presented by him in its conservative or orthodox aspect: as in daily life, he has refrained from assuming the necktie and the collar, so here too, he has deliberately refrained from allowing his exposition to be diverted in any way by the influence of modern times, and has avoided the fashion of the West. Being fully saturated with his subject, and being in addition a scholar with a highly developed genius for assimilation, he has been suc-

cessful in writing a book, which though avoiding all the pitfalls of a crude writer, while preserving intact the corpus of his subject, explains the alleged and obvious impossibilities of several Hindu beliefs in a very convincing manner. The book requires to be read and studied to fully appreciate the worth of the writer and his ability to harmonise things. In our opinion Prof. Dhruva has greatly added to his reputation for sobriety of thought, originality of thinking, and ability to say what he has got to say in a very attractive way, by this book.

(1) PHRENOLOGY, by Narmadashanker B. Pandya, printed at the Surat Jaina Engine Printing Press, Surat. Thick card board, pp. 108. Price As. 10 (1917).

(2) PHYSIOGNOMY, by the same author, printed at the Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 254. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1917).

The study of both these sciences is fascinating, and it is highly creditable to Mr. Pandya that living in such an out of the way place as Songhad Vyara and serving in the Postal Department as a Postmaster there, he has found leisure to pursue this hobby of his to such an extent as to publish the result of his studies in these two books. We are sure that to any one with leisure enough to look into the practical side of their contents, the works will furnish a reliable guide. The pictures which illustrate the writer's theses have not come out well, but then it is open to every student to select his own model.

Note—In the July (1918) issue of the Modern Review, at p. 40, column 1, in line 39 read, "otherwise" instead of "rather"; in column 2, line 42, "man" instead of "mass"; and in line 48, "that" instead of "who."

K. M. J.

GLEANINGS

• Child Education in India

• By E. AGNES R. HAIGH.

The national life of a people is embodied in the manner of its education. The schooling and apprenticeship which it evolves for the training and discipline of its youth are a mirror reflecting national ideals and aspirations, national aims and beliefs. By looking to the system of learning under which a student grows from childhood to maturity we discover the material from which his thought is fed, the purposes and relative values which his mind is trained to accept. The ideal education is a continuous development, building up the firm chain of succession, establishing harmoniously the sense of causation and sequence, the strength of united purpose and action, and the value and importance of combination. Where national life is normal and consistent, we find educational methods correspondingly continuous and natural, expressing, as

well as forming, the temper of the people. Accepting this view of education as a national function, we recognise that the principles of education must be constantly challenged, its practice constantly revised, according to the changing demands of the times. The lessons of recent experience have emphasised this necessity for vigilance; and the problems of education must be faced with equal regard for the needs of individual self-development, of vocational efficiency and of national service.

The need of wisdom and foresight in inaugurating revised educational methods in India is proportionately more urgent than with us, as the difficulties to be met are more intricate and complex. The system of school and college education which has the authority of official sanction, and constitutes the direct approach to public life and office, has hitherto been built up on English models. Hence the tendency, among those to whom the task of educational administration in British India is entrusted, has been

to discuss its problems on lines almost parallel with those of modern England, to assume similar difficulties and no others, and to search for similar solutions to those difficulties. Here, in England, the educational questions of the moment may seem to be debated almost exclusively with a view to school curricula and university courses, but it must be remembered that the years of 'nursery' and 'kindergarten' training, when imagination is most vigorous, observation most acute, memory most retentive, are provided for by an inherited discipline which political problems have never touched, and by a development which our national reawakening, combined with the more scientific methods of the modern teaching art, has splendidly enriched. The policy of education in India, which has accepted an exotic and arbitrary scheme as the basis of school and collegiate learning, of necessity precludes any continuity of mental training between the stages of childhood and student life; and the preliminary period of child development has been, as a result, almost entirely neglected. Now, this period is manifestly of the highest importance for all subsequent growth, since during these early years, the faculties of sense must be awakened and disciplined, perceptions and powers of discrimination developed, direction given to mental habits which will determine the course they take during adolescent and adult life. What the preparing of the soil is in horticulture—and without it all later effort may be in great measure unproductive—that is the training of the child, at home and in the class-room, in lesson and in game, in the higher culture of human development.

Experience and observation of the particular needs of child training have led, in practically every country of the West, to similar conclusions. Lessons of obedience can begin with infancy; and a wise mother or trained nurse can encourage in the infant, even before it can speak, rudimentary instincts of regularity, method and self-control, as well as intelligent response to certain outside influences and impressions. Recognition of the rights of others can be implanted in babyhood, system may be observed in games as well as in the daily routine of living. In the next stage the child's restless mental and bodily activity is regulated and developed by occupations that interest and hold the attention. The most recent cultivation of music as an active experience—a rediscovery of the true and original purposes of the musical art—is now becoming recognised as an aesthetic discipline and culture of the widest influence. Eye and ear are further trained in drawing and nature-study, and manual dexterity is acquired in many practical branches of handicraft. The vast literature of childhood, ranging from the simpler stories and rhymes of legend or fancy, through epic tales of valour and romance, to the striving, suffering and accomplishment of saints or heroes, peoples the child-mind with ideas of permanent value, gives understanding of human nature and conduct, and implants the conception of honour and self-sacrifice. So trained, the child of, say, from seven to nine years of age, who may, perhaps, have learned no actual lessons, has progressed far in culture and education, has acquired a standard (though not yet conscious) in art, literature, and conduct, and is truly prepared, in the coming years of school-life, not merely to learn but to discriminate, select, and use his individual judgment. These are critical years of infant and child life, not merely in the houses of the wealthy but, more or less, in every representative class of life. The teacher may be

mother, nurse, governess, or school-mistress, but the lessons are of the same kind.

Now, what is the provision made for the corresponding years of childhood in India? The course and routine of childhood is necessarily determined by the conditions of home-life; and the life of the Indian home is distracted at the present day by a tremendous unsettlement. There exists no uniformity in upbringing, no accepted standard, no common aim scientifically pursued. With few exceptions, the only children trained systematically in infancy and earlier childhood (apart from the scattered units who attend Christian missionary institutions in their earliest years) are those who are brought under the influence of certain reforming bodies of recent growth, which wisely seek to disseminate their propaganda through a social and religious training along national lines. Until recently there existed a very definite idea of home-education, more adapted, perhaps, to developing the qualities of reverence, dignity, patience, kindness—the time-honoured virtues of Indian culture—than to training individual powers, or imparting knowledge, other than the traditional lore of the ancient epics. But this tradition has become less and less operative as the home has come to be, within the last generation or so, increasingly out of sympathy with the aims and methods of scholastic training along Western lines, and with all the factors that determine success or prosperity in modern active life. At the present day, the best representative traditions of the home have been largely undermined by bewilderment and indifference—the failure of the past to deal adequately with its own problems, and the apathy of the present, where security imposed from without has robbed the people of all incentive towards national growth and progress. Among the poorer agricultural classes—the vast majority of India's population—whom state education has hardly touched, and upon whom their own traditional culture is fast losing its hold, the child grows up in utter ignorance, neglected in body and mind, unreasoning and unthinking, influenced mainly by the cruder superstitions of past ages, the bonds of caste, and the baneful customs of ancient and tyrannous convention.

The old Sanskrit and Koranic learning, which formed the guiding principle of thought and the source of mind-culture, which inspired the ideals and moulded the manners of every age and class, was an influence of more consistent and universal appeal than anything which our briefer and more chequered history has enabled us to develop. The advent of new ideas from the West would not, by themselves, have dispossessed this ancient education, even though its vitality had sunk to a low ebb; but the new orientation which an English government of necessity brought with it, introducing new purposes, new methods, new values, into every department of human life, meant a hopeless break-up of the old regime. Moreover, the experiment of modern Western education, imposed upon certain sections of the male population, between certain stages of their development, introduced, as it was, partially, arbitrarily, and with little reference to the events and surroundings of daily life, was bound to lead to the present chaos and confusion. Thus the home continues to reproduce the life of a bygone age pathetically robbed of purpose and meaning, because unrelated to the needs of to-day, while education widens the gulf, by imparting to the schoolboy lessons of which the subjects lack that harmony of sequence and the method which could give them a living meaning,

imparting them, moreover, in a foreign tongue, which he but seldom wholly masters. The language of his infancy remains to him, therefore, more often than not, a mere patois for domestic needs; and the language which he acquires in school-days, and for public life, may be no more than a pedagogic speech adapting itself but clumsily to the expression of his thoughts. In such surroundings the Indian child of the present day can have few of the benefits of modern system, of scientific or psychological experience in its early up-bringing, while the old-fashioned discipline of traditional culture may scarcely be regarded as an active or a living influence.

In no country in the world, perhaps, except India, do we find this strange anomaly of the Old and the New continuing side by side within the same house, the same family, often the same individual (for early influence is strong), separate, unreconciled, in perpetual silent warfare one with another. Moreover, conflict and antagonism between the affairs of the outer world of work and business, and the administration of the home, with its ceremonies of religion, its marriage customs, its complex social structure is bound to persist so long as women live a life apart untutored and untrained. (The problems of India's future progress are necessarily bound up with the education of its women and must find their ultimate solution inside the home, by men and women in co-operation. The true traditions of Indian womanhood will readily concede to woman her place in the evolution of intellectual and spiritual culture; and history confirms it as the revival of a lost ideal, realised in the days of India's greatness, and firmly established in her social order. If primary education became universal, the same for boy and girl alike, for rich and poor, for every caste and community, assimilation would inevitably take place, and the situation might become normal almost within one generation. But an educational reform on so large a scale is a matter for legislation, and lies outside my argument.)

Meantime by what methods can Indian reformers best counter the prevalent disorder of mind and spirit which pervades the home? How can they best secure to the infant life of to-day that robustness and sanity of development so vitally necessary to the generation which must solve in practical experience the problems and theories of to-day? (For India is no longer helpless, passive, inert.) The restless vigour of her new awakening has made trial of its forces in countless different experiments during the last decade or more; but the gradual rise of the spirit of nationality is now claiming all these energies for a single united purpose. Every department of life and thought is stirring to fresh activity; and the vitality of its promise is most surely proved by the spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice which the new creed everywhere arouses. The movement is alive, beyond all question; among its leaders and supporters are men of the widest range of thought and study, advanced thinkers mentally at grips with problems and difficulties by which we of the West are never faced—men who take a passionate pride in their country and the great heritage of its past, who yet realise the obstacles it must surmount before it can become emancipated and play its part in active modern life.

Above all, it is necessary to secure that continuity between past and future without which no effort can boast a stable foundation. The necessity for continuous growth and evolution has not always been recognised in Europe, but it has never been defied

with impunity. In India the principle of growth from within is even more fundamentally important, by reason of her long antecedent civilisation and the strong instinct of conservatism in the life of every class. (The New Renaissance of the East is a movement of the widest possible scope.) Elements of the successive waves which came to Europe in the advent of the New Learning, the Reformation of the 16th century, and the national revival of the 19th, are all present in the quickening of Young India of today. The course which this movement will take is as yet undetermined; we only know that everything which India's past civilisation has accumulated of literature, art, music, and spiritual culture, has felt the stimulus of new life, and will play its part in the moulding of New India out of the present turmoil.

The practical results of the modern Nationalist revival in Europe are now incarnated in the education of the child of this generation; and the lessons of national growth and evolution are thus secured to future generations by being implanted upon the child imagination during its most impressionable years. The influences of childhood are, without doubt, the most permanent and indelible. Even accidental impressions received at this period have a tendency to dominate subconscious thought and so to determine action, as modern psychology, confirming the old Jesuit adage, has recognised. The need, therefore, of a childhood training which shall embody the nation's ideals is clearly of the first necessity for India's future progress. This nurture and training of the child is normally the province of the home and properly the work of women. But, until the home is prepared to perform its part, devoted reformers can do much to enable modern educational science to utilise the resources of India's national heritage for the mental and physical culture of young children. There are signs that such a change is already coming.

In recent years, and for the first time, a children's literature is slowly growing up in Bengal—a literature of Indian tales and legends illustrated with Indian pictures. But the beginnings are still small and local, and the need is national. This task must not be postponed to some more convenient season or relegated to the leisure moments of busy men, to be dealt with when the claims of public office and of affairs have been satisfied. The mind of the child is unceasingly active and receptive, his hunger for knowledge about the world he lives in is constant, and should be wisely fed. The world of history, literature and legend is full of incident and movement, adventure and romance. The stories they yield must be told with skill and sympathy, simply and with sincerity. The wonders of nature, the life of forest, plain and river, of bird and beast, of tree and flower, are the intimate comrades of childhood. Vision and understanding are needed to interpret even the outer meaning of these, to explain their forms and phases, their purpose and development, and their relation to human life. Colour and song—innate expressions of Indian aesthetic genius—and the rhythm of ordered movement as well as of sound, have been too long banished from so-called practical life. These must become considered agents in awakening and training the perceptions and faculties of childhood. All the elements, in short, which will take their share in the social reconstruction of the future, must be brought together in harmonious combination to form the environment of the child of to-day.

The narrow pedantry of the 19th century, which

taught by rule and rote, by weary memorising of dead formulae, together with the Spencerian doctrines and materialistic codes of the period, have ceased to be a danger to us in the West. A wave of Hellenism, which always brings with it a return to nature and new life, has delivered us from that particular bondage. But a late outcrop, transplanted by Macaulay and his early Victorian associates, still flourishes in India, in school and college, in the thought and conversation of the 'literate' classes. Deliverance must come to India through her own effort, by an ardent cultivation of the ancient arts, the ancient learning and wisdom, along the lines which modern educational and psychological science has discovered for our use, in such a way as to sow the seeds of a sturdy and self-reliant national growth in the fertile soil of childhood's training-ground.

By such means is it possible to awaken living interests, to appeal to inborn instincts and inherited associations, and thereby to train a character which shall discover both purpose and inspiration in the land of its birth. For each nation must inevitably find growth, direction and energy from within, before it can realise its true destiny, and bring to the common treasure-house of the world's civilisations the gift of its own particular and distinctive genius. For three generations, or more, under the security of the 'Pax Britannica', the national art of India has declined, education has been perverted, activity deflected from its normal course; thought has become atrophied, culture is suspended. The chastisement of our peace is upon them.

The civilisation of India has dwindled, during this period, to a memory, its cults and ceremonies to a lifeless observance; the motives and practice of daily life are sought from without. But for the jealous custody of their heritage by the women—at all times and in all countries the natural guardians of national culture—even the memory might have taken its place with the history of the past, and the links of the chain have been severed beyond all possibility of reunion. For the effort to revive a disused speech of an obsolete custom has never yet produced a national result; its utmost achievement is to stimulate interest and research among the learned, and to provide material for antiquarian discussion. India's civilisation, however, is not dead but dormant; and the spell of its long sleep is at last being broken. The renaissance of the present day seeks inspiration and guidance at its source. But with the reaction against the passive inertia of generations comes a certain danger from emotionalism—the mesmerism of bygone glories and the tendency to perpetuate past failings and ignorance because they form a part of sacred tradition. As it is the province of woman to guard and to preserve, so it must be the task of enlightened women to select that which is worthy of preservation and reject all that is no longer relevant. It is theirs to save and defend the vital element in tradition, the living heritage of faith and understanding, the special aspect of truth and beauty which finds separate embodiment in every people, grows with their growth and progresses with their progress.

With the awakening of a national consciousness, the motives for national reform have now become insistent. The outward expression of these motives—a symptom of all pioneer work—remains hitherto isolated and spasmodic. The tendency to theorise and debate, to discuss political actions and reactions, to deal with symptoms and externals, is still somewhat exaggerated. It is in the nurseries of to-day that the forces must be fostered and organised which

will hereafter work out the regeneration of India in harmony and co-operation; and this child-nature should be made the first and permanent charge upon the time, energy and expenditure of all the reforming zeal which now seeks an outlet.

Finally, we must remember that, though the building up of India's future in the light of the present national revival must incontestably be planned and carried out by Indians and for Indians, the experience touches not India alone but all mankind. The world at large will be not only spectator but partaker of its results. When the light of Classic thought and Classic culture—the rediscovered treasures of Hellenic genius—dawned upon the darkened understanding of mediæval Europe, the day of a new era was born, and modern civilisation came into being. So, to complete the cycle, the impulse of modern thought and modern progress was carried in the last century to the Classic East. The normal effects of such a contact were, for the time being, delayed through artifice and experiment on the part of Anglo-Indian opinion. The 'Orientalists' would hear of no contamination of the new-found treasures of Eastern learning; the 'Anglicists' had no thought but to clean the slate and inscribe upon it the writing of the West. In the event, India has, to the outward eye, lain dormant under the imposition of an alien culture, substituted for her own, but never adapted to her needs. Yet the fruit of an unwilling union was maturing, in spite of conflict and reluctance; and the rebirth of to-day, however ardently national in form, owes its incentive to the direct influence of the West upon the East.

Throughout all recorded history the great civilisations of East and West have held singularly aloof from one another in all their inmost experiences. Conquest, invasion, and trade have effected an intercourse between the two in external dealings which has but deepened the instincts of mutual reserve. To-day we must learn a new lesson—that a freer interchange of thought and ideas between different peoples endangers nothing of permanent value, and obliterates only those characteristics which accident has fostered, while enriching the elements of their several strength. In its response to the stimulus of an outside influence, the culture of a people, no less than the character of an individual, can best realise its own purposes and powers, and achieve its highest self-development. Therefore, if the destinies of East and West are knit together at the present day, and for so long as the partnership may continue, let each see to it that the union may be productive of the best results, without compromise of sentiment or of conviction on either side, and lay the foundations of a larger development and a wider achievement than the world has yet witnessed.

Quarterly Review, London; April, 1918.

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu.

The subject of this sketch is one of the most eminent Indians of our time. His many qualities of head and heart are inherited from his father, Babu Shama Charan Basu, who soon after the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 came to Lahore and, after filling the Head Mastership of the school which was started under the auspices of the American Mission there, entered Government service.....

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu was about six years old—for he was born on the 20th March 1861

—when his father died. His education, therefore, had to be looked after by his mother. In his boyhood he gave proof of his remarkable intelligence and his academic career was a very brilliant one. He passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University held in December 1876 with great distinction, standing first in the Punjab and third in order of merit in the University and was awarded a gold medal, books worth 50 rupees and the first scholarship in the province. He prosecuted his further studies in the Lahore Government College, from which he passed the First Examination in Arts in the first division in 1878, standing again first in the province. He took his B. A. degree in the first division, in January 1881, and then joined the Training College for Teachers which had been then recently established at Lahore. He passed the Final Examination—an examination corresponding to the L. T. Examination of our universities in these days—in the first division in 1882 and was appointed officiating second master of the Lahore District High School, from which he had passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University. While serving as a teacher in this school, he studied law and appeared in January 1883 in the Vakildship Examination of the Allahabad High Court, which he passed with distinction.

Early in 1883, before the result of the Law Examination was out, there was established a Model School at Lahore, in connection with the Training College of which he was appointed Head Master. His success as a teacher, and the respect shown to him by his pupils pointed him out as the fit person for appointment to this prize post after only a few months' service in the Educational Department. He was the first Head Master of the first model school in India.

When the result of his law examination was out, he left the Educational Department and came to Meerut to practise his profession. After about three years' practice in the District Law Courts there, he came to Allahabad in 1886, to join the High Court bar. In his student days, Mr. Sris Chandra had learnt Mr. Pitman's system of shorthand and phonography which stood him in good stead at this time, for it was due to it that he was appointed Judgment Reporter in the High Court. As a shorthand reporter, Raj Bahadur Sris Chandra was, when he was in practice, singularly adept. Regarding his efficiency in shorthand writing Mrs. Annte Besant bears the following testimony:—"I am indebted to Babu Sris Chandra Basu, Munsif of Benares, for the



The Late Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu.

wonderfully accurate report which he most kindly took of the discourses. I have been reported by the best London men, but have never sent a report to the press with less correction than that supplied by my amateur friend."

Babu Sris Chandra always has tried to master the subject he has taken in hand. When he made up his mind to master Hindu Law, translations in English of a few Hindu Law books did not satisfy him. He turned to the original authorities to study the subject. But the difficulty that he had to encounter was his ignorance of Sanskrit. When he settled down in practice he commenced its study. He found out for himself what the late Right Hon. Professor Max Muller wrote to him many years afterwards, namely that "no one knows Sanskrit who does not know Panini."

He took, therefore, to the study of Panini. The difficulty of Panini is well known to all Sanskrit

scholars. Students of the subject at Benares spend a dozen or more years in mastering it. In 1891, while still practising at the Allahabad High Court, he published the first chapter of the first book of Panini with its English translation and a commentary and copious explanatory notes. The publication was welcomed by leading Sanskrit scholars all over the world. Professor Max Muller who had then grown grey in the study of Sanskrit wrote to the author :—

"From what I have seen of it, it will be a very useful work. What should I have given for such a work forty years ago when I puzzled my head over Panini's Sūtras and the commentaries."

It is not necessary to give the opinions of other well-known Sanskrit scholars of Europe and America. But he found that he could not complete the self-imposed task satisfactorily, as the practice of his profession stood in his way of doing so. Either he should give up Panini or the practice of law. The edition of Panini, which he was bringing out, was meant to pave the way not only to the study of Hindu Law but of all the higher branches of Sanskrit learning. Remembering that no great cause has ever been achieved without sacrifice, he gave up the practice of his profession and entered the Provincial Judicial Service to which the Government was pleased to appoint him as a second grade Munsif and posted him to Ghazipur. He joined the service on the 11th April, 1892.

The Publication of his translation of Panini was delayed by many causes over which he had no control. He did not find that leisure in the service in the expectation of which he had given up the profession. At Ghazipur he had to try a very complicated case of Mahomedan Law. Can the Wahabis pray in the same mosque with the Sunnis? That was the dispute between the litigious parties who sought justice at his hands. Extensive reading of almost the whole literature of Mahomedan jurisprudence in the original Arabic—for which he had to get books published outside India, in Mahomedan countries such as Egypt and Persia, took him nearly a year to decide this important case. It is a decision which is of great value to Indian lawyers, for it has settled, once for all, a very moot point of Mahomedan Law.

In the beginning of 1896 he was transferred to Benares and here he saw more prospect of completing the translation and publication of Panini's Grammar. The work was completed towards the close of the year 1898. Professor Max Muller sent his congratulations to the author in the warmest language. He wrote :—"Allow me to congratulate you on your successful termination of Panini's Grammar. It was a great undertaking, and you have done your part of the work admirably. I say once more, what should I have given for such an edition of Panini when I was young, and how much time it would have saved me and others. Whatever people may say, no one knows Sanskrit who does not know Panini."

A portion of this work has been prescribed as a text-book in the M. A. Examination of the London University. It is the only instance of an Indian author's work finding a place in the curriculum of studies in the highest examination of an European University.

The Siddhanta Kaumudi of Bhattojī Dikshita in which Panini's aphorisms are rationally arranged, is studied by some students of Sanskrit almost all over India. The translation of this important work was taken in hand by the late Professor Horace

Hayman Wilson, the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, and it was advertised by the Oriental Translation Fund as under preparation more than three quarters of a century ago. But it was never published. Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu, by completing the translation of this important work, has placed Sanskritists under great obligation to him.

The study of Hindu Law not only demands a very efficient knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar, but also of Hindu Philosophy, Upanishads, the Vedas, the Puranas, and even the Tantras. How carefully Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu has studied these different branches of Sanskrit learning is evident from his "Catechism of Hinduism" which was published in 1899. The "Daily Practice of the Hindus" from his pen also is an evidence of his mastery of Hindu philosophy and learning.

At his suggestion was started the important and well-known series of the Sacred Books of the Hindus by the Panini Office of Allahabad and to this series he has contributed the translations of Isa, Kena, Katha, Prasna, Mundaka, Mandukya and Chandogya Upanishads, with the Commentary of Madhva, the Vedanta Sūtra with the Commentary of Baladeva and two sections of Yajna-Valka Smṛiti with the Commentary known as Mitakshara and notes from the gloss Balambhatti. All these works have been very favourably spoken of by competent Sanskrit scholars of the East and the West.

Although Sris Chandra Basu's great ambition was to achieve a thorough mastery of Hindu Law in which, as shown above, he has remarkably succeeded, the study of religions has been very dear to him. He has devoted much of his time to the comparative study of religions. Like the great Raja Ram Mohan Roy, he has studied the religious scriptures of the principal faiths of India from their original sources. A thorough master of Sanskrit and Arabic, the study of the Sacred Books of the Hindus and Mahomedans in the original did not present any difficulty to him. But he had to learn Hebrew and Greek to understand the Old and New Testaments of the Christians.

His creditable knowledge of Latin, French and German shows the interest he has also taken in comparative philology.

Serious scholars are generally known to be devoid of what is called "wit and humour." But his "Folk Tales of Hindusthan" shows how cleverly he can wield his pen for writing stories interesting and entertaining to the old and the young alike. These stories have been published by him under the pseudonym of Shaik Chilli. In reviewing them, the late Mr. Stead wrote in the *Review of Reviews* for October, 1917 :—"Stories of a type that recall the delightful romances of the Arabian Nights." We may safely predict that like the Arabian Nights entertainments, these stories will be eagerly read in ages to come by all classes of people. These have already been translated into Bengali and their translations in some other vernaculars are in course of preparation.

Rai Bahadur Sris Chandra Basu has also done a good deal in the cause of education. While practising his profession at Allahabad, he found that there was no school for the education of Indian girls there. The only school which existed at that time was conducted by the Zenana Mission whose aim was conversion. A girls' school was urgently needed and he worked hard to establish it. It was opened on the New Year's Day of 1883. It was the first school of its kind in Allahabad and is still in existence.

He was Sub-judge of Bareilly when His Majesty King-Emperor Edward VII breathed his last. As a fitting memorial to our late beloved Sovereign, he suggested to the public the establishment of a school bearing the Emperor's name. He has been instrumental in bringing this school into existence.

Sris Chandra Basu takes great interest in the Central Hindu College, of which he has been a trustee and a member of the managing committee ever since its foundation, and his connection with the Theosophical Society dates from 1880.

His "Easy Introduction to Yoga Philosophy," "Shiva Samhita," "Gheranda Samhita," "Three Truths of Theosophy," "Compass of Truth," and introductions to Mr. Ram Prasada's translation of Yoga Sutras of Patanjali, and Mr. Ernest Wood's translation of the Garuda Purana show how his

active mind is in eager pursuit of realising the true nature of the higher self.

Public honours and distinctions do not, as a rule, come to those who do not seek for them. Yet he has been their recipient without in any way soliciting for them. In 1900, he was nominated by Government a Fellow of the Allahabad University. In recognition of his services as an able judicial officer, he was created a Rai Bahadur by the Government of India on the Coronation Day of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor George V. He is also a recipient of the Coronation Durbar Medal. For a man of his retiring nature, a scholar and thinker, these distinctions show the esteem in which he is held by the Government whom he and his family have most loyally served for two generations.—*The Pioneer*, December 22, 1912.

NEPALESE LIFE AND THOUGHT FROM THE BENGALI STANDPOINT

NEPAL IS INHABITED BY MANY NATIONS.

FIRST of all, if by the word "Nepalese" we mean simply an inhabitant of the territory of Nepal we are quite correct. But if by that term we understand a homogeneous people with one religion, one language, one set of manners and customs and the same habits of life and thought, we are seriously mistaken. In Bengal and Upper India—in fact in almost every province of India—the spoken dialect differs in different districts, but it is understood all over the province. It is difficult for one to believe me when I say that an inhabitant of the Nepal territory may very often have a neighbour not a syllable of whose conversation he is able to understand. Thus, the Limboo, whose home lies between the Mechi and the Arūn rivers in Eastern Nepal, has a dialect different from that of the Kiratis who occupy the trans-Arūn region. And the Newars, the Mangars, the Gūrūngs, the Yakhas (Sanskrit Yakshas), the Sunwars, the Tamangs, &c., have each a separate dialect, a separate form of worship, separate manners and customs and separate habits of life. There is of course a lingua franca for the whole of Nepal which is understood all over the territory. This is the language of the Brahmaṇs and Chhetris, usually known as Khās Kūrā or the dialect of the Khās or Chhetris.

The following types of physiognomy

are found among the different castes of the Nepalese :—

A. LONG-NOSED TYPE (with long nose, big eyes and tall stature)

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Brahman (Upadhyaya) | } Higher castes. Do not drink wine. |
| 2. Jaisy Brahman (a mixed caste) | |
| 3. Thakuri (a high class Chhetri) | |
| 4. Chhetri | } Middle in rank and clean caste. |
| 5. Newar (Clerk and trader) | |
| 6. Kami (Smith) | |
| 7. Sarki (Cobbler) | } Unclean lower castes. Drink wine. |
| 8. Dāmi (Tailor) | |

B. MEDIUM TYPE (with nose, eyes and stature intermediate between types A and C).

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Mangar (Soldier class in Nepal) | } Clean castes. Drink wine. |
| 2. Gūrūngs (Shepherds) | |
| 3. Tāmāngs (Nepalese Bhūtia) | |

C. MONGOLIAN TYPE (with flat nose, small oblique eyes and short stature).

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1. Limboo | } Of Eastern Nepal. Clean castes. Drink wine. |
| 2. Jimdār or Kirāti | |
| 3. Yākhā (Sans. Yaksha) | |

MENTAL AND LINGUISTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE.

Type A.

Intelligent.
Enterprising.
Shrewd.
Thrifty.

2-5 able leader, holding all the high offices in Nepal.

Language same except that of the Newars.

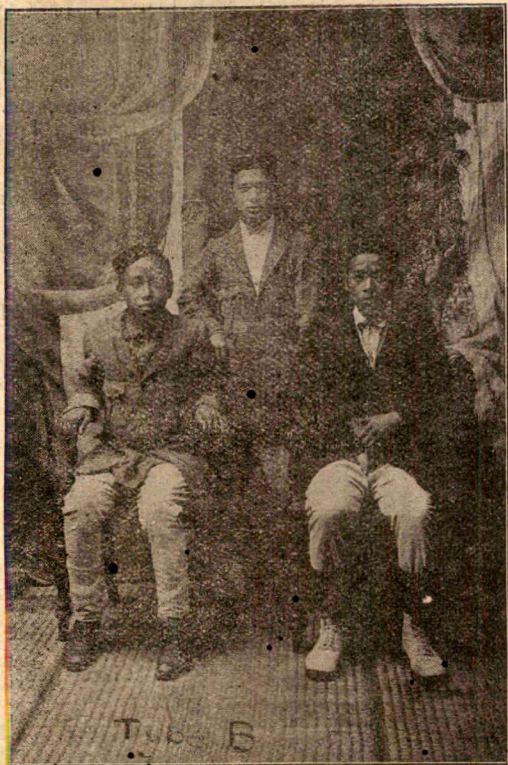
N. B. (i). The Newars are the most intelligent of this type. (ii) All the unclean castes (i.e. those whose water is not drunk by the higher castes) are included in this type.

Type B.

Intelligence inferior to that of type A.



Type A of the Nepalese.



Type B of the Nepalese.

Enterprising.
Improvident.
More hardy than type A.
Each of these has a separate dialect.

Type C.

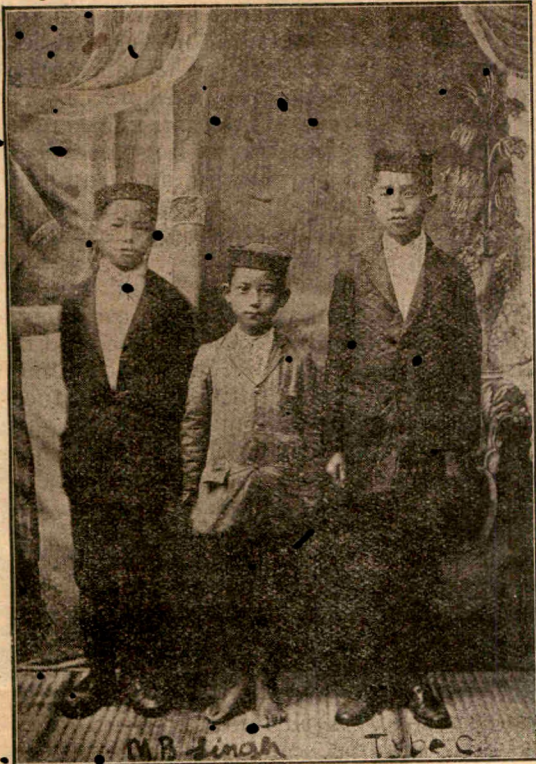
Intelligence inferior to that of types A and B.
Enterprising.
Improvident.
Very hardy with a fighting spirit.
Each has a separate dialect.
Intermarriage allowed between 1 & 2.

FACTORS OF UNITY AMONG THE NEPALESE.

A foreigner is therefore likely to err in his estimate of the tone of Nepalese life and thought, even when he directly comes in contact with them, as he is liable to generalize from specific instances of one class of Nepalese. Yet there are some predominant factors tending to unite these rather heterogeneous races. Let us notice them as briefly as possible.

(i) The political factor.

In the year 1769 A.D., a Gurkha chief of Western Nepal, named Prithinarayan, conquered the valley of Nepal then occupied by the Newar kings. He subsequently extended his conquest to Eastern Nepal bringing under subjection, after a continuous and severe struggle, the brave and hardy Kiratis and Limboos of Eastern Nepal. Khās Kūra, or the dialect of the



Type C of the Nepalese.

Chhetris, has gained currency in Nepal since then.

(ii) Common religion.

The evolution of Hinduism in the Nepal of today is worth a careful study. It is interesting to note that the whole of Eastern Nepal, which formerly professed Lamaism in some form or other, has adopted Hinduism, beneath the veneer of which Lamaism is still traceable. The problem of the lower castes in Bengal still remains practically unsolved. But in Nepal it has been solved by the ruler. There, the Lamaists have not only been brought within the pale of Hinduism but water touched by them can be freely used by all the higher castes. This is mainly due to the influence of the ruler of Nepal over the Nepalese society. Through this influence even the Bhutias and Lepchas of Nepal have been admitted into the rank of clean castes whose water can be used by all the higher castes. He exerts an influence over the Nepalese even outside the Nepal territory. By the law of Nepal a criminal may lose his caste by way of punishment for a very serious offence.



Type C.

Sardar Bahadur Bhimdal Dewan,
Retired Dy. Supdt. of Police.

Thus, the people of Nepal feel that they are bound by a common cord of unity. Such proverbs as

1. खातु त एकइ सुठि, वसतु त नेपालइ।

Let me stay in Nepal even though I may have just a handful of food to eat.

2. अरु ठाँउको दुध भात र नेपाल को सिलु भात।

Rice and milk of other places equal nettle-curry and rice of Nepal.

clearly show how they are fond—and even proud—of their mother country.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEPALESE LIFE.

The Nepalese has some general characteristics which are worth notice.

Firstly, he is brave and likes to be called so. Over 75 per cent. of the Nepalese names bear the words वीर or बाहादुर।

e. g. { दूर्ध्ववीर	{ दलवीर
{ दूर्ध्वबाहादुर	{ दलबाहादुर
{ हस्तवीर	{ यशवीर
{ हस्तबाहादुर	{ यशबाहादुर
{ रणवीर	
{ रणबाहादुर	

So very fond are the people of the word वीर that they apply it to almost every form of praise, e. g., praise for generosity, honesty, charity, kindness, etc. A form of salutation in Nepal is जय देओ "Give me victory."

Secondly, the next virtue in a Nepalese is his spirit of obedience. Visitors to Darjeeling often experience it. When a passer-by wants a Nepalese to pluck a wild flower or orchid for him from a difficult place, the request is readily complied with. The best example of this habit of obedience is found in the jails of Nepal. The prisoners are sometimes sent on business without a guard to distances involving two to three days' journey and it is expected that these prisoners would willingly return to the jail, and strange to say, they do actually return there. The political incidents connected with the career of General Bhim Singh afford another striking example of the obedience of the soldiers to the power that be. Yet one feels that this is an honourable sort of obedience free from that mean and obsequious slavishness which is often so disgusting.

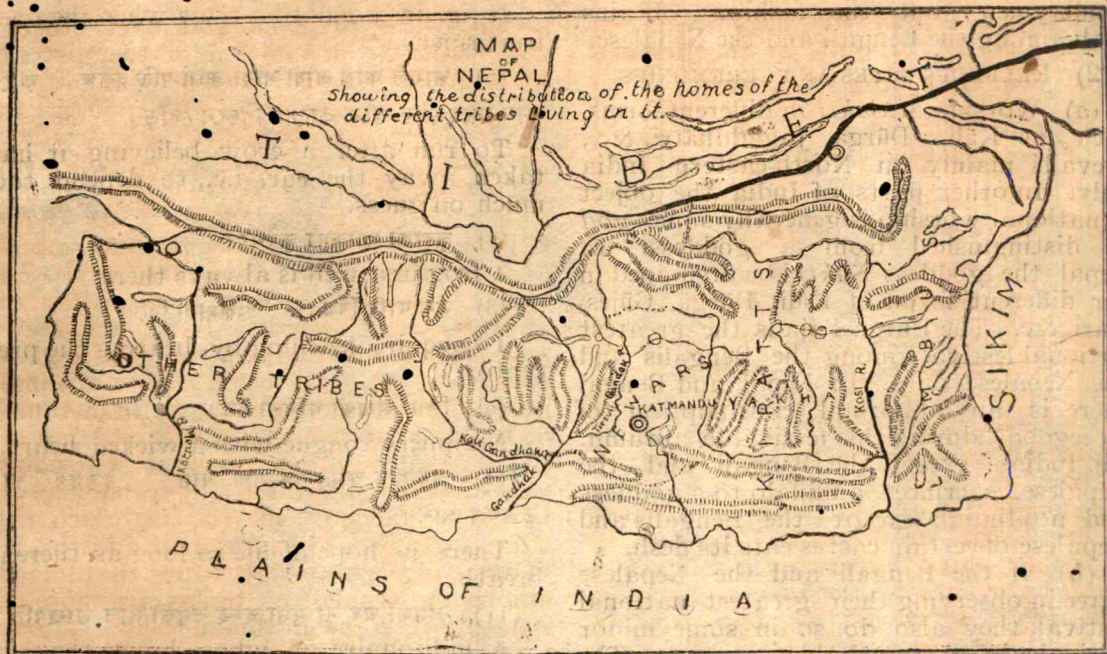
Thirdly, the Nepalese has a dashing spirit. He is hardy, energetic and enterprising. His active habit is apparent to any casual observer who sees him only walking along the streets of Darjeeling. Loads of one-and-a-half to two maunds are often carried by them from a distance of 50 miles across a mountainous region without any good road. In the forests of Assam may be seen a number of Nepalese keeping large herds of buffaloes which yield them good incomes. The available jungle lands of the Kallimpong subdivision in Darjeeling have been reclaimed mainly by Nepalese labour and energy. The Nepalese immigrants have settled also in Burma and Bhutan. In the hill portion of the Darjeeling district the Nepalese popu-

lation by far preponderates over others. Over half the population of the district including the Teraie (where the bulk of the people are non-Nepalese) is Nepalese. In the polyglot district of Darjeeling, Nepalese has assumed the position of lingua franca. All walks of life, in Darjeeling, ranging from the tea-garden cooli to the Sub-Deputy Magistrate or Deputy Superintendent of Police, the Nepalese are in possession. At present there is a sprinkling of graduates and undergraduates and a few matriculates among them; and the need of education, at least from the vocational point of view, is being felt. As an instance of Nepalese enterprise I may quote that of a Nepalese tea-garden cooli at Kurseong who amassed about ten thousand rupees by dairy farming in Burma. Such instances can be very easily multiplied.

Some of the ancient customs that linger among the Nepalese of to-day are those of female liberty and Brahman teachers giving free tuition to scholars residing with them, both the teachers and the scholars being supported by free grants of land from the State. A thriving institution of this kind may be seen at Dingla on the Arun river near Bhojpur.

SLAVERY IN NEPAL.

It may cause the refined taste of the twentieth century to shudder to hear that slavery actually exists in Nepal and to know that human beings are bought and sold there. Yet one needs being undeceived if one expects to see the horrible scene of a Brazilian slave market repeated in Nepal. The slaves are called Kamara (कमारा) and Kamari (कमारौ)—most probably the colloquial forms of कुमार and कुमारी. They live with their masters in the same house or compound and are well fed and clad and enjoy more comforts than the average workman in Nepal. The master bears the expense of marrying his Kamārā to a Kamari bought for the purpose. Of course he does so out of economic consideration—to add to his live stock. The slave has a caste corresponding to that of his master. Sometimes a slave is given liberty by his master. A slave thus liberated by a Chhetri master is called a Khōas. In the next generation, the Khoas becomes a Gharti, and in the third generation the family name of the master, namely, Chhetri is assumed. The evolution is rather interesting but such a family occupies a comparatively



lower position in society. Another name for a slave in Nepal is Bajjiya. Might not the original slaves be the captives taken from the vanquished Bijiis (or Brijjis) whose kingdom lay on the northern side of the Ganges, as they might have fought against their neighbour, the Lichhavis of Nepal, the territory of the latter extending upto the banks of the Ganges as far as modern Hajipur?

THE NEPALESE LANGUAGE.

As an Indian vernacular Nepalese has some characteristics which may well engage our attention.

(i) It has very largely drawn upon Sanskrit for its stock of words: e. g., some of its colloquial words are:—

तस्कर	हिज (Sans. ह्यः)	उपद्रव
मन्त्री	बुद्धा (वि + वृ + क्त)	शिखर (peak)
श्वेत	तितिरि (tamarind)	तरुणी (maid)
अमिल (Sans. अमृ)	प्रीति	

(ii) it has a liking for words of liquid sound, e. g.,

कोसल (soft)
कलिल (fresh)
हिमाल चुलि (snowy peak)
खाहौ (wife) [Sans. स्त्रिया]

(iii) The doubly long vowel sound called सूत in Sanskrit is used in colloquial

Nepalese, e. g., when he wants to emphasize the आ in काल (black) the Nepalese will say का-आ-ल, also श्व-ए-त (white), रा-आ-त (red).

POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE BENGALI AND THE NEPALESE PEOPLES.

There is a striking resemblance between the Bengali and Nepalese life and thought. I propose to place here some data to bring the point home to the reader's mind.

(1) SIMILARITY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

(a) The custom of Bengal allows cutting jokes among certain relations only.

Eg. Between Sister-in-Law and sister's husband.
Brother-in-Law and sister's husband.
Grand-father and grand-son.
Grand-mother and grand-children.

This custom also prevails among the Nepalese.

On the other hand, among the Bengalis there are certain other relations, sometimes within the same family, whom a woman may not touch, even through an intervening stuff, or speak to. These are the husband's elder brother or maternal uncle. The Nepalese woman also respects the same custom.

(b) Salutation by touching the feet is not so much in fashion among our up-

countrymen; but the fashion obtains both among the Bengali and the Nepalese.

(2) RELIGIOUS RITES AND CEREMONIES.

(a) Worship of *Sakti* in different forms, such as Kāli, Dūrgā, Jagaddhātri, &c., prevails mainly in North-eastern India only. In other parts of India the object of national worship is generally some god as distinguished from a goddess. In Nepal the goddess *Sakti* is worshipped in her different forms of Kāli, Dūrgā, Gūjeswari, &c. The Durga Puja is the greatest national festival among the Bengalis and the Nepalese only. In Nepal and Bengal there is an abnormal consumption of piecegoods during this festival in autumn. No Indian, except the Bengali and the Nepalese, sacrifices a buffalo to a goddess and no Indian except the Bengalis and Nepalese of certain castes eats its flesh.

(b) If the Bengali and the Nepalese agree in observing their greatest national festival, they also do so in some minor festivals in a remarkable manner. The Bhadratri festival is celebrated both by the Nepalese and Bengali on the 2nd day after the new moon following the Durgapuja and it involves substantially the same rites in both the cases. This ceremony is not observed in Upper India.

(3) IDEAS EXPRESSED IN PROVERBS.

National thought in every country is reflected in its proverbs. It is remarkable, therefore, how a large number of Nepalese proverbs are also current in Bengal, although they are not so much in use in Bihar or the United Provinces. I would draw the attention of the reader to a few of them here, viz.,

(1) आफ्नो हाथ जगनाथ। आपन हात जगनाथ।

One may take the lion's share when food is served with one's own hand.

(2) आफ्नो खनीको खाइल मा आफैँ गिर्छ। "स्वथान्न
मनिले डुবে मरि श्वाश।"

One falls into the pit dug by oneself.

(3) इन्द्रको मुखेझि स्वर्गको बात।

To speak about heaven before *Indra* (who is the king of heaven).

(4) उमकीको माछा ठुलो। ये माछाটা पोलाय सेटोई
बड।

The fish missed by the angler is big.

(5) कागलु बेल पकैर क्या? बेल पाकैले कागेर
कि?

It is no good to a crow when the *bael* fruit ripens.

(6) कागले काण लग्यो भन्दा काग पछि दुक्छ। कागे
कान নিয়ে গেল শুনে কাগের পিছনে দৌড়।

To run after a crow believing it has taken away the ear, i.e., to depend too much on guess.

(7) कुवाको भ्याकुता कुवेमा।

A frog in a well is always there.

(8) गुरु मारि विद्ये। गुरुमारा विद्ये।

To acquire learning by beating the preceptor.

(9) चिप्ले सुखको धमिलो घेट।

A slippery tongue with a wicked heart.

(10) जब सम्म आस, तब सम्म आस। यतक
ततक आश।

There is hope of life so long as there is breath.

(11) जसको घर मा मुसा हज्ज उसको नाउ लाखपति।

A millionaire in whose house the mice are crying (ironical).

(12) जातको बैरो जातै।

One's own caste-people are one's enemy.

(13) एक माघले जाडो जान्दैन। एक माघे जाडो
पोलाय ना।

Winter does not end with one *maagh* (the coldest month of the year).

(14) वन डरेको सवाइले देख्छ मन डरेको कसले
देख्दैन।

Every one sees when a forest is on fire but none sees when the mind is burning (with grief).

(15) वनको बाघले खावस न खावस मनको बाघले
खाइ सकछ।

The tiger in the forest may not eat one, but the tiger in the mind (imagination) does so.

(4) POPULARITY OF MAHABHARAT.

It is noteworthy that Ramayana is more widely known in Upper India than Mahabharat and over 75 per cent. of the Hindu names in Upper India bear the word Rama. But even the common facts of Mahabharat are not so widely known there. But in Bengal and Nepal Mahabharat is as widely known as Ramayan.

(5) LINGUISTIC COINCIDENCES.

The genius and drift of Bengali and Nepalese seem to be singularly similar.

We may notice the following points in this connection.—

(a) The vocal organs of the people of a country become habitually adapted to the utterance of its language. So the Bengali tongue, inspite of its marvellous capacity for distinct articulation, is not suitable for many of the Indian vernaculars—not to speak of a foreign tongue. The letters ক, চ, ট, ত, প and their aspirates খ, ছ, ঠ, থ, ফ are often confounded by the average Englishman and the opposite mistake is generally committed by most of us in pronouncing the English consonants. The vocal habit is ingrained in our very constitution—the whole muscular and nervous system. Now, the Bengali and the Nepalese can pick up each other's language with remarkable facility. The average educated Nepalese feels quite at ease in speaking Bengali and generally speaks it with great fluency. He speaks it with far more ease and grace than the average educated Bihari. On the other hand a Bengali picks up Nepalese more quickly than the average Bihari does, or more quickly than the Bengali can pick up Hindi. What I mean to suggest here is the probability of similar adjustments of the vocal organs of the Bengali and the Nepalese peoples. When I first came to the Darjeeling district the words passing between two quarrelling Nepalese women struck me as those exchanged by two quarrelling Bengali women, showing that the vocal expressions of the weaker sex of the two countries in a state of violent emotion are alike.

(b) In order to understand another linguistic similarity I would invite the attention of the reader to one feature of the *Uria* language in which the terminal অ is always sounded against the omission of this sound in Hindi. Thus, an *Uria* will not say জল or ফল, but জল-অ and ফল-অ। I very vividly remember the exclamation of an *Uria* Brahman when admiring an image of the goddess Saraswati.

“কেবল অ জীবন-অ গ্ৰাস-অ ন করিলা নতুবা ত তচ্ছ-রূপ-অ।”

So in Hindi, the words कर्म and धर्म are pronounced as कर्म and धर्म। The Nepalese and Bengali languages are accommodating enough either to keep or to drop the sound of final অকার।

9—22¼

(c) Both in colloquial Nepalese and Bengali the final अ or आ is changed into হ। E.g.,

Nepalese

রাম	রামে
হর্ষ	হর্ষে
অন্তর	অন্তরে
ধর্মাত্ত	ধর্মাত্তে
কাল	কালে
রণ (বাহাদুর)	রণে
চতুর	চতুরে

(d) The following among other words of the Nepalese language are also used (sometimes with a slight change) in Bengali.

বিয়া (marriage)	মিত্র (a friend) used in a slightly different sense in Bengali.
সাথী (companion)	
শীতল (cool)	
জল (water)	বিপত্তি (danger)
প্রীতি (love)	বন (forest)
মায়ার (affection)	মুখ (face)
মিঠো (tasteful)	আংগ (Sans. অঙ্গ = body)
আশিস (blessing)	যাত্রা { starting a singing party.
কেশ (hair)	বালক (child, in Bengali the word indicates male sex only)
শ্বেত (white)	
হরিণ (Sans. হরিং)	
কাঁড়া (thorn, Bengali কাঁটা)	

The inflection “নু” added to a verbal root is the sign of the Nepalese infinitive mood.

বিসিহ্ন (Sans. বিস্মরণ) পীরাউহ্ন (Beng. পীড়া দেওয়া)

We may account for Sanskrit words used by two Sanskritized Indian vernaculars—though it is noteworthy that most of these words do not occur in Hindi—but how are we to explain the use of words of non-Sanskritic origin in the two languages?

The following are some of such words.

Nepalese	Bengali
হাই উঠানু	হাই তোলা
লুকনু	লুকাইয়া থাকা
খোজনু	খোজা
চোপা লাগনু	চোপা (মুখ) বন্ধ করা
বাতি নিভাউনু	বাতি নিভান

ধের	ঢের
মলখু (fried Indian corn)	মলখে (fried rice in some district)
সাকো	শাকো
ঘর	ঘর
ঘর জুবই (ব = w)	ঘর জামাই
বাতাস	বাতাস
কপাল {hair lot	কপাল (lot)
গরু (bull)	গরু (cow or bull)
কাথ	কাথ
দাঙ্	দাদা
দিদি	দিদি
বা	বাবা
আম	মা
মায়া	মামা
খণ্ডরা	খণ্ডর
বিহান্ (morning)	বিহান্ (morning)
বেলুকা	বিকাল

(e) The interrogative particle কি is used in both Bengali and Nepalese.

(f) The verbal inflection ইস্ is used in both the languages.

(g) The pronouns of the two languages are also somewhat alike; e.g.,

Nepalese	Bengali
মো	আমি
তপাই	আপনি
তিনি	তুমি
তো	তুই
ভিয়ে	{ তিনি সে

(h) A Nepalese manuscript written about the 12th century A.D. has been brought from Nepal by Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri, the script of which bears a strong resemblance to the Bengali alphabet.

Mahakal Lodge,
Darjeeling.
The 24th June, 1917. } SUKHARANJAN BOSE,
Assistant Master,
Darjeeling High School.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

English Education.

M. E. Sadler contributes to the *Mysore Economic Journal* for May a thoughtful article in the course of which he reviews the two currents in public feeling about English Education.

On the one hand there is a just sense of pride in the rapid development of our secondary schools both for boys and girls, as well as of our Universities and of the institutions which give advanced instruction in science as applied to industries. The whole outlook for secondary and advanced education is brighter than it has been before. This far-reaching change has been brought about in the course of twenty years.

On the other hand, there is a feeling of disappointment with some of the results of the elementary schools. Employers complain that boys are not so accurate as boys used to be when education cost less and school-life was shorter. There is also a good deal of concern at the want of sustained interest in serious things which is shown by the great majority of young people who have recently left the elementary schools.

The debt which England owes to its elementary schools is thus set forth:

Careful observers note an increased orderliness in English crowds. There is more self-command, less roughness, a stronger feeling for public order. Again, not a week passes without record in the newspapers of some noble deed of courage or heroism, done without hope of reward but in unflinching and ready obedience to the claims of duty and human brotherhood, by some man or woman obscure in station but quick to respond in the hour of sudden need to a call which may entail injury or death. For this also the nation's gratitude is due in part to the influence of the schools and of devoted teachers working in them. Further the good sense and good temper of the Boy Scouts show what excellent material the elementary schools are turning out, and how ready are great numbers of their former pupils to throw themselves with energy and obedience into an attractive form of self-training and of corporate service. Lastly, there have gone forward from the elementary schools during the last twenty years a large and increasing number of boys and girls who have won distinction at secondary schools

and Universities and have proved themselves worthy of high positions of responsibility in different departments of the national life.

But the Britishers, who hold the reins of government in India have not yet been able to make up their mind to open the doors of elementary education to the masses of the people. Those of our countrymen who fight shy of the idea of making primary education free and compulsory in India should ponder over the foregoing extract.

But the learned writer is of opinion that a new spirit is wanted in the elementary schools of England.

They need more freedom—even freedom to make mistakes, freedom to get a more independent life. A school, if it is to do its utmost in forming character, needs to have a character, an individuality, of its own. The teachers, if trusted more and less restricted in their work by regulations, would bring greater freshness and spontaneity into the work of the schools. It is true that we should have to pay a price for this. Things would not go well everywhere; especially at first there would be some confusion and irregularity. But in the long run freedom would bring new life. To make the head teachers of elementary schools freer in the conditions of their work; to throw on them greater individual responsibility for the planning of the course of study and for the methods of school work; to give them freedom in the choosing of their assistants; to entrust to them, in short, powers like those which are enjoyed by the head-masters and head-mistresses of secondary schools would be but to take a step further on the road of liberty in school organization which we have already followed so far with, in the main, good results. With this increased freedom the work of the teacher would become more attractive, because more interesting and responsible. The status of the profession would rise along with an increasing interest among its members in the intellectual and scientific sides of the work of teaching. We should find not only that the teachers ought to be paid more but that to pay them more in return for this finer quality of service would be the most remunerative of public investments.

The Character of English Poetry.

Writing in *Arya* for June Aurobindo Ghose asserts that it may be said without serious doubt, that of all the modern European tongues the English language has produced the most rich and naturally powerful poetry, the most lavish of energy and innate genius; yet, whereas, in the shaping of European culture, the poetic mind of Greece and Rome, Italian poetry of the great age, French prose and poetry, the Spain of Calderon and the Germany of Goethe not excepting even the newly created Russian literature—all these have

contributed more or less, we find the literature of the English tongue,—leaving aside Richardson and Scott in fiction and Shakespeare and Byron in poetry,—always receiving much from the central body of European culture but returning upon it very little.

The writer proceeds to dilate upon the special features of English poetry and incidentally on other European poetry.

English poetry is powerful but it is imperfect, strong in spirit, but uncertain and tentative in form; it is extraordinarily stimulating, but not often quite satisfying. It aims high, but its success is not as great as its effort. Especially its imaginative force exceeds its thought-power; it has indeed been hardly at all a really great instrument of poetic thought-vision; it has not dealt fruitfully with life. Its history has been more that of individual poetic achievements than of a constant national tradition; in the mass it has been a series of poetical revolutions without any strong inner continuity. That is to say that it has had no great self-recognising *Mea* or view of life expressing the spiritual attitude of the nation and finding successfully from an early time its own sufficient artistic forms.

No poetry has had so powerful an influence as Greek poetry; no poetry is, I think, within its own limits so perfect and satisfying. The limits indeed are marked and even, judged by the undulating many-sidedness and wideness of the modern mind, narrow; but on its own lines this poetry works with a flawless power and sufficiency. From beginning to end it dealt with life from one large view-point, that of the inspired reason and the enlightened and chastened aesthetic sense; whatever changes overtook it, it never departed from this motive which is of the very essence of the Greek spirit. And of this motive it was very conscious, and by its clear recognition of it and fidelity to it, it was able to achieve an artistic beauty and sufficiency of expressive form which affect us like an easily accomplished miracle and which have been the admiration of after ages. Even the poetry of the Greek decadence preserved enough of the power to act as a shaping influence on Latin poetry.

French poetry is much more limited than the Greek, much less powerful in inspiration. For it deals with life from the standpoint not of the inspired reason, but of the clear-thinking intellect, not of the enlightened aesthetic sense, but of emotional sentiment. These are its two constant powers; the one gives it its brain-stuff, the other its poetical fervour and appeal. Throughout all the changes of the last century, in spite of apparent cultural revolutions, the French spirit has remained in its poetry faithful to these two motives which are of its very essence, and therefore too it has always or almost always found its satisfying and characteristic form.

The poetry of a nation is only one side of its self-expression and its characteristics may be best understood if we look at it in relation to the whole mental and dynamic effort of the people. When we come to the field of thought we get a mixed impression like that of great mountain eminences towering out of a very low and flat plain. We find great individual philosophers, but no great philosophical tradition, two or three

remarkable thinkers, but no high fame for thinking, many of the most famous names in science, but no national scientific culture. Still in these fields there has been remarkable accomplishment and the influence on European thought has been occasionally considerable and sometimes capital. But when finally we turn to the business of practical life, there is an unqualified preeminence: in mechanical science and invention, in politics, in commerce and industry; in colonisation, travel, exploration, in the domination of earth and the exploitation of its riches England has been, till late, largely, sometimes entirely the world's leader, the shaper of its motives and the creator of its forms.

This peculiar distribution of the national capacities finds its root in certain racial characteristics. We have first the dominant Anglo-Saxon strain quickened, lightened and given force, power and initiative by the Scandinavian and Celtic elements. This mixture has made a national mind remarkably dynamic and practical, with all the Teutonic strength, patience, industry, but liberated from the Teutonic heaviness and crudity, yet retaining enough not to be too light of balance or too sensitive to the shocks of life; therefore, a nation easily first in practical intelligence and practical dealing with the facts and difficulties of life. Not, be it noted, by any power of clear intellectual thought or by force of imagination or intellectual intuition, but rather by a strong vital instinct, a sort of tentative-dynamic intuition. No spirituality, but a robust ethical turn; no innate power of the word, but a strong turn for action; no fine play of emotion or quickness of sympathy, but an abundant energy and force of will. This is one element of the national mind; the other is the submerged, half-insistent Celtic, gifted with precisely the opposite qualities, inherent spirituality, the gift of the word, the rapid and brilliant imagination, the quick and luminous intelligence, the strong emotional force and sympathy, the natural love of the things of the mind and still more of those beyond the mind, left to it from an old forgotten culture in its bloom which contained an ancient mystical tradition. From the ferment of these two elements arise both the greatness and the limitations of English poetry.

Co-operation Among Factory Workers.

Vithaldas D. Thackersey writes in the *Bombay Co-operative Quarterly* for June to point out the difficulties in the way of forming and successfully managing co-operative societies among mill-hands of Bombay. Says he:

The first difficulty is the apathy displayed by those entrusted with the internal management of the mills. The manager has enormous responsibilities to discharge, and his whole time is taken up with important work. He has neither the time nor the patience to attend to the slow and tedious work of a co-operative society, and, therefore, he is indifferent about it. The persons who have got the largest amount of influence with the work-people are the jobbers in the various departments, and the jobbers invariably lend their own money at high rates of interest, generally about one anna per rupee per month to the men in their departments; and they naturally would never encourage their work-people to

join a co-operative society. Then the mill-hands have a tendency to change their place of work. This is due partly to the practice of returning to the native villages very frequently. There is, therefore, hardly any personal sympathy between the workmen and the departmental manager, which can be the outcome only of many years of mutual contact. In some cases the friends or proteges of some head-clerk or a jobber lend money to mill-hands, and they do their best to discourage the movement. The main trouble, of course, is that the men themselves are illiterate and ignorant and do not understand or appreciate the benefits of co-operation, and are, therefore, easily led away by others who have got their own axes to grind.

Regarding the heavy indebtedness of the mill-hands though they are among the best paid laborers in the city, the total income of many families ranging from Rs. 35 to Rs. 45, Mr. Thackersey observes:

The first cause is the irregularity the average workman shows at his work. There is then the worker's love of his home in the Konkan villages where he invariably owns a piece of land and where the elders of his family stay. In order to pay taxes on his holding, which does not in all cases have a sufficient margin for the assessment, and to maintain the other members of his family, he regularly sends a portion of his earnings, and once in two years he takes a long holiday from his work. Even while in Bombay he hardly works twenty days in the month, and the increase of salary in recent years instead of raising his standard of living has only made him more irregular in his work. Another prominent cause of his indebtedness is the habit of spending money on drink, for which ample facilities always exist near the place of work, so that as soon as the workman leaves the factory after a full day's work it is difficult for him to resist the temptation of the grog-shops which are to be seen here, there, and everywhere. The workman has also to incur heavy debts for meeting the expenses of marriages and other quasi-religious ceremonies in the family. Finally, as the money-lenders in Bombay to whom he is indebted are also grain-dealers, these dealers take full advantage of their client's weakness and obtain the utmost possible profit in fixing the prices of articles of daily consumption supplied to him in anticipation of the receipt of his wages.

The writer is of opinion that with a proper organisation it is possible to do a great deal and makes the following concrete proposals for consideration:

Such of the mill-owners as would like to assist their employees should combine and agree to help them to the best of their ability. A central organisation should be established for the purpose of organising and thereafter supervising the co-operative societies in different mills. The organisation should consist of a full-time paid agency with a large staff trained in propagandist work and in the routine administration of the co-operative societies; and the duty of the workers of this organisation would be to visit the mills, explain the objects of the movement and with the help of the managers try to form societies in the different departments or in convenient

groups. They should select intelligent leaders, who may have influence with the working people as members of the managing committees, attend the meetings of the managing committees, guide them in the matter of sanctioning loans, assist in keeping accounts, and otherwise train the members to manage their own affairs in the near future. Other social work may also be undertaken. On Sundays and holidays the organisers may arrange for meetings, or sports, or *Kirtans*. With the support of the

residents of the locality in which they carry on work and other influential persons the organisers might approach Government to remove the sources of temptation which at present exist under the policy of providing grog-shops near the homes of the mill hands. They should assist in providing tea or coffee-shops at convenient centres in open compound. To these places of recreation the work-people may possibly be attracted if proper efforts are made.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Democracy and Leadership.

In the course of a short but thoughtful article contributed to the *New Witness* Cecil Chesterton examines the hypothesis that "the modern world has so interpreted democracy as to make its ideal a dead-level of mere *similarity* wherein genius and especially the genius for leadership finds no scope." Says he:

If our poverty in great leadership was due to democracy or even to a misunderstanding of democracy, we should expect to find it appearing only where democracy exists or where, at least, a profession of democracy is made. Yet, it shows itself most markedly not only in England, where an oligarchy rules under the thinnest of democratic pretenses, but in Germany, where even the pretense is abandoned and democracy even as an ideal is despised.

Considering all that was involved in the Mediaeval conception of a King—the Sacramental Man who summed up a nation—the writer observes:

That they were all born men of genius is quite incredible. Genius is an accident. It cannot be bred on stud-farm principles, though no doubt plenty of exponents of "Modern Thought" would be ready enough to make the attempt. These Kings were just ordinary men picked out at random, but they were expected to betome something more than men, something enormous and almost supernatural, true representatives, incarnations of the national will. The extent to which so amazing a demand was met is a proof of how much it is in ordinary men to be when extraordinary things are asked of them. In a word, it is a proof of the democratic thesis.

Mediaeval Monarchy has everywhere disappeared from Europe. The crowned officials who appear as figure-heads for the English plutocracy or the Prussian bureaucracy have no claim of such representative character as belonged to the anointed ruler of the thirteenth century. France, removing the Crown, has created a similar official figure-head called "President," and has carefully kept the appointment a

gratuity at the disposal of the professional Parliamentarians. Only in one place, and that a place where even the memory of the Middle Ages had never been, do we find something like the Mediaeval idea of a personal ruler incarnating a nation. We find it in the great Elective Monarchy founded by Andrew Jackson. And there, we find the Mediaeval miracle repeated, the ordinary man becoming extraordinary because it is demanded of him that he shall be not a man but a Nation.

If the popular will be indeed the real inspiration of leadership, why has it so largely failed the modern world? It is because "Modernism" ends logically and ultimately in Materialism; and Materialism is the denial of will.

Paying Calls in August.

The following satire translated by Arthur Waley from the Chinese of Ch'eng Hsiao (3rd cent. A.D.) appears in the *New Statesman*.

When I was young, throughout the hot season
There were no carriages driving about the roads.
People shut their doors and lay down in the cool:
Or if they went out, it was not to pay calls.
Nowadays—ill-bred, ignorant fellows,
When they feel the heat, make for a friend's house.
The unfortunate host, when he hears someone
coming,
Scowls and frowns, but can think of no escape.
"There's nothing for it but to rise and go to
the door,"
And in his comfortable chair he groans and sighs.
The conversation does not end quickly:
Prattling and babbling, what a lot he says!
Only when one is almost dead with fatigue
He asks at last "if one isn't finding him tiring."
(One's arm is almost in half with continual
fanning:
The sweat is pouring down one's neck in streams)
Do not say that this is a small matter:
I consider the practice a blot on our social life.
I therefore caution all wise men
That August visitors should not be admitted.

Chinese Art.

A very interesting article contributed to the *Asiatic Review* by Gerald Willoughby-Meade gives us a good deal of information about Chinese art. We read :

What are the Chinese laws of design, and how do the Chinese obey them? In the works of Hsieh Ho, as translated by Professor Herbert Giles, they are thus expressed :

1. Rhythmic vitality.
2. Anatomical structure.
3. Conformity with Nature.
4. Suitability of colouring.
5. Artistic composition.
6. Finish.

To make these more generally intelligible, Mr. Laurence Binyon has paraphrased them as below :

1. The spiritual rhythm expressed in the movement of life.
2. The art of rendering the bones or anatomical structure by means of the brush.
3. The drawing of forms which answer to natural forms.
4. Appropriate distribution of the colours.
5. Composition and subordination, or grouping according to the hierarchy of things.
6. The transmission of classic models.

A grotesque effect is much heightened by a superb colour contrast, and fine tinting will often redeem a design, in our eyes, from ugliness, and make it merely quaint.

Correct composition is evidently thought much of by the Chinese also. Their way of arranging the component parts of a design is sufficiently well marked to catch the most untrained eye. We can see that it is intentional, even when we disagree with it ; it may appear perverse, but it is clearly not due to clumsiness or carelessness.

In Chinese art "rhythmic vitality" will be found to be the supreme and universal criterion : the others are subsidiary, and may sometimes be disregarded.

A design, whatever its subject, must show a justness, an equilibrium, a balance of forces, as in a living thing. Our monster or demon, our fungus or rock, must embody an equation of oddities a congruity of form, of position, and of symbolic meaning, sufficient to endow it with personality, even possibility ; the artist's idea is thus made clear and communicated to the spectator. By this means the weird and the impossible are animated by an uncanny life of their own ; they are made to give—apart from skilful composition—the impression that they are the offspring of a living mental image.

Much Chinese work is, and should be, to us, "grotesque."

As examples let me mention the following :

We have the *K'uei*, a conventional dragon-form found on the bronzes of the Chou Period, this creature being supposed to exercise a restraining influence against the sin of greed.

Then there is the *t'ao t'ieh*, translated by Dr. Legge as "glutton," standing for an embodiment of, and warning against, the vices of sensuality and avarice.

A kind of primitive dragon without horns or scales, the *ch'ih lung*, is still frequently reproduced.

The *t'an* designated by the character for "avarice," is painted on the screen-wall in front of *Yamen*, no doubt as a warning to officials.

The phoenix called *feng* or *chu niao*, a modified pheasant, associated with warm sunshine, and abundant harvests.

The unicorn, *chi-lin*, a quadruped difficult to connect with any known animal. It was believed to appear on excessively rare and very auspicious occasions, and to show absolute benevolence to all living things.

The white tiger, who presided over the western quarter of the heavens ; the tortoise entwined with a snake, the northern emblem ; the three-legged crow, imagined to dwell in the sun ; the poodle-like lion, a semi-Buddhist animal, guardian of the law and of sacred edifices ; the dragon-horse, and more especially the many varieties of true dragon, must be cited.

How deeply and widely the dragon tradition has influenced Chinese life is shown even in landscape-gardening. The zigzag bridge is supposed to typify the dragon ; trees and shrubs are trimmed into the shape of dragons ; ponds are laid out in reptilian shapes ; the trunks of dwarfed and warped trees are likened to dragons. Other grotesque effects, in door and wall, are largely animistic ; evil spirits are said to be baffled by unexpected screens and devious paths ; they are exorcised by suddenly coming upon the pious but threatening effigies of guardian genii.

Grotesqueness, here, is more than an artistic fashion : it is almost a prayer.

The love of the marvellous, being universal, will be found among the Chinese to the same extent, at least, as elsewhere. In fact, one might expect it to be more pronounced. Beneath the grave, impassive demeanour inculcated by good manners, the Chinese undoubtedly conceals a very intense nature, a capacity for the most violent emotion, and an imagination teeming with the weirdest fancies. His language is rich in superlatives and in words expressive of emotion ; and if art is, after all, self-expression, must one not expect to find that a man possessed of a highly emphatic tongue will be inclined to overstate his impression when his brush is in his hand ?

The Taoists have been, in certain ways, the architects of Chinese "grotesque" art.

As quietists and contemplatives, their influence showed itself in the ascetic sobriety of colour notable in the work of the great Sung masters. They believed that their sages, by retiring to the wilds and living on weird and unnatural food, could attain a certain physical immortality, like the gnarled trees and jagged peaks with which they foregathered. Hence they are portrayed as wrinkled and seamed like oakbark, and datelessly old, placidly gazing at the cloud or the waterfall, considering the grace of the flying stork, or the shimmering of the moon upon a mountain lake. The lonely traveller is said to have come upon them suddenly, in the fastnesses of the hills, rooted like ancient trees, or looming, ghostly, through the mists.

Buddhism completely overshadowed, if it did not displace—at any rate in the heyday of its glory—the "grotesque" element altogether.

The effect of Buddhism, on Chinese Art was twofold. In the beginning we find serene and dignified statues and lonesome landscapes, devoid altogether of anything grotesque ; later with the action and

reaction between Buddhism and the older beliefs, the goblin-humour of the Chinese artist reasserted itself, finding a wider and richer field of fancy than before.

Most Chinese artists have as much opportunity as the Greeks had of studying the nude. The spare but well-knit coolie is in evidence everywhere, scantily clad, and getting the very most out of his muscles in the exercise of his daily toil. But if he ever was studied, as a problem, there is little evidence of it. The peasant, in a European picture, is always handsomer and better proportioned than the real toiler could possibly be; the Chinese boatman or tracker, on the other hand, is often a striking figure, climbing cliffs like a cat, or steering—tense with vigilance and muscular strain—through a dangerous rapid. But where do we find his picture?

The commonest theory is that Chinese artists find the human form too symmetrical to be interesting.

Another theory would attribute to Buddhist influence the treatment of the human form as being neither more nor less important than any other phase or semblance of being.

With a choice of subjects ranging from gods and demons to stones and grasses, we also find that the human form, as a subject of art, was deliberately classed below landscape in the writings of Chinese critics of rank.

A human form, therefore, when used for the purpose of expressing an idea, was compelled to assume a shape or attitude associated by long usage with that idea, and the result, in our eyes, is "grotesque."

Whatever may be the true explanation of this belittling of the human and glorification of the non-human element in Chinese art, there is reason to think that, like other sources of the grotesque, it is a racial peculiarity.

Certain of the greatest Chinese artists, have not left a single picture of a human being; the work of others is represented only by quaint and whimsical studies of aged men or monsters.

The idea that such men could not have drawn or carved fine human forms is, of course, preposterous. The early Buddhist religious works are proofs of their power. The birds, fishes, and flowers of the best schools are as real as they are dignified; the men who drew them could have drawn anything they had a mind to.

Even in the relics of Han art left to us we have truly naturalistic horses and birds; but the human figures are often deliberately distorted, though whether for mythological or merely decorative reasons is not quite clear to the writer.

In two words, Western art lends itself to the "literal" and Far Eastern art to the "literary"; and if the thing drawn by the Chinese artist does not express his idea without alteration, he simply alters it until it does. Thus, for good or ill, his treatment tends, of necessity, towards the "grotesque" in many instances.

Daring and correct, however, as the great Chinese art-workers have been in the use of colour, powerful as they have been in composition, the one outstanding feature of all their work has been this—facility in the treatment of line. Freedom, even license, in the use of line may not always please the eye, especially of a European; but it is not the failing of a tyro: it is the whim of a master. To say the least of it, no man

who does not know his tools well will dare to juggle with them.

The grotesque, then, holds a considerable place in Chinese art. For the reasons given, I submit that it holds that place rightly; it expresses a national peculiarity; it meets a national need; it shows itself as the outcome of a national gift. It evidences skill, perseverance, and humour; it evidences a cheerful recognition of the shadows of life, as well as of its high lights; it provides a foil to the drab poverty and cast-iron etiquette of everyday existence; it preserves from oblivion numberless traditions valuable to the student and the historian.

Morality and Convention.

Writing in the *Hibbert Journal* H. L. Stewart offers a defence of what is known by the term "convention." Says he:

Those who speak with scorn of conventional morality seem to have before their minds a sort of unnatural perversion, a system which did not grow but was rather manufactured, a code either imposed by senseless authority from without or invented with more or less sinister purpose from within. They think of it as, at the best, unreflective prejudice; at the worst, a deliberate pretense under which one part of society makes pariahs of another part. The blame for this imposture is placed upon some order which the critic specially dislikes—the clergy, the aristocrats, the capitalists. Just now an intellectual circle of unique refinement specializes in derision of the middle class, to whose moral notions the epithet "smug" is applied with great success.

Nine-tenths of the theoretical attacks upon Convention turn upon an ambiguity in the word. They are attacks upon a phantasm, and if imposture has been at work at all it has appeared mainly in the skill with which our critics first falsify the pedigree of common morals and then hold up the poor progeny to contempt. "Convention" means agreement, and hence ought to imply freedom of choice. It even suggests an element of caprice; for the more capricious a choice has been, the more appropriate do we regard the epithet "conventional" as applied to the arrangement which has been its outcome. Thus we speak of the conventional procedure of law, but not of the conventional processes of digestion, for the latter are imposed by necessity, while the former—though they are at least believed to have a basis in reason—might within very wide limits have been varied by human preference. Most fitting of all is the use of the word when we have before us such a scheme as the alphabet or a scientific nomenclature; for although even these are not wholly arbitrary, they come as close as we can get to a sheer creation of will, a product whose value consists in its general acceptance, and which, if it had been otherwise constructed, would have been equally serviceable provided it were adopted with equal unanimity.

"Most of our ideas about right and wrong are conventional," say the novelists. On the contrary, it is very hard indeed to find any of those ideas to which we can accurately apply such an epithet. They are for the most part the workings of unconscious reason. The modern Communist, I suppose, will stigmatize as

conventional most of our received notions about property. But, he will have to confess that from the beginning of time every man has been granted a right to the exclusive possession of some things, and that, while no primitive conference of the species settled which these were to be, their progressive assignment and delimitation have followed lines which may have been wrong but which at least were not arbitrary. They were laid down under the pressure of social needs and feelings. I for one am ready to admit that they were often laid down amiss, and that many of them are amiss still. But the fault did not lie in subservience to "Convention" and in omitting to appeal to "Nature." For in the same sense in which Nature authenticates, let us say, the right to life, she authenticates that order by which life in society may expand. Few will claim that each person as such has an indefeasible right to live. The hangman, although we may call him, in the abusive sense, a conventional institution, is in a truer sense a genuinely natural one. He is an official who, not through wanton cruelty, still less from stupid caprice, but for purposes that are deemed socially urgent, has been appointed and is maintained. Whether we should keep him depends on what we think of these purposes, and of his effectiveness for carrying them out. The gradually formed sentiment on such things which, we are told, it is essential to shake, is thus no mere adhesion to prejudice. It is crystallized experience. If it could be so shaken as to have its whole basis destroyed—and unfortunately it cannot,—the new structure would be built upon the same sort of principles, for mankind has no other.

But the writer does not deny the educative value of dramas and imaginative literature in general which "seek to establish a sort of moral equality," as will be apparent from the following lines:

The successful drama at present is one that presents human character as much more uniform than our ancestors supposed. It seeks to establish a sort of moral equality even if it must level down rather than levelling up, and the democratic sentiment is at once conciliated. We like to feel that if the secrets of all hearts were disclosed, accuser, accused, judge and jurymen would not be so very different; that, in short, as the old lines have it,

There is so much good in the worst of us,

And so much bad in the best of us,

That it ill becomes any one of us

To look down on the rest of us.

Now, I am far from minimizing the educative value which belongs to these artistic presentations when they are skilfully and earnestly executed. Much genuine concern is abroad about social injustices and how to remedy them. And the authors of imaginative literature especially since *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, have held a sort of prescriptive right to operate thus upon the conscience of the public. It is probable that in no other way could the poignancy of a situation be brought home with such general effectiveness.

Uses of Wood-Pulp and Paper.

With the progress of time wood-pulp and paper are being requisitioned in an ever-increasing degree to manufacture

many of the necessities of civilisation. The *Canadian Forestry Journal* makes mention of a host of such articles. We read:

Paper is largely used by anatomical mechanists to make artificial limbs; by telescope makers, by boot and shoe makers, by cap manufacturers, for the foundation of caps and hats, forming all the peaks and many of the tops which look like leather; by China and porcelain manufacturers; by doll makers and by ship builders; and again, in making optical instruments, in pictures and looking-glasses, in portmanteaus, in Sheffield goods and tea pots. One manufacturer has made panels for doors from paper, and, he looks forward to making carriages of paper when the duty shall have been taken off. Paper pipes are actually made prepared with bitumen and capable of standing pressure of 300 pounds of water to the inch. Pulp and paper have furnished a rich field for exploitation, and in altogether new spheres of usefulness have arrived at a stage which may be said to guarantee their permanent serviceability. Now-a-days, the public are familiar with artificial silk, coarse cloth, and fabrics closely resembling mercerised cotton produced from wood-pulp fibres, and it is stating nothing new to say that ties and waist coats are being made from pulp and paper. As a matter of fact, both paper and pulp can now be formed into solid substances capable of competing with wood or iron in point of durability and elasticity; and for some years past, treated by special methods, they have been converted into such articles as paper bottles, figures, ornaments, furniture, etc. Water-proof coverings for walls and ceilings, parchment slates, flanges and manhole rings, paper wheels, roofing and boats, paper barrels, gas pipes, boxes and horse shoes are also no longer novelties. Probably one of the most valuable by-products of the manufacture of sulphite pulp is that of spirit from the waste, and particularly in Sweden, the distillation of alcohol from cellulose, bids fair to become an industry of considerable importance.

In the United States a heavy paper board for use in building operations is also made from waste sugar-cane and corn stalks. In a small mill at Koyasa, Kanagawa (Japan), water-proof paper is now manufactured for shirt-making.

Paper string and twine has within recent years come to be recognised as a valuable substitute for the ordinary variety. Paper string is now being made of such stoutness that it is suitable for tying up parcels of quite a fair size, and its manufacture is now being carried out in this country. Twine has been produced from paper in Germany for some years; the cord is spun from strips of brown or white creped thin cellulose paper and the few mills making it are said to be unable to meet the demand.

Making artificial flowers from paper is not a new idea but it is probably not so well known that they are now being made of paper rendered non-inflammable by the moderate use of asbestos. The Japanese sunshade is, of course, quite a familiar object, but the collapsible and storm-proof paper umbrella, devised for use in emergencies by an ingenious American, has not yet obtained wide favour.

Twisted or hardened paper is also being extensively employed at Sheboygan, United States of America, in the manufacture of paper furniture, and bags and trunks of compressed paper are perhaps

somewhat better known than the paper jackets for sausages, which have been introduced on the other side of the Atlantic. Vulcanised fibre, which is simply paper treated with zinc chloride, is also being extensively used in the manufacture of tool handles, bobbins, tubes, etc., and paper binder twine, paper window shades, paper matting and paper floor coverings, the latter generally made with an admixture of cotton, are now widely used. Paper insulators are, of course, in comparatively common use, but it must be admitted that a paper chimney, of which we have heard, is something of a novelty. Paper cart-wheels and paper boats are, however, no longer curiosities, though it is stated that the paper boat is, indeed, a very substantial and serviceable craft.

It is now well known that Germany is using chemical pulp in place of cotton as a basis for the production of high explosives and a German military

surgeon goes so far as to say that not only cellulose wadding, but mechanical wood-pulp, wood flour, wood wool and wood felt have done good service as substitutes for cotton in making dressings, while another authority states that for wound secretions, filter and blotting paper serves the purpose admirably. Cellulose wadding is used in dozens of forms as a substitute for cotton, and its employment is stated to be even more advantageous when loosely woven cotton wicks are substituted for closely woven wicks, particularly in spirit and petroleum lamps. There have also been stories of paper boots and paper socks worn by soldiers of the European battle-fields and it is reported that paper beds, with paper sheets and pillow cases, are now being used in Germany by the poor, the mattresses being made of strong sheets of paper pasted together and filled with dry leaves of beech and oak trees.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Rector's Convocation Speech— A Rejoinder.

I am glad that my short article under the above heading in the April number of the *Modern Review* has led to some fruitful discussion on the comparative merits of the Indian and European systems of philosophy in the July number just to hand. Let me state at the outset that in suggesting that the study of Indian philosophy should be deferred till the understanding of the Indian student is matured and his critical faculty developed by the study of western philosophy, it was not my intention to assert dogmatically that to follow the opposite course advocated by his Excellency the Rector would be sure to prove mischievous; all that I said was that the change might quite possibly be a change for the worse, and I proceeded to give some reasons for my apprehension. Only by introducing a course of Indian philosophy in the undergraduate classes, and watching the actual result for a series of years, can the truth or otherwise of my position be tested, and I quite see the force of the arguments advanced by Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee in favour of the early introduction of Indian philosophy in the curriculum of our colleges. In the last lines of Part I of his paper, however, Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee gives his whole case away when he says that the students whom he would teach Indian philosophy should already have had some training in the western system and some knowledge of western science. That is exactly what I plead for.

Part II of Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee's paper is specially devoted to my article. The orthodox pundit may adhere to a particular system of philosophy and think the other systems to be defective, but I was not thinking of the exceptional, and of the learned few, but of the average Hindu. If, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee admits, such Hindus recognise the direct working of the Divine Spirit in their philosophers, it seems that I was not far wrong when I said that we approach the study of philoso-

phical questions not with an open mind, but with a reverential awe which effectually stifles all freedom of thought. Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee compares the Hindu attitude with the Christian regard for the Bible as divinely inspired. This is precisely what I meant when I said that we look upon Kapila and the other sages as canonised semi-divine saints. No one would be so foolish as to object to the Christian reading his Bible, as none would think of protesting against the Hindu reading the Vedas. But what I object to, and what western philosophers would object to, is to take up the study of philosophical questions in the uncritical spirit in which one studies his sacred scriptures. And one might also object to any books, believed to be revealed or semi-revealed, being prescribed for compulsory study by any section of students. My complaint was that 'philosophy which is the finest flower of universal human reason is too closely connected with religion in India to deserve the name in the full sense.' An Old Alumnus, criticising my article, says in the same issue of this magazine that "if human reason plays a dominant part in any department of human activities, it is in the domain of philosophy." I should substitute 'ought to play' for 'plays' in the above extract, and thus read, it is my own view, and I hold that in so far as Hindu philosophy leans on religion, which lives by faith and is guided by authority, it fails in its proper function *qua* philosophy, for to that extent it fails to afford adequate scope for the play of human reason. The same writer says that "for breadth, range and variety of thoughts embracing in its sweep the rankest materialism of Charvaka on the one side and the absolute idealism of Sankara on the other, no other single country's intellectual output, ancient or modern, can compare with that of India." I admitted in my article that 'no other philosophical system is so habitually free from conventional limitations on discussion as to the origin of the universe and its Creator. Pantheism, Monism, Dualism, Atheism—all rival theories have fair field and no favour.' The little that I know of both the

indigenous and the Occidental systems of philosophy would not however permit me to endorse the unrestrained eulogy of An Old Alumnus. In the Indian systems, though the existence of God is freely disputed, the revelation of the Veda is always taken for granted, and the opprobrious epithet of *Nastik* is reserved not for the atheist or agnostic, but for the man who does not believe in the self-revelation and the infallibility of the Veda. There is an evident attempt, in some schools of philosophy, to pander to popular prejudice in thus placing the Veda above criticism. Moreover, the mythology of the Hindus, with all its absurdities, is cited and alluded to and drawn upon for illustrations, often without a word of adverse comment, in the philosophies; the multitudinous gods and goddesses, the unmeaning ritual and ceremonial practices, are taken at the valuation which is given to them by popular religion without any attempt at open dissent, though the logical outcome of the philosophical discussions may be antagonistic to a belief in them. The whole philosophy of the *Purva-Mimansa* proceeds on the assumption that salvation lies in the Vedic sacrifices which are all but extinct now and for which no rational justification can be found. The European philosopher writes with a rich background of thoughts, feelings, ideas, brilliant, artistic, edifying, revealing a cultured imagination and a critical insight which constitute the essence of true education. Wise maxims, profound reflections, balanced judgments, eloquent dissertations on topics of general human interest, are interspersed in his writings. Sometimes there is even a wealth of local colouring, a poetic transfiguration of dry details. He not only deals with problems specially appertaining to his subject, but makes frequent excursions into adjacent realms and evokes our emotional sympathy with all the nobler aspects of human life and endeavour, as well as of art and nature, and in discussing cognate questions of other sciences, shows a breadth of knowledge which is alien to our philosophers. He plays, in short, upon all the subtler influences which mould life and form character, and dwells habitually in an atmosphere which is at once elevated and practical, i.e., not too detached from the realities of life. In all these ways he presents 'a breadth, range and variety of thoughts' which go to the making of a truly liberal culture. Hindu philosophy is not so many-sided, nor, apart from its specific problems in which it shows an intellectual depth and keenness of vision not certainly excelled in the West, is it so well able to draw out the best, from the point of view of civic culture and social morality, in the average man who has no intention to retire to the hills to meditate on his release. Absence of originality among our students of philosophy is not, as An Old Alumnus seems to think, due to the fact that they do not study in the *Tols*. The best orthodox products lack the varied outlook, the general culture and the historic sense which a study of western literature alone can give, and without such liberal culture original thinking is next to impossible—only commentaries are possible. It is because Vivekananda and Rabindranath have both been saturated with such modern culture, that they could throw new light on Hindu civilisation and culture, and make the world listen to them. Both of them have extolled the spirituality of India, but both have denounced the superstitions, torpor and the ritual-mongering which pass for spirituality in our midst. Vivekananda was a born fighter, and scoffed at nothing so much as at our popular religion of the kitchen, as he called it. Rabindranath has, in his

Achalayatan and numerous other pieces, exposed, in his own masterly way, our slavery to custom and intellectual stagnation. As for the *Navya Nyaya* system of Navadvip, extolled by An Old Alumnus and also by his Excellency the Rector, I have not been able to learn anything systematic of it for want of a suitable text book, but the little that I have read does not inspire me with the hope that it will emancipate the Bengali mind from its thralldom to dead forms and formulas—rather the contrary. I shall however be glad to know more on the subject, if An Old Alumnus or any other writer will kindly take upon himself the task of elucidating its main principles and expounding the services it has rendered to the cause of philosophy, in the pages of this Review.

I claim to have made a first-hand study, from the rationalistic standpoint, of almost all the Puranas, and I adhere most emphatically to my statement that there is everywhere in them a total confusion of what is ethically good and ethically bad. It would of course be absurd to say, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee construes me as saying, that there is not one instance in the entire Pauranic literature where what is represented as good is really good. I never said so, and 'everywhere in the Puranas' cannot, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee knows, mean 'invariably and without a single exception.' On the contrary, there are many beautiful stories, legends, and moral precepts in the Puranas, but considering their bulk and volume, these are far too few, and are altogether swept away by the mass of hocus-pocus and positive obscenity to be found in them. What is more significant than this, the total obliteration of moral values does not seem to strike the Pauranic writer as singular, or evoke his condemnation. He is just as much at home in enunciating a high philosophical doctrine as in, perhaps in the very next passage, making the most filthy observation on the female sex, or in describing the illicit amours of some god or hero. If the latter are to be treated as interpolations, then the Puranas would have to be transformed beyond recognition. Now, what is the reason of this indifference to moral values? And what is the reason why, in spite of the different schools of philosophy freely criticising one another, all the sages are in some vague sort of way conceived by the popular imagination to this day as being equally infallible, and as having an equally profound grasp of the truth? The reason I attribute to the pantheistic tradition which is the very atmosphere we breathe. The conception of the 'unifying' idealism of Asia, of which An Old Alumnus speaks, and which first dawned on the poetic vision of that great Japanese mystic Okakura, who dreamt nobly of 'a single ancient Asiatic peace' which his countrymen are only too anxious to disavow, often means nothing better than the inability to see any distinction between the antinomies of life, between good and evil, theism and polytheism, between a life of action and a life of passive subjection, between reason and science on the one hand, and the practice of superstitious cults and adherence to unmeaning beliefs and customs on the other. This transition from one pole to the other, this bridging over the gulf which separates the two extremes, is effected by the convenient doctrine of *Adhikari-Bheda*, and the *Geeta* is called in to reconcile the different paths of faith, knowledge, and work. It is because at bottom we believe that all is one, that both good and bad proceed from the same source, that every form of belief and practice, however grotesque, is suited to some stage of the soul's growth, that we tolerate every nuisance and are

proud of our tolerance. This tolerance of Hinduism is according to well-known foreign writers, indistinguishable from indifference to truth, and makes our religion, according to other competent observers, a mass of contradictions. Our philosophers boldly challenge the existence of God, but lend the weight of their authority to current social prejudices, and visit deviations from the prescribed ritual with dire punishments. Control of passions is strongly advocated, but the breach of it among the sages, heroes and gods does not elicit any moral disapprobation. The 'unifying idealism' of Hinduism is maintained by its all-embracing universalism, which permits it to be at once subtle and gross, spiritual and sensual; it is accommodating and elastic, so that the boldest philosophical speculation goes hand in hand with polytheism of the crudest variety. Ceremonial purity, as enjoined by our Samhitas, is not personal cleanliness only, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee thinks. We can see instances of such purity among the priestly class and widows; much of it is as unmeaning as the instinctive habits of the lower animals which were at one time useful but have in the course of evolution survived their utility, and some of it is positively injurious to health. The disregard of moral values and the tolerance of serious lapses from the standard of rectitude which may always be noticed in rural society, may legitimately be ascribed to the fundamental pantheistic conception, rooted in the mind, though not consciously thought out, that everything is, in the ultimate analysis, the sport of the Divine Mother, and so there is a justification for every shade of conduct. The non-moral character of much of our scriptural teaching has often been admired by Nietzsche and his school, as every reader of Nietzsche, Leo G. Sera, J. M. Kennedy and others, will admit. The ethical code of Gautama Buddha, and 'the superimposed moral precepts of the Christian cult' which An Old Alumnus seems to disapprove, do not find favour with the advocates of the cult of the Superman and the Will to Power; they prefer the all-embracing pantheism of Hindu philosophy which unifies all contradictions by finding a place for mutually antagonistic principles of conduct in its scheme of morals.

The distinction between striving for one's own salvation and that of his fellowmen, so far from being immaterial, as Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee thinks, is fundamental of the two types of civilisation, Indian and European. When God wanted to give Prahlada his deliverance from the wheel of life, he replied: 'The sages, O Lord, lead a life of retirement, away from human habitations, actuated mostly by a desire for their own salvation, without thinking of the welfare of others. I, however, do not seek my own liberation, leaving other poor mortals to their fate; (Srimadbhagabata, Skanda 7, Chapter 9). On the other hand, Positivism and humanity are, according to G. L. Dickinson, 'the dominant forms of thought and feeling in the West.'

I maintain that the teaching of our philosophy is *not* virile and practical for the very reasons cited by An Old Alumnus to prove that it is so. As I have already said, it reduces all practical antagonisms into an all-embracing, and therefore ideal and fanciful, unity, and by making us tolerant of evil robs us of the energy and the incentive to combat it in the battlefields of life. The 'all-comprehensive' character of our philosophic culture, again, instead of issuing in right conduct, which is the true test of a practical teaching, makes it possible for the highest products of the university

that I see before me to talk of the inexorable law of Karma and at the same time worship Saturn, Satya Pir, or the Snake god in the firm belief that they will preserve their families from harm. Even a foreign observer like Sidney Low did not fail to observe that 'the educated Hindu sometimes reconciles the Higher Thought with the Lower Act in a startling fashion.' Undoubtedly Hindu philosophy has a most elevating effect on noble minds who can rightly understand its principles, as I freely admitted in my last article. An Old Alumnus cites the authority of Vivekananda to prove that Hindu philosophy is virile and practical. The apostle of neo-Hinduism was a nationalist to the core. He wanted Hindus to be 'heroes in the strife,' to make the world ring with their achievements, to have confidence in themselves and in the uplifting power of their religion. Therefore he tried to show that Hindu religious philosophy does not necessarily tend to make men visionaries, and weak in action. It was a much-needed lesson that Vivekananda taught his countrymen. He took Hinduism at its very best, and illuminated its doctrines from the vast storehouse of his knowledge and experience, and infused in the minds of his audience (most of his writings are reduced from his speeches) the contagious enthusiasm of his magnetic personality. It is because Vivekananda knew well enough wherein lay the weakness of Hinduism as popularly interpreted and understood that he was at such pains to remove it, and this is what his admirers are apt to forget, remembering only the flattering eulogies which from patriotic motives, and to save the mind of the Hindu from sinking under the weight of its philosophic depression, he freely introduced in his lectures. It is admitted on all hands, both by foreigners and Indians who boast of the spirituality of India, that the spirit of Indian philosophy has deeply permeated the masses. Had the teaching of our religious philosophy been virile and practical, why should we be reduced to this sad plight today? Contrasting Buddhism and Hinduism, Sir T. W. Holderness in his little but informing book says that Buddhism has in the main marked the character of the people that have come under its influence for good, and declares that 'the Indian caste system and the degraded position consigned in Hinduism to women.....are impossible in a Buddhist country.' 'Those who believe Karma,' truly says Sir John Woodroffe, 'must know that the present conditions are due to the collective Indian Karma and not to the ruling Power or anything else. For had that Karma been good, our Power would not have been here' (*Sakti and Shakta*). According to the same authority, few can be, and few should attempt to be Yogis; the path of Bhukti-Mukti (enjoyment-liberation) is the best path for by far the vast majority, and the Tantric doctrine of Shakti, which holds that man is a magazine of power, and not the doctrines of the orthodox philosophical systems, is needed to revivify us and 'give to the ignorant and to others whose activity is ill-directed the religious and metaphysical basis of which they now stand in need.' Karma takes away the incentive to action by being popularly understood to mean that in this life you will have to suffer the consequences of the deeds done in your past lives, but that by laying in a store of good acts you may ensure better consequences in future lives, though you may not be able to modify the present thereby. That is to say, however much you may strive, you cannot enjoy the fruits of your good acts here and now, but such enjoyment must

be deferred to future existences. This, I know, is a spurious doctrine, and the Shastras may be made to tell a different story, but this is the popular belief, and it has undoubtedly the effect I have indicated. It is in vain that the Bhagabata (Skanda 3, chap. 30) says that heaven and hell are to be found on this earth and have no separate existence, or the Markandeya Purana (Ch. 23) lays down that fatalism works in a vicious circle, for it inclines one to inaction, and this very inactivity prevents him from achieving the success which he could otherwise have attained. The Garuda Purana (Part I, ch. iii) emphatically declares that he who has enterprise, intelligence, courage and energy is feared even by the gods and hence man should always try to achieve success in spite of Destiny. But fatalism has so deeply tinged the Hindu mind that it has left its mark even on the physiognomy and the movements of the people, and one of the first impressions 'which soon possesses the traveller in India is that of the melancholy which hangs over both the land and its people' (Sir Frederick Treves). Alluding to the appalling wastage of human life in India from infant mortality and preventable diseases, Sir T. W. Holderness says that "the resigned pessimism and quiet melancholy which characterise the religious and the mental outlook of the people, and which seem to brood over the landscape and infect the atmosphere, are not without a physical basis." Undoubtedly we have cause for depression in the high death-rate which prevails in India, but one would be bold to say that our philosophies, by emphasising the miseries of life, have not helped to drive the iron into the soul, and it is a permissible question to ask whether it is desirable to introduce such pessimistic teachings into the plastic minds of our young men in the formative stage of their growth, naturally characterised by buoyancy and hope. For, these fatalistic and pessimistic ideas are so deeply rooted in the popular religious philosophy of the Hindus that they are difficult to eradicate from the minds even of those who pass for educated among us.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee's criticism is quite fair and moderate in tone, except for one line where he compares my denunciation of Pouranic morals as 'almost like the peroration of the speech of a rabid Christian missionary.' I have myself fought many a good fight with the missionaries in the columns of our monthly magazines, and have therefore the right to put in a word for this much-abused class. There are of course missionaries and missionaries, and Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, if he has kept in touch with them, will have found a marked change in the tone and quality of their writings within the last decade or so. Missionaries are no longer impervious to the researches of Orientalists and Indologists, both European and Indian, and to the results of a comparative study of religions, and they now write with greater sympathy and deeper knowledge, and therefore their writings can no longer be overlooked or ignored, even though they contain observations which wound the self-love of the educated Hindu. Besides this, the educated and liberal-minded English missionary (the example of Mr. Andrews and others will show that this is not a contradiction in terms, as we often contemptuously imagine) comes of a race which has an inherited tradition of culture, sobriety and restraint, of balanced judgment and wide outlook which places him at an advantage in discussing systems of religion other than his own. Unless therefore he makes it a part of his profession to run down the Hindu religion, and can admire and

appreciate our alien civilisation, his views are worth listening to, and I am not ashamed to confess that missionaries of this type have succeeded in throwing new light on some aspects of Hindu culture which had escaped my unaided observation.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee objects to my quoting foreign opinions, 'whether our philosophy is good or bad.' 'We ought to see it for ourselves,' says he. His attitude marks a healthy reaction against that form of intellectual dependence which is part of our general political subjection, by reason of which we are apt to look up to the ruling race for approval of everything we say or do. I shall only observe in passing that I have noticed this peculiar mental trait more often among the orthodox in spite of their boasted independence of judgment than among those whom Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterjee calls 'progressives.' Indeed, this could not but be so, as the habit of mind which makes us subservient to Shastric authority and unwilling to examine foreign sources also makes us equally susceptible to the ruling authority. Nevertheless, seeing ourselves as others see us is almost as necessary as seeing for ourselves if we want to advance on right lines. What is required is that we must not surrender our right of judgment to anybody. Reason, not authority, whether Shastric or foreign, must be our guide. Cultured European travellers, highly-trained English administrators, European Orientalists, have all reflected on the effect of our philosophical systems on the Indian character, and particularly on the melancholy, lethargy, and feeling of resignation which characterise the Indian masses, without failing to recognise their vivid consciousness of the reality of the life beyond. It is the spectator who often sees most of the game. We who live and move and have our being in the peculiar speculative atmosphere of India, and have little firsthand knowledge of the rest of the world, may not agree with these foreign writers, but this does not necessarily prove that they are wrong. We have indeed had enough of self-laudation, and it would do us good to ponder why we occupy such a low place in the esteem of other nations, and whether there may not be anything in our social and religious and philosophical systems to which it is due, and which is susceptible of improvement. Self-confidence is absolutely essential for our national regeneration, but it should not degenerate into an obstinate refusal to profit by the example of others. It would seem that the words of that learned Sanskrit scholar, Alberuni, are as true now as when they were written in the eleventh century :

"We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid.....According to their belief, there is no other country on earth but theirs, no other race of man but theirs, and no created beings besides them have any knowledge or science whatsoever. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan or Persis, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is." (Dr. Sachau's translation).

An Old Alumnus reads the doom of the world in the unholy alliance of western science with militarism. Readers of this magazine will have noticed that the misapplication of science to base purposes is strongly denounced by western writers themselves. If

they have hitherto been unable to stem the tide, it is not because they failed to see the evil, as we so often do in the case of our own social diseases, but because no particular group of statesmen and no individual nation had complete control of the concatenation of circumstances which led to its abnormal growth. The shock of a world-war was necessary to revivify those moral and spiritual forces which have brought home to the western nations the need of remodelling the structure of their society, with its competitive industrialism, on a nobler basis. Already the ground was somewhat prepared by socialists, philosophical anarchists, and other schools of democratic thought. The difference between the West and India lies in this, that when an evil is recognised to be such, the virile West makes a vigorous effort to throw it off from the body-politic. Our political dependence is no doubt partly responsible for our inability to do so. But not only the ability, but even the honest desire, seems to be wanting among us. We prefer to lie supine in the presence of all the evils that afflict our social body, and console ourselves with the thought that all is vanity, that good and evil have both their place in this world, and that in the end, and in God's own good time, though it may beacons hence, things will somehow right themselves, and all will be well. The Yuga doctrine has stamped the conviction deep in our minds that till the present cycle of decadence is over, it is idle to try to strive for a better future. An Old Alumnus may rest assured that the West will not allow its fair handiwork to go to pieces before their eyes without making a mighty effort at all-round reconstruction after the war is over. Already we hear of a League of Nations and other measures to banish war from this planet. If the West succeeds in keeping the demon of war off its gates even for a century, it will have performed a task never attempted in India before the advent of the British peace. The atmosphere of Europe was surcharged with electric currents, and the war was necessary to restore equilibrium and teach the European nations the moral dangers of excessive materialism. The West will know to look after itself, but what of us? There is sense in preaching to the West the dangers of excessive devotion to the material sciences, as Vivekananda and Rabindranath have done. But to preach to a nation of beggars in the same strain is either the very refinement of irony, or an egregious piece of foolish short-sightedness. We must live before we can speculate on the ultimate destiny of man. As Mr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar says with so much force and eloquence, when western scholars spoke of the pacifist and spiritualistic tendencies of the East, the mesmerised Hindu fancied that probably he was being eulogised, but the young India of today does not feel any pride in the position of utter helplessness assigned to him. It has become necessary to remind ourselves, with Sir John Woodroffe, that "it is absurd to talk as some do, as though India produced nothing but Sadhas, Yogis, Mahatmas, philosophers and the like. The life of India (I speak of the past) has displayed itself in all activities. It has meditated both as the man of religion and of philosophy, but it has also worked in every sphere of activity.....It is significant of the variety of India's life that the same land of ascetic austerity produce the Kama Shastra (grotesque scriptures) and kindred literature and art."

An Old Alumnus in a grand finale to his excellent essay, with portions of which I am in complete agreement, looks forward to the advent of another

Avatar to teach us 'a new philosophy of life, based upon a broader interpretation of the ever-increasing facts that the progress of science is everyday bringing to light' and for this mighty consummation he lays down, as an essential precondition, a far more general diffusion of the hidden riches of Indian philosophy through deep diving into the perennial spring itself. 'Deep diving' into original sources is certainly necessary for the scholar, but a broader interpretation of scientific facts is possible to those only who have delved equally deep into western science and scientific methods. The new Indian genius who will outshine Bergson must therefore have an adequate intellectual equipment, and the sum and substance of my humble plea was to provide the Indian student with the elements of such a broad modern culture before he plunges into the depths of Indian philosophy.

A word on Indian spirituality of which An Old Alumnus makes so much. Since writing my last article I have come across a book named "Appearances" by G. Lowes Dickinson, whom Sir John Woodroffe calls 'an English writer of great insight.' In this book Mr. Dickinson criticises American civilisation in a way which would delight the heart of An Old Alumnus. Nevertheless, he frequently contrasts the West (in which term he includes China and Japan, as their outlook on life is the same as that of Europe) with India, and his comparisons, based on personal experience of religious life in India, are instructive. The West stands for the energy of the world, for all, in this vast nature, that is determinate and purposive, not passively repetitious. The religion of India refused all significance to the temporal world, took no account of society and its needs; it sought to destroy, not to develop, the sense and the power of individuality. It may or may not be the religion of a wise race, but it could never be that of a strong one. Melancholy, monotony, austerity; a sense of perennial frost, spite of the light and heat; a purgatory of souls doing penance till the hour of deliverance shall strike [this, I may add, is practically the sense in which India is described in all the Puranas as the *Karmabhumi par excellence*], unearthly, overearthly—this is the kind of impression left on Mr. Dickinson's mind by India; whereas in China, he found good temper, industry, intelligence, and nothing was abnormal or overstrained. The Indian does not believe in the process of time and experience, to him the world is phenomenal and unreal. Life is an evil—that is the root feeling in India. This spiritual attitude is probably an effect, rather than a cause, of an enfeebled grip on life. If conduct is to have any meaning, good and evil must be real in a real world. If they are held to be appearances, conduct becomes absurd. To regard evil as the sport of God is incompatible with the western view of religion, of which the irreducible minimum, according to the writer, is:—"I believe in the ultimate distinction between good and evil, and in a real progress in a real time. I believe it to be my duty to increase good and diminish evil; I believe that in doing this I am serving the purpose of the world." In summing up the views of Mr. Dickinson, I do not intend that they should be accepted as wholly true, but certainly they deserve to be studied as an instance of how a western thinker, who is fully conscious of the defects of his own civilisation, would regard our claim to be considered a spiritual nation. For myself, I feel convinced as a result of my study of Indian authorities, that of real spiri-

tuality there has been no marked preponderance in India since historic times (the birth of Christ for instance), and that, had we really been as spiritually-minded as we claim to be, had even the *elite* of the people in India been just, true, and honest, in their social, political, moral and intellectual relations, we should not have come to our present sad pass. We must not overlook the fact that the strong alone can afford to be just. My reading of Indian social history teaches me, on the other hand, that from the days of the Vedas and the Brahmanas, down to the days of the Puranas, and much more so in later times, we have hankered for material joys and blessings as much as any other nation, these scriptures being full of prayers and invocations for success in the material sense. The Buddhist Jataka stories give us glimpses of a world in which religion and materialism were as intimately blended as in the Puranas. Our dramas, according to H. H. Wilson, reveal a society as refined, as corrupt, and as luxurious as any the West can show. The Mahabharata tells the tale of a race of people in whom the blood tingled in every vein with the joy of life and who placed success in this world before every other consideration. Sanskrit literature, both sacred and secular, is full of vivid delineations of the evils of poverty and the advantages of possessing wealth. It is only in parts of the Upanishads, the different schools of philosophy, and more explicitly in the Bhagavadgita that *Nishkama* as opposed to *Karma*—selfless as opposed to selfish action—was held up as the ideal of life. But even in the domain of philosophy, we have the Barhaspatya (Charvaka) doctrine which, according to Madhavacharya, is the only doctrine which the majority of living beings hold by; we have the Purusha-Prakriti doctrine of the Samkhya philosophy and the doctrine of the union of the individual soul with the Supreme Soul of the Vedanta, both of which, being interpreted in a grossly material sense, has furnished a pseudo-philosophic justification for the sexual licenses of various religious sects, thus showing that human nature in India, in spite of her austere philosophies, is just as materially inclined as the rest of the world; and lastly, we have, in the early middle ages, the Rasesvara Darsana where the virtues of mercury and mica in rejuvenating the body are extolled, and a healthy body is, rightly enough, set up as the pre-requisite of philosophic studies and practices, and attention is thus mainly confined to the gross material tabernacle of the soul. I have already mentioned the erotic scriptures and sculptures. We preach abnegation and renunciation, but for centuries we have been fighting amongst ourselves tooth and nail for our daily dwindling material possessions. We cannot sacrifice ourselves for great ideas, nor achieve success on a scale conceived in the West, though our scriptures proclaim the grand truth, 'भूमव दुःखं, नात्यं सुखमस्ति'—there is joy only in doing or suffering on a large scale. Immersed habitually in petty cares and narrow selfish desires, the materialism which prevails among us is infinitely more ugly and sad than that which we denounce in Europe. It was Srikrishna who urged Arjuna to fight and kill from a sense of duty, and it was Jesus Christ who would turn the left cheek to those who smote us on the right. If Christianity is nevertheless muscular and aggressive and Hinduism is tolerant and resigned yet exclusive, it is not due to an excess of spirituality in the teachings of our master minds, but to our physical environments and

racial temperament. It is this temperament, this attitude towards the realities of existence, which has got to be reshaped, and co-ordinated with and adjusted to our needs, in view of the growing complexity of the problem of national existence and progress, and my appeal is, therefore, for a sane, sober, and pragmatic outlook on life, which, suffused as much as you like by poetry, emotion, grandeur and nobility of sentiment, may yet retain its hold on reality and thus furnish us with a coign of vantage from which to fight for our place in the sun in the strenuous competition of the modern world.

JULY 3, 1918

A HINDU MASTER OF ARTS.

P. S.—Since the above was written the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms has been published. In para 132 of this document, the 'two dominating conditions' in India are thus described:—"One is that the immense masses of the people are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe; and the other is that there runs through Indian society a series of cleavages—of religion, race, and caste—which constantly threaten its solidarity, and of which any wise political scheme must take serious heed." Those who boast of the 'unifying idealism' of India, may find it profitable to consider if there is any connection between the first of these conditions and our idealism which has fostered the paradox that man is socially bound but spiritually free, this utter divorce of life from thought constituting, in the opinion of Mr. P. Choudhuri (vide his article in the *Manchester Guardian*) and all serious thinkers, the tragedy of Indian history. As for the 'unifying' character of our idealism, the second of the above conditions forms a sad practical commentary on the speculative quest for unity in diversity in which our sages were engaged in their forest retreats. If we want to release India from the grip of the two dominating conditions noticed in the Report, we must, in the words of Mr. Choudhuri, modernise the ancient thought and apply the doctrines of man's spiritual freedom to his social life. For such a practical application of speculative doctrines to social life we shall be all the better equipped if we turn to the pragmatic philosophy—including in that term the social sciences—of the West, even if we reject its materialism and hold, as the writer himself does, that at its best, and in the realms of pure thought, our own philosophy need not go elsewhere for inspiration.

On The Study Of Indian Philosophy In Indian Universities.

I have watched with interest the controversy in the pages of your valuable journal on the above subject. It seems to me that nearly all that may be said in favour of Lord Ronaldshay's speech has been brought out in the two notes published on the subject in your July number. It would be profitable, however, to make one or two more points. They both rise out of the Editorial comments in your April number. "Do British students learn philosophy, to begin with, as *English* philosophy or *Anglican* philosophy, or *Christian* philosophy? Do the modern Greeks study mainly the philosophy of Thales, Pythagoras etc., neglecting modern philosophy?" Questions like this reveal an ignorance of what is considered to be the proper study of philosophy at least in England. It is true that the English student does not learn English philosophy to begin with, but he certainly begins with Greek philosophy, in

any respectable university. And nothing can be more proper since the greatest part of European civilisation is built up out of Greek culture. If we should appeal to the example of English universities for the study of English or European philosophy in preference to our own, we would have to admit that our civilisation has no basis of its own and that it has to seek a basis in European culture. Surely, this lies farthest from the intentions of the Editor at the time he penned these remarks. The principle observed in the procedure of Western universities is that in order to understand any subject properly one ought to go as far as possible to the roots of the whole affair, as otherwise the context of everything that follows will be lost and the result will be only an inadequate comprehension. In these days of "practicality" even enlightened universities make little provision for such study. But a proper study of philosophy is still practicable at the premier English university—Oxford. I may add here that at least in that university an Indian student of philosophy who says he knows nothing of Indian philosophy in some form or other is not held in much esteem.

The editorial remarks complained of seem further to assume that the business of education is somehow to make the students assimilate the truth in a jejune form. This I fear has been the curse of the educational system in India. The aim of education or at least that much of it which one gets in a university, is not to teach the truth but only the way of looking for truth. In other words, the object of education is to inform us about methods, not results. If truth could be grasped by any process of university education alone it would not be worth having. The Indian student has had always the idea presented to him that within a certain time he must acquire a certain amount of information, i.e., he must be able to reproduce that mass of information whenever called on to do so. In my opinion it makes little difference in the interests of true knowledge that the occasion when the reproduction takes place is not academic but some need of practical life. The informing ideal of a university should be knowledge for knowledge's sake. So long as this is the ideal there can be no indecent hurry to amass knowledge to find a short cut to truth. It is the observance or the falling away from this ideal that distinguishes the true from the merely commercial universities. He that runs can read the application to our universities. What is essential, then, is that our students should acquire as systematic a knowledge as possible of the methods of philosophical research, and not merely get to know and acknowledge the system of philosophy in fashion. And if all this talk in other fields about what is and what is not suited to our national genius is not a farce, it follows that the best means of acquiring the philosophical knowledge required is the study of our own systems of philosophy, however antiquated they may be. It has been asserted by some (I believe with a good deal of reason) that the Oriental and the Occidental methods of research are essentially different. If this is the case, surely it would be only proper that the Indian student should learn the Indian in preference to the European system.

The analogy attempted between Indian Philosophy and Indian Chemistry fails. The real reason for the neglect of Indian Chemistry lies in the science not having found translators and exponents of the eminence of Prof. MaxMuller and his like. This is a regrettable fact; still more regrettable is it that our

own sciences are neglected in the absence of foreign admirers. Most regrettable of all is the absence of sufficient inducement or scope for the study of Sanskrit in the present state of our university organisation; and indeed this is the only proper reply to His Lordship—that while we are profoundly thankful to him for his advice we cannot but regret our inability to adopt it, the present position of Indian languages being what it is in our educational system. We never lack good advice, but it is up to His Lordship to find means for the effective adoption of his advice.

S. S. SURYANARAYANAN,
Principal, Madura College.

Editorial Note. I have not been able to understand why the Principal of Madura College has treated me to this long lecture. In the April number my object mainly was to indicate what in my opinion beginners in philosophy ought to study. I never said that Indian philosophy ought not to be studied by Indian students; on the contrary, I wrote: "it would be best, as now, to make Hindu philosophy a subject of post-graduate study, for students whose critical faculty has somewhat matured..... For the B. A. degree, a student studying for honours in philosophy, may be allowed to include in his Sanskrit course a philosophical text in the original."

The Principal admits that "the English student does not learn English philosophy to begin with;" and that was my point. I wanted to say that one ought not to be guided by mere patriotism in the choice of methods or materials of study,—so far, at least, as beginners are concerned. I asked whether the *Modern Greeks* study mainly the philosophy of Thales, Pythagoras, etc., and the answer I obtain is that the English student certainly begins with Greek philosophy;—and I must take this to be a very relevant answer!

The Principal observes: "The editorial remarks complained of seem further to assume that the business of education is somehow to make the students assimilate the truth in a jejune form." I wonder where he has discovered this assumption on my part. The whole trend of my remarks was exactly the opposite. In fact in the second paragraph of my remarks, p. 470, I said that the business of universities was "to promote the search of truth."

The Principal's "real reason for the neglect of Indian chemistry" in India, is not the true reason. But it would not be relevant to dwell on the subject here.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE,
Editor, *The Modern Review*

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and Calcutta University Reform.

I.

I beg to apologise for a grave mistake in my article on Calcutta University Reform in the July number, p. 17, column 1, paragraph 1, where it is asserted that the Hon. Dr. Ashutosh Mukhopadhyaya opposed the proposal to allow the teachers of the affiliated colleges to elect a certain proportion of the Fellows. The real fact is that the Hon'ble Doctor, on 18 March 1904, moved an amendment proposing that ten of the Fellows should be elected by the registered Heads of or Professors in institutions affiliated to the University and University Professors and Lecturers.

All teachers serving the University directly, whether called professors or lecturers, were, according to him, to have the franchise; but in the case of the affiliated colleges it was to be restricted to such teachers as were dignified with the title of *professors*, ("lecturers" being excluded here).

K. V. A.

II.

After the receipt of the communication from K. V. A. printed above, we received the contribution printed below.—Ed. M. R.]

An article entitled "Calcutta University Reform" was published in the last number of the *Modern Review* under your editorship. In that article statements have been allowed to appear which are manifestly untrue. Statements are made with an air of firsthand knowledge, but they really portray absolutely the opposite of truth. An assertion is made that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee opposed in 1904 the proposal of extending the franchise to College Professors of electing representatives to the Senate of the Calcutta University. The writer of the article makes people believe that he has got the information from the Proceedings of the Governor-General's Council, but as a matter of fact it was Sir Asutosh Mookerjee himself who proposed that "ten members of the Senate be elected by registered Heads of, or Professors in, Institutions affiliated to the University and University Professors and Lecturers."

I give below some extracts from his speech when the amendment was before the Council:

(Pp. 151-53) "I do not desire to conceal my deep regret that the Bill, as amended, makes no provision for election by the constituency which I have named—a constituency which, in my opinion, has the first and foremost claim on the University. If it be the object of the Bill to secure for the Universities an academic Senate and also to secure the closest possible co-operation between University and College authorities, I think that it is essential that the right of representation on the Senate should be conferred by statute upon those who carry on the educational work of the Colleges affiliated to University, and I regret to have to say that the omission to provide for such representation does, in my judgment, appear to be a grave defect in the Bill.....it seems clear to me that an election by the Faculties can in no sense and in no manner replace an election by teachers. As to the body of Graduates who will form our electorate, members of the teaching profession are in a hopeless minority..... I venture to point out that we may well have an election by College Professors who, whatever their individual aims and interest may be, are united by one common tie, namely, that they have all devoted themselves to the carrying out of that educational work which it is the object of this Bill to promote. I further desire to point out that although teachers may be, and will be, nominated by the Chancellor, such nomination can hardly replace an election by teachers themselves. Indeed it would not be difficult to point out instances in which teachers of distinction, European and Indian, in Government service or in private employ, have not been put on the Senate for many long years; and the reason is not far to seek; such must be the inevitable consequence so long as we have teachers of eminence who are either unable or unwilling to press their claims upon the Government, so that appointment to the Senate may not be unduly delayed or indefinitely postponed. If the right of election is conferred upon teachers, these are precisely the men whose claims

are likely to be recognised by the electorate.....My Lord, is there any doubt that the body of teachers we now possess or are likely to possess in future, whatever their shortcomings may be, may safely be entrusted with the privilege of election? If there is any reasonable foundation for such doubt, I am afraid, My Lord, we are in a very bad way and no amount of legislation will be of any practical benefit. So far as I am concerned I affirm without the slightest hesitation that the College teachers we have at the present moment may be implicitly entrusted with the privilege of election..... But the cardinal point of my scheme is not merely that there should be an election by registered College Professors, but that such an election should be made from amongst their own body..... I do not entertain the slightest apprehension that an electorate like this, composed of Professors who are mostly Graduates of Indian or European Universities and who represent the interest of all the Colleges in the country will in any way abuse the privilege conferred upon them."

(Pp. 161-63) "Five of my Hon'ble colleagues have addressed the Council on my motion. Every one of them has belonged to the profession of teaching at some period of his life and so it is a source of unfeigned regret to me that four of them should have opposed my motion..... I venture to point out that the real question is not whether the principle of election can be extended to this length or that length, but whether the constituency for whom I am pleading is qualified. Are our teachers throughout the country qualified to be trusted with the principle of election? If they are not, let us say so in unmistakable terms; and I add without hesitation that if that be our decision and if our teachers really deserve this want of confidence, the sooner we throw this Bill into the wastepaper basket the better for every one concerned..... I adhere to the opinion that the practical objections which have been raised against my scheme are really of no weight and that the time has come when this experiment ought to be begun; and I add without any hesitation that if the present Government do not make this experiment, the time will come when some future Viceroy, such as Lord Lansdowne, will do so, and that the credit will belong to some future Viceroy of putting this measure upon the Statute-book."

(Imperial Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, 1904.)

I request the favour of your giving this letter as much publicity as the original article, and, as I have no desire to shelter myself in anonymity, I subscribe my name as

SATISCHANDRA BASU.
PROFESSOR, VIDYASAGAR COLLEGE.

Administration of Civil Justice—A Vindication.

"Philosophy would wish to teach us that *nil admirari* is the highest wisdom. Yet in ancient times the power of admiring was the greatest blessing bestowed on mankind"—of these pregnant words of the late professor Max Muller's one is forcibly reminded on a perusal of certain remarks offered by a writer assuming the Pseudonym of 'Justice' in the last June number of the *Modern Review* in the course of an article entitled "Administration of Justice in the Presidency of Bengal." The remarks referred to occur under the sub-head 'Civil Justice' of the said article in which the whole body of Provincial Judi-

cial Service officers have come in for a goodly share of blows and bruises from "Justice's" judicial rod. The more serious of the charges levelled against the officers known as Munsifs are these:—(1) That "some officers are so deficient in English that they cannot properly record the deposition of witnesses in that language and the result is that they leave out things which they cannot translate into English or write one thing for another. Some officers are found unable to write in English a proper judgment. (2) That owing to their being posted to places other than their own districts, "not only are they (the munsifs) ignorant of the men appearing before them as suitors or witnesses but are also necessarily to some extent ignorant of their manners and customs, and of local conditions." (3) That "some officers show very lamentable ignorance of common principles of law and incapacity to understand easy facts." (4) That "many officers are ever anxious simply to hurry on in order to win credit by turning out the largest number of disposals within the shortest time and are unwilling to try cases with reasonable care and patience." And (5) that the net result is that "litigation sometimes becomes a sort of gambling pure and simple. Good cases are lost, and bad cases or false ones won."

Now, though I hold no brief for the large body of officers in question who can certainly afford to pass over with silent contempt these puerile accusations and will doubtless survive these irritating pin-pricks, in common fairness which is due to all, be they official or non-official, I feel called upon to add a word or two under each of the heads of charge in order to enable the unprejudiced reader to judge for himself whether our 'Justice's' pronouncement can be considered as characterised by soundness and maturity of views and justice to the parties concerned; or, on the contrary, it betrays the same lack of reasonable care and patience, the same anxiety to hurry on, the same ignorance of the real conditions which in others he has anathematized with a pious indignation worthy of the Roman Pontiff. I take up the accusations in the order in which they have been stated above.

(1) It is well known that the Provincial Judicial Service is manned by M.A., B.L.S. of the Calcutta University, the High Court with which the appointments practically rest, always insisting upon the recruits possessing the M.A. degree, besides the B.L., or at least upon their having secured high place in the B.L. examination. If therefore the *ex cathedra* assertions of Mr. Justice have to be accepted as gospel truths, one must be prepared for a wholesale condemnation not only of the Bengali graduates and their *Alma Mater* but also of the whole Bengali people as regards their mental and moral calibre and potentialities and therefore of their whole future as a race. And I doubt if there be any, with the honourable exception of Mr. Justice of course, who would have the hardihood of thus branding, tarring and feathering a noble institution like our university and a whole race of men with equanimity. Mr. Justice seems to have very conveniently forgotten that the thousand and one nameless little things of every-day life of the common people that have usually to be narrated in minutest detail in our Law Courts and have to be rendered into English off-hand as they are related, are far removed from the 'things of beauty' that easily lend themselves to graceful poetical expression. In fact, I should think it would be no exaggeration to say that these dry-as-dust details would very often tax to the utmost the capacity of

the best cultured Indian scholar, seated at leisure in the serene atmosphere of his study and equipped on the right and left with tomes, of lexicons and dictionaries to aid him at a pinch, to be faithfully translated into a foreign tongue like English whose intricacies of idioms, spirit and shades of signification only very few among those who are not born Englishmen can master after a life-long application. If therefore the deposition and judgments recorded in English by Bengali Munsifs are not literary masterpieces or always faithful translations, the blame must not be laid at the door of these officers but of the natural human limitations and the system under which those officers have to work. I for one am an advocate of not only the evidence but also judgments being recorded in the vernacular, and that for more reasons than one which need not be entered into here.

(2) Are the manners and customs and local conditions of different districts of Bengal really so divergent as Mr. Justice would have us believe? The testimony of experience and common sense however points to the contrary conclusion. Then again, if Judicial officers of a district be recruited from within its own bounds, as advocated by Mr. Justice, knowing human nature what it is one may well apprehend that the prescribed remedy would prove worse than the supposed malady.

(3) To support the conclusion of Mr. Justice that some of these officers (who, by the way, are the best products of our university representing the cream of the Bengali people) after some years of theoretical study and practical training in law and procedure are ignorant of the rudiments of law and unable to grasp 'easy facts,' something more than mere dogmatic asseveration is required in order to carry any weight or conviction.

(4) & (5). Those who are acquainted with the working of the civil courts and the conditions under which the Judicial officers in this province have to work and therefore can judge with fairness and sympathy, would indignantly repudiate the insinuation that these officers deliberately and of their free will hurry on, simply to win the credit. For, who does not know that the persistent demand from above to hurry on and show the largest output hangs upon their devoted head like a veritable Damocles' Sword and that quantity and not quality is the test of efficiency? And yet the number of officers who strive not only to satisfy their earthly Providence, i.e., their official mentors but also their own conscience and the litigants are not as limited as Mr. Justice seems to think. It really does one's heart good to see these hard-tasked officers extort the unstinted encomiums from those who are not only competent to judge but not given to unmeasured praising or using words without careful weighing, such as high Executive officers in charge of departmental portfolios, Judges of the High Court and even the Anglo-Indian Press. The suggestion therefore that as a rule 'good cases are lost and bad or false ones won' calls for no serious consideration. I must not however be misunderstood. It is not my contention that these officers are one and all so many Daniels come to judgment. What I contend is, not that the present administration of civil justice is free from all blemishes and needs no improvement or reform, but that its defects, speaking generally, are attributable to the system and the policy thereof rather than to the personnel of the provincial service. Let the Government change its 'angle of vision', let considerations of justice pure and simple and not those of public finances be the sole motive of those

who frame the machinery of judicial administration, let the dead-weight of constant fear of falling short of the inexorable test of *quantity* be removed and thereby allow a sense of self-respect and real responsibility of a judicial independence to grow up, and

lastly provide for the incentive to show better work by holding out better prospects, better emoluments and quicker promotion and there will much of the real existing evils disappear, but not till then.

FAIR PLAY.

NOTES

A State-Prisoner's Petition.

Early last month we received a copy of a petition submitted to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council by one Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee, a state-prisoner now in Rajshahi Central Jail. It contains allegations of incredible cruelties and revolting ill-treatment. One extract from it will suffice. The prisoner thus describes what happened on the fifth day after his arrest :—

"That on the 5th day at about 5 p. m. I was again taken to the office at Kyd Street. There the officer (of the first day) according to the proposal of an officer in European costume called and they four took me to the latrine. There one man took hold of my hands, another head, and the officer in European costume pressed my nostrils and the Methar put a comradeful of urine mixed with stools and thrust and poured it all over my face. Then they kept me in my cell and did not allow me to have a wash. All these days I was not allowed to take my bath and got only 2 or 3 luchs for food and that, too, not every day."

We do not know whether this petition has reached the Viceroy's hands. If it has, the public should be informed what has been done with it. If it has not, it is to be hoped His Excellency will order it to be placed before him, and cause an *open* enquiry to be made.

Allegations of Torture.

We cannot understand why Lord Ronaldshay spoke so triumphantly of the results of the *secret* enquiry made by two Government nominees, one a Government servant and the other a former Government servant, into the allegations of torture of political suspects placed before the Viceroy by Mrs. Annie Besant. The police were the party accused of unlawful and cruel conduct. And yet the man who was alleged to have been tortured were kept in police custody in a sort of solitary imprisonment before being placed before the

two members of the Committee for examination. After their examination, too, they were taken to their place of compulsory domicile under police escort. It does not appear from Lord Ronaldshay's statement that both the members of the committee thoroughly inspected the alleged place of torture, nor that any of them did so without the police coming to know beforehand that the place was going to be visited. It is surprising that any statesman should expect the public to place implicit reliance on the results of a *secret* enquiry conducted in the manner in which the one under discussion was. Considering that so many *detenus*, *ex-detenus* and state-prisoners have admittedly become insane, committed suicide, or died of preventable disease, one would, on the contrary, expect the Governor of Bengal to suspect that *detenus* and state-prisoners were not treated as they ought to be.

Calcutta University Affairs.

A time there was when whatever Sir Asutosh Mukherji wanted to be done was done by the Senate and the Syndicate of the Calcutta University. That was not a desirable state of things. But it is equally undesirable that motions should be considered out of order for no other reason that we can see than that they were moved by Sir Asutosh. Such recently was the case with two of his motions. The present Vice-Chancellor is neither a greater lawyer nor a greater expert in University affairs, nor possessed of greater knowledge of how public meetings ought properly to be conducted, than Sir Asutosh. Why, again, were some educationists who were present at a recent Senate meeting, with the knowledge and permission of the Registrar, told to leave the hall? They had acquired the right to be there on that occasion.

Jute Merchants and Cultivators.

At a recent meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council, the Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Datta moved a resolution of which the object was to make the cultivators of jute sharers to some extent in the extraordinary good luck which has befallen the shareholders of jute mills. It is wellknown what enormous profits the latter have made. On the other hand, the cultivators of jute are worse off than before the war. The Bengal Government themselves say in a letter addressed to the Government of India :

"It is not accurate to say that the income of the cultivators in this province has risen since the war. On the contrary, they have been badly hit by the prevailing low prices of rice and jute, while confronted simultaneously with unusually high prices, noticeably for cloth, salt and kerosene oil."

Nevertheless Government could not accept Mr. Datta's resolution and do something for the cultivators of jute. Had the will existed to relieve their misery, the way could certainly have been found. One has only to consider what has been done in England. *The Review of Reviews* writes :—

"By the exercise of infinite patience and tact Mr. Prothero succeeded in carrying the Corn Production Act through a not too friendly House. By this Act minimum prices were fixed for wheat and oats for six years, a minimum wage guaranteed to agricultural workmen, and power given to the Board of Agriculture to enforce proper cultivation."

Why, then, was it beyond the power of the State in Bengal to devise some means to secure to the cultivators of jute a fair share of prosperity ?

The Internment Advisory Committee.

The following letter has been sent by the Additional Secretary, Government of Bengal, to the Superintendents of Jails :—

The Advisory Committee which is to examine the cases of all prisoners under restraint in Bengal is now sitting ; will you let the prisoners in your jail know that if they want to make a representation the committee will receive it if it complies with the following conditions :—

- (a) That it is in writing.
- (b) That it is from the S. P. (State prisoner himself and is signed by him).
- (c) That it is confined to the merits of the cases against him.
- (d) That it is submitted through the censoring authority.

Any representation outside this will be discarded as irrelevant.

Any representation sent should be regarded as confidential and care should be taken that they are not directly or indirectly sent to the Press.

The following letter has been addressed to the detenus by Superintendents of Police :—

The Advisory Committee which is now sitting and looking into your case amongst others are prepared to receive from you any representation you may wish to submit containing such additional facts bearing on the merits of your case which possibly you omitted from your previous statements. You must clearly understand that the Committee are only concerned with the main question whether there are reasonable grounds for believing that you have acted prejudicially to the safety of the state, and any representation you may have to make must be confined to this point. Representations regarding such matters as the treatment you are receiving while in detention or requests for transfer to a home domicile or release will not be considered : if you have any such grievances to bring to notice they should be addressed as usual to Government. On the other hand, if you have no such additional facts to represent which have not already been given in your previous statement, then to repeat them again now is clearly unnecessary. I would also make it clear to you that having more to say, the fact of your refraining from making a further representation now will in no way prejudice you.

The following are the conditions on which your representation will be received by the Advisory Committee :—

- (a) That it is in writing.
- (b) That it is from yourself and is signed by you.
- (c) That it is confined to the merits of the case against you.
- (d) That it is submitted through the usual censoring authority.

When you have quite done with this letter will you please return it to the Sub-Inspector of Police with your signature on it in token of your having seen it. If you do not know English or sufficient English to understand the purport of this letter, the Sub-Inspector of Police has been directed to translate it to you and you are requested to sign this letter in token of his having done so.

There is no objection to the representations passing through the hands of the censoring authority, as that will convince the Committee that it has really come from a detenu or a state prisoner ; but there is nothing to show that the censoring authority will be bound to forward the representation to the Committee and that that authority will not omit or hold back any portion of it. It may be undesirable from the official point of view that the representations should not find their way to the Press ; but from the point of view of a detenu or a state prisoner, the publication in the Press of only the fact of his having made a representation might have served a good purpose. It would have enabled the Committee to ascertain whether they have got all the representations or not. During the trial of the Kutubdia detenus it came out that the Superinten-

dent of Police did not forward to Government all the letters and telegrams of the detenus. What is there to prevent some Superintendents of Police and of Jails from following a similar course now?

We are not told that the charges against detenus and state prisoners have been communicated to them. In the absence of definite knowledge of the case against them, what effective representations can they make? The representation from each person is to be "confined to the merits of the case against him." This presupposes that he knows the case. But does he? Even if every man had been told after his arrest what the case against him was, he ought again to have the opportunity of refreshing his memory. As the detenus and state prisoners cannot have legal help, the least that they are entitled to claim is to appear in person before the committee, and tell the members all that they want to say. The members themselves may not be able to learn from the representations all that they require to know for the purpose of doing justice. They may want to ask questions in order to have additional information, and this they ought to be placed in a position to do.

Mrs. Fawcett's Ignorant Criticism.

Mrs. Fawcett has attacked the Indian National Congress and Home Rule Parties on the assumed ground that they are unsympathetic towards the political aspirations of Indian women. The real fact is that they are not at all unsympathetic. Women have always attended the Congress sessions as delegates, some have spoken there as delegates, a woman has presided over a session, another woman has presided over a provincial conference, and the Indian Home Rule League has hundreds of women members and active workers and has expressed itself in favour of women having the franchise on the same basis as men. The Indian Universities grant degrees to women, which is not the case with all British Universities.

But supposing all that Mrs. Fawcett has assumed were really true, that would not disqualify Indian men from having the franchise. After centuries of political freedom enjoyed by British men, British women got the vote only this year. British men had been during all these hundreds of years been opposed to women's political rights, but that did not make

them unfit for self-government. But it seems Indian men must be declared unfit for the least bit of political freedom unless they can at once prove that Indian women also are immediately to have with the men the rights which British men gave to British women after a millenium! This sort of criticism is neither well-informed nor honest.

A Cannibalistic Joke?

The following advertisement appeared in the *Statesman*, May 29, 1918, Dak Edition, D. B. :—

WANTED—The finely tanned skin of a German, Champaign shade, for making up into Ladies' Shoes; these skins are now obtainable in Paris and extensively used for the purpose above mentioned. Has anybody got one in Calcutta? Apply with price to Box 5082, Advt. Dept., "Statesman." CD67064.

Was it a joke? If so, it was not farther removed from cannibalism than is the flesh of a German from his skin.

Indo-British Association Lies.

On May 6 last, Mr. J. M. Parikh spoke on "Why India Wants Home Rule" at Caxton Hall, London. The following handbill of the Indo-British Association was circulated outside the Hall:

"WHY INDIA WANTS HOME RULE."

Only a small minority wants Home Rule, millions have protested against Home Rule and do not want it.
Write for the

TRUE FACTS AND VIEWS OF THE INDIAN MASSES TO

INDO-BRITISH ASSOCIATION,
6, BROAD STREET PLACE, E.C.2,

which has on record protests against Home Rule from every province in India.

INDIA DOES NOT WANT HOME RULE.

On this India observes :—

We always thought it was alleged that the "millions of India" were indifferent to politics. We challenge the Association to prove their claim that "millions have protested against Home Rule and do not want it." But what on earth are the Association doing in the City? Is this another commercial speculation paid for by "big business" in India, with a view to preserve the prescriptive rights of British commercial houses to exploit the raw materials of that country?

It is very unfair that the Sydenhamites should be allowed to carry on their sinister propaganda whilst Indians are prevented from visiting England to contradict their lies.

East Indian Railway—State versus Company Management.

Letter No. 188-F-16, dated Simla, the 4th-5th April, 1918, from the Secretary, Government of India, Railway Department (Railway Board) to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, runs as under:—

"I am directed to refer again to the question of State and Company management of Indian railways which was raised in the Railway Board's letter No. 188-F-16 of 27th June 1916. In your reply of 18th October 1916, your Chamber expressed their view as being strongly in favour of the continuance of the present system, namely management by a Company situate in London. The broad issue then placed before your Chamber was whether a system of State or Company management has the advantage under Indian conditions, and an endeavour was made in an enclosure to our letter to state the arguments on both sides. A third alternative has been suggested to the Government of India, namely, neither to retain the existing system intact nor to have recourse to State management, but to have an Indian Company with a Board of Directors in India. The proposed Board, it is suggested, would include, as the Home Boards do at present, a Government Director with a power of veto; for the rest of the Board there would be the commercial community, both European and Indian, in Calcutta and Cawnpore of which to draw. A doubt, however, has been suggested whether, under Indian conditions and particularly in view of the fluctuations in the personnel of the commercial community, a strong enough Board could be constituted in India in the event of the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company. I am to enquire the opinion of your Chamber on the question whether it would be possible, in the event of the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company to constitute a Board of sufficient strength and permanence in India. I am also to invite the careful examination by your Chamber of the relative merits of a Board in London and a Board in India having regard to the advantages and disadvantages of either system. I am to ask you to be good enough to let me have the considered opinion of your Chamber on the questions raised in this letter before the end of May.

The Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in his letter No. 1446—1918, dated the 3rd July, 1918 (published in *The Englishman* of the 10th idem) disposes of the above reference in the negative—stating that the Chamber is opposed not only to the State management of the Indian Railways but also to the alternate proposal relating to the control of the East Indian Railway being transferred to an Indian Company to constitute a Board in India for its management. The Chamber is, in fact, as might be expected, in favour of *status quo*, i.e., the retention of the Company management of the East Indian Railway intact with its Board in London, as at present. "Another point in favour of

the Boards being retained in London—and in the opinion of the Committee it is a point of great importance—is that the final decision on railway policy rests with the Secretary of State for India. By their location in London the Boards are in close touch with the India Office, and were they to be located in India this great advantage would be gone." How does this fit in with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme recently published which proposes to delegate greater powers to the Government of India,—is not quite intelligible to us. But that's neither here nor there, for it matters us little what the Bengal Chamber of Commerce says or suggests in this connection and we have no quarrel whatever in the matter with that august body. When, however, we find the Government of India still dallying with the matter in the manner indicated in their letter quoted above and wavering still as to whether it should assume complete control and working of the East Indian Railway with effect from 1st January, 1920, after serving upon the Company a notice to that effect, in terms of the contract, we are, we must confess, much disappointed. One of the charges hurled against the assumption by the Government of the management and complete control of the Indian Railways is its alleged inefficiency. While even the man in the street knows with what efficiency the Posts and Telegraphs as well as the works of Irrigation in India are carried on by the direct agency of the State, is it not somewhat strange that this charge of inefficiency of the State in the working of its Railways should continue to be dinned into our ears, again and again? If not for anything else, at least to give lie direct to this charge of inefficiency the Government of India should, without further hesitation, assume complete control of Indian Railways now under Company management, which is needed, besides, in the interests of the Indian tax-payers, as we have, again and again, pointed out in these columns.

The lines owned by the late East Indian Railway Company were purchased by the State in 1879, and all the contracts then subsisting between the Secretary of State and the Company (excepting those relating to debentures or debenture stock) were determined. The purchase price was £32,750,000, and it was provided that this should be paid in the form of a termin-

able annuity of the amount of £1,473,750 payable from the 1st January 1880 to the 14th February 1953. One-fifth of the annuity was deferred, and the holders of this portion (representing a capital of £6,550,000) constitute the present East Indian Railway Company.

By the contract of the 14th November 1899 the Government and the Company mutually agreed that they will not determine the contract dated the 22nd December 1879 before the 31st December 1919. On that date, or at the end of any succeeding fifth year thereafter, either party may determine the contract by giving two years' previous notice.

The following tables will give the intelligent reader not an inadequate idea as to the huge loss sustained by the State, and therefore by the people, by the present arrangement of working the East Indian Railway, during the quinquennium ending 31st March 1917 :—

Year.	1912-13	1913-14	1914-15
Mileage open (Miles)	2,331'09	2,424'20	2,445'63
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Total Capital outlay	63,49,50,982	66,70,44,170	70,52,95,287
Gross Earnings	10,15,50,003	10,26,92,832	10,35,97,327
Net Earnings	6,32,20,565	6,13,38,002	6,25,79,018
Interest	1,26,75,172	1,35,41,326	1,48,99,653
Annuity	2,16,15,000	2,16,15,000	2,16,15,000
Company's share of surplus profits	25,95,359	24,12,112	24,04,291
Gain to the State	2,63,35,034	237,69,564	2,36,60,074

Year.	1915-16	1916-17
Mileage open (Miles)	2448'22	2,495'26
	Rs.	Rs.
Total Capital outlay	71,50,37,347	72,11,24,810
Gross Earnings	10,51,90,203	11,08,91,903
Net Earnings	6,39,64,189	7,10,37,920
Interest	1,60,07,057	1,62,94,019
Annuity	2,16,15,000	2,16,15,000
Company's share of surplus profits	24,22,809	28,06,458
Gain to the State	2,39,19,323	3,03,22,443

In this connection we are glad to quote the following from *The Bombay Chronicle* :—

Speaking in the House of Commons the other day, Sir Albert Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, described the beneficial results of the complete State control which is now being exercised over English railways in the national interest :

"Passing to the control exercised by the Board of Trade, he dealt with the railways of Great Britain, which were the first large undertakings to be brought under control by the State. This control had been thoroughly satisfactory. It had been possible

through the unified system of control to operate the railways as a single unit. They had thereby secured the maximum of efficiency and had been able to make very substantial economies. Goods were sent by the shortest routes quite irrespective of any companies' boundaries, there was a common use of railway companies' rolling stock, and to a very considerable extent trades' wagons were used for the general trade of the country. It was now a common practice to operate much heavier trains, and the loading per wagon was very much heavier than it was prior to the war. Notwithstanding the number of men who had been withdrawn from the country, the railway companies were carrying more passengers exclusive of military account than they had ever carried before, and the goods traffic, quite independently of traffic on Government account, was also heavier than at any time in their history."

The Indian public expect similar and other advantages to accrue if the railways in India are taken entirely under State control, which they could only be if they were State managed. The Bengal Chamber does not touch on the arguments which the advocates of State management have advanced over and over again. It does not deal with these arguments for the simple reason that they are unanswerable. They are based on the fundamental conception that the railway system in the country must conduce to the convenience, comfort of the Indian people and to the industrial and commercial development of the country. The present system not merely disregards the convenience and comfort of the bulk of the passengers, who make the profits of railway companies, but it also places the Indian industrialists at a great disadvantage as compared with European industrialists. And it is the latter fact which explains why the Bengal Chamber is anxious to let things be as they are.

RAICHARAN MUKERJEA.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report and Lord Durham's Report.

In the copy of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which we received from the press censor's office, there was enclosed a "summary" made under official auspices which gave expression to the opinion : "The report in which the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have embodied their recommendations on constitutional reforms in India will rank with the historic document in which Lord Durham laid the foundations of the constitution of Canada." This is a rather risky prophecy. But though one may not know what future there may be in store for the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, one need not feel any hesitation in saying that Lord Durham's Report was fundamentally different in spirit as well as in its recommendations from the one drawn up by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy. Their Report takes the incapacity and unfitness of Indians for granted, and provides all

sorts of checks and safeguards to prevent any possibility of mistakes being made by them. It is assumed that British officers serving in India are more interested in maintaining peace and order in the country than the people and their leaders. It was in a far different spirit that Lord Durham approached his task when he sat down to write his Report. "The colonists," wrote Lord Durham, "may not always know what laws are best for them or which of their countrymen are the fittest for conducting their affairs, but, at least, they have a greater interest in coming to a right judgment on these points, and will take greater pains to do so than those whose welfare is very remotely and slightly affected by the good or bad legislation of these portions of the Empire. If the colonists make bad laws, and select improper persons to conduct their affairs, they will generally be the only, always the greatest, sufferers; and like the people of other countries, they must bear the ills which they bring on themselves, until they choose to apply the remedy." In consequence of Lord Durham's report, an Act was passed in 1840 effecting the legislative union of Upper and Lower Canada and making the colonists masters in their own house. What was the state of education among these people at that time? What public spirit and capacity for mutual co-operation had they given proof of? How had they succeeded in local self-government? We read in Lord Durham's report: "It is impossible to exaggerate the want of education among the inhabitants. No means of instruction have ever been provided for them, and they are almost and universally destitute of the qualifications even of reading and writing." It is also written that "a great proportion of the teachers could neither read nor write." "In the rural districts habits of self-government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control." "French and British combined for no public objects or improvements, and could not harmonise even in associations of charity." Sir John Bourinot says that at that time there was great racial bitterness among those two sections of the people. Commercial rivalry

increased their mutual dislike and jealousy. In consequence, "trade languished, internal development ceased, landed property decreased in value, the revenue showed a diminution, roads and all classes of local improvements were neglected, agricultural industry was stagnant, wheat had to be imported for the consumption of the people and immigration fell off."

Yet Lord Durham advocated the immediate grant of full responsible government to Canada. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report displays no such courage, magnanimity, and faith in human nature.

The Touchstone of Logic.

Dr. S. Subrahmaniam Aiyer recently wrote in the course of a letter to the Madras papers:—

"If a scheme of reforms is produced by any section of our countrymen, we have a duty to carefully examine that scheme. Anything which originates with foreigners, violates the principle of Self-determination and, therefore, time and energy should be economised in dealing with them. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report falls in the second class, and a strong, wholesale and prompt rejection is all that is necessary."

In a world which is full of opportunists and "practical" politicians, there is certainly need for men who would strongly take their stand on principles and would not shrink from enunciating their strictly logical conclusions. British statesmen and their Allies have shouted times out of number that they have been fighting all these years for the principle of Self-determination, to enable peoples of nations to devise and choose their own forms of government. They have not said that the dependent peoples of the British Empire were not to have the benefit of this principle. Dr. S. Subrahmaniam Aiyer was, therefore, quite within his logical rights in saying that it was for Indians to say what form of government they would have, it was not for foreigners to devise one for them and impose it on them. Nay, it was necessary that British statesmen should thus be logically hoisted on their own petard as it were!

But unfortunately Dr. Subrahmaniam Aiyer himself does not seem to have sufficient faith in the principle of Self-determination in the abstract, for in the sentence following that in which he advises rejection of the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme, he modifies that strictly logical piece of advice by saying that if any

scheme does not give the final goal of full responsible government in India and indicate the steps towards its realisation, it should not be accepted.

Nevertheless, we are grateful to him for reminding us of the majesty of the great principle of Self-determination. If the selfishness of the British people and the weakness and servility of the Indian people prevent both the peoples from following it in practice, it is not the principle that is to blame, but these peoples.

Milk, or Water mixed with Powdered Rice.

The Brahmin warrior Drona tells the following story in the *Adi Parva* of the *Mahabharata*, section 133, relating to his son Aswathama :

It so happened that one day the child Aswathama observing some rich men's sons drink milk, began to cry. At this I was so beside myself that I lost all knowledge of direction. Instead of asking him who had only a few kine, I was desirous of obtaining a cow from one who had many, and for that I wandered from country to country. But my wanderings proved unsuccessful, for I failed to obtain a milch cow. After I had come back unsuccessful, some of his playmates gave him water mixed with powdered rice. Drinking this, the poor boy, from inexperience, was deceived into the belief that he had taken milk, and began to dance in joy, saying, "O I have taken milk, I have taken milk !" Beholding him dancing with joy amid his playmates smiling at his simplicity, I was exceedingly touched. Hearing also the derisive speeches of busy-bodies who said, "Fie upon the indigent Drona, who strives not to earn wealth ! whose son drinking water mixed with powdered rice mistaketh it for milk and danceth with joy, saying, I have taken milk, I have taken milk !" I was quite beside myself. Reproaching myself much, I at last resolved that even if I should live cast off and censured by Brahmanas, I would not yet, from desire of wealth, be anybody's servant, which is ever hateful.

Indian politicians have been discussing for the last few weeks whether the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme has given them milk or "water mixed with powdered rice." That it is not pure unadulterated milk, admits of no doubt. It is possible that it is water mixed with powdered rice. Whatever it may be, our political Aswathamas should be wiser than to dance in joy, saying, "We have got milk, we have got milk !" The free peoples of the earth who know by experience what milk is, cannot but deride us if we mistake water mixed with powdered rice for milk.

Our own opinion is that the mixture consists of 5 per cent milk and 95 per cent water mixed with powdered rice. This is a rough estimate, not the result of careful chemical analysis.

Indian Reform Bill Being Drafted.

Paragraph 354 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms says :—

"In a matter of so great intricacy and importance it is obvious that full and public discussion is necessary. Pledges have been given that the opportunity for such discussion will be afforded. All that we ask, therefore, of His Majesty's Government for the present is that they will assent to the publication of our report..... Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike."

When the report was published it was given out that the Cabinet had not yet considered it, which meant that such consideration by the Cabinet involved the possibility of important or unimportant changes in the proposals contained in it. The pledges given that opportunity for full discussion will be afforded, also pointed to the possibility of change.

But can it be that all this was after all mere make-believe or camouflage, and that there is no probability of any important change being made in the proposals ? It is true, discussion has not been prevented in India. But full discussion in England is of far greater importance now than in India. To that country, however, we cannot send any delegates to place our views before the British public. So the discussion there is one-sided. Thus the pledge that opportunity will be given for full discussion has been broken. But even if such opportunity had been given, would it have been of much use ? Reuter cabled the following message from London on July 15 :—

In the Commons replying to Commander Wedgewood Mr. Montagu stated that a bill embodying his and Lord Chelmsford's proposals was being drafted. He could not say whether the drafting would be finished in three months. It was a very complicated business.

Mr. Whyte asked.—When will the standing committee on Indian affairs be set up ?

Mr. Montagu replied.—I cannot answer that question until the Government has decided its policy.

If the Cabinet has not considered the Report and the Government has not decided its policy, why is a bill being drafted ? Ordinary bills are drafted after Government has made up its mind and settled its policy as regards the subject of the bill. It is difficult to understand why a bill relating to fundamental changes in India should be drafted before Government has considered the proposals, of the Secretary of State and the Viceroy and decided its policy. Or are such consideration and such decision of policy mere

formalities to be gone through at some convenient future date, and hence they need not stand in the way of the drafting of the bill, as they cannot possibly result in any important changes in the bill? If that be so, discussion must also be practically useless. But the Report says: "Our proposals can only benefit by reasoned criticism both in England and India, official and non-official alike." Where does the benefit come in? We know bills may and do undergo important modifications before they are passed, when the interests of powerful British parties are affected. But there is no strong party either within the British Parliament or outside, which is at all likely to exert its influence to obtain for Indians more political power than the Report proposes to give them. The probability lies rather in the opposite direction.

Puffing the Reform Scheme.

Our impression that the Reform Scheme is not likely to undergo any important modification is strengthened by the loud acclamations with which it has been generally received in the British Press. British politicians like British traders know how to puff their goods. The Report has been so extolled to the skies as if it recommended that the people of India should be immediately liberated and made independent! Men of British descent have even expressed grave doubts as to whether educated Indians would be able to prove themselves fit for exercising the rights which the Report proposes to confer on them! After all this the wonder is that large numbers of Indians having "a stake in the country" have not declared in public meeting assembled that the Report is too much in advance of the times and that the proposals should be considered five centuries hence. The encomiums bestowed on the Report in the British Press are calculated to create an impression among the Allied nations and in the "civilised world" in general that the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals are a feat in statesmanship unparalleled in history for boldness and generosity. The attacks on the Report in the same Press, not so much in evidence as the panegyric, are calculated to produce the same impression in an indirect manner. They are meant to lead the world to believe that the British people are by their excess of

liberalism, generosity and boldness going to produce a political revolution in India similar to the Russian revolution. But how far removed from the reality are both the encomiums and the denunciations! And how hollow all this camouflage!

The Political Uniqueness of India.

In the world's history, no nation ever obtained self-government by such stages or compartments as are proposed in the case of India. In the government of the whole country of India we are still only to criticise and influence, we are not to control the Government. In the provinces, we are to have in theory control over some politically "unimportant" or "non-essential" subjects, the ministers in charge thereof being subject to the advice, guidance and control of the Governor. The Governor, the Governor-General, and the Secretary of State are to have the power of the veto. The Government of India are also to have the power of overriding legislation. The Governors and the Governor-General are to have the power of dissolving their legislatures, which, as they are not like constitutional rulers acting in this matter on the advice of responsible ministers, they ought not to have.

It is not known what the electoral qualifications of voters are to be for the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Legislative Councils. The qualifications, to be decided upon by a committee, are to vary not only from province to province, but may be different even within the same province from district to district according to differing stages of political, educational and economic advancement. The "transferred" subjects to be under the charge of "responsible" Indian ministers, have not yet been named. They are to be listed by another committee. They will not be the same for different provinces, for the provinces are not exactly at the same stage of development!

So, here is a lesson for the world in the varied character of the provinces and regions of India. And neither the whole of India, nor any part of it, is fit for "self-determination", for which, of course outside the dependent portions of the British Empire, the British people are fighting. But in all regions of the world (particularly in Europe) which lie beyond the bounds of the British Empire, *in esse* or *in posse*,

there is not the least difference in the political capacity of the peoples, absolutely no differing stages of political development. Serbians, Bulgarians, Belgians, Montenegrins, Rumanians, Poles, Czechoslavs, Yugo-Slavs,—all are equally fit for *immediate independence* and self-determination. When the Russian Revolutionaries drove out the Tsar and set up a republic, the Allies, including the British people, recognised all the inhabitants of the Russian Empire,—speaking numerous languages, professing various religions, belonging to widely differing ethnological groups, at various stages of civilisation from the nomadic to the industrial—as equally fit for political independence and self-determination! But when you come to India, why even Sir S. P. Sinha, the Anglo-Indian Government's Show-boy, is not fit for Self-determination! Verily we are a unique people, living in a unique country, and governed by the most efficient and the most altruistic bureaucracy in the world! May we never cease to take comfort from the thought!

Charter or Chance or Charity?

Reuter has cabled to us Commander Wedgewood's advice to the people of India to accept the Montagu-Chelmsford *charter* and make the best of it. He may be sincere, though ill-informed, in his advice, but we must frankly tell him what we feel.

It is necessary for the very independent political existence of the British people to win the war. Hence, all British political parties have sunk their differences so far as is necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. And one of the moral weapons used to obtain victory is the declaration that the British people are fighting for the world's freedom, for democracy and for the right of self-determination of nations. In order to prove the sincerity of this declaration Great Britain must show that within her dependencies she has given or is going to give effect to the principle underlying this declaration. So, it is necessary that there must not be any party differences in the attitude of British politicians and journalists towards the Reform Scheme. Like efforts to win the War, it is a National cause to show that India is being given her due. One is allowed to say that too much is being given her, one may of course say that she

is getting just what she requires and is fit for, but one must not say that nothing or too little is being given her; for that would be against the National Policy of Great Britain. Thus, in judging of the worth of the Reform Scheme, we must be guided solely or mainly by our own political knowledge, acumen and experience, not by the advice of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, nor by that of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald or Mr. Josiah Wedgewood.

The Report does not give us any charter. In the governance of India, the most important things or functions are in the hands of the Government of India. But the Secretary of State and the Viceroy say: "It is true that we do not offer responsibility to elected members of the [All-India] Legislative Assembly." There is no definite or indefinite promise in the report that the Government of India will ever be "responsible" to the people even in any "transferred" subjects. Needless to say, therefore, that there is consequently no machinery provided for the gradual transformation of the Government of India from an "irresponsible" bureaucracy into a "responsible" constitutional government. So this so-called *Charter* leaves it to be inferred that possibly the most important affairs in the governance of India will be managed for an indefinite period or for all time by an "irresponsible" bureaucracy. Is such beautiful vagueness the characteristic of a charter? For the provinces, there is no definitely fixed electoral qualification. This is to be determined by a committee, and may differ from province to province and from region to region in the same province. Is this charter-like? The subjects to be "transferred" to Indian ministers are not named; they will not be the same in all the provinces; they are to be listed by another committee. Is this charter-like?

Consider, again, how much is left to chance and charity. The electoral qualifications and the "transferred" subjects are to be decided upon by two committees, *not appointed or elected by us*. We are left to the mercy of men whom we cannot call to account. This is neither self-determination nor like a charter. After five years' time from the first meeting of the reformed councils in the provinces, we shall again have to depend on the charity, mercy, generosity or good graces of the Government of India and the

Secretary of State. And that in this wise. Paragraph 260 of the report says :

"After five years' time from the first meeting of the reformed councils we suggest that the Government of India should hear applications from either the provincial Government or the provincial council for the modification of the reserved and transferred lists of the province ; and that after considering the evidence laid before them they should recommend for the approval of the Secretary of State the transfer of such further subjects to the transferred list as they think desirable. On the other hand, if it should be made plain to them that certain functions have been seriously maladministered, it will be open to them with the sanction of the Secretary of State to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list, or to place restrictions for the future on the ministers' powers in respect of certain transferred subjects. This examination of the question by the Government of India after the lapse of five years will be of value in enabling the allotment of portfolios to be redetermined, if need be, in the light of the experience gained during that time. But it is also desirable to complete the responsibility of the ministers for the transferred subjects. This should come in one of two ways, either at the initiative of the council if it desires and is prepared to exercise greater control over the ministers, or the discretion of the Government of India, which may wish to make this change as a condition of the grant of new, or of the maintenance of existing, powers. We propose therefore that the Government of India may, when hearing such applications, direct that the ministers' salaries, instead of any longer being treated as a reserved subject and therefore protected in the last resort by the Governor's order from interference, should be specifically voted each year by the legislative council ; or failing such direction by the Government of India, it should be open to the councils at that time or subsequently to demand by resolution that such ministers' salaries should be so voted and the Government of India should thereupon give effect to such request. The ministers would in fact become ministers in the parliamentary sense. The councils would have power to refuse to pass their salaries, and they would have to accept the consequences which constitutional convention attaches to such a vote."

It will be seen from the above that there would be the possibility of re-transfer from the list of "transferred" subjects to that of "reserved" subjects and of restrictions being placed on the powers of ministers in respect of certain transferred subjects. It may be said that we must not suspect that the Government of India would exercise their powers in any arbitrary or ungenerous manner. But is it the characteristic of charters to have superabundant faith in the reasonableness, generosity and altruism of autocrats and bureaucrats ? Is a world-war going to happen every five years or ten years to stimulate the sense of justice, the liberalism and the generosity of British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats ? British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats

are not likely to be either more just, liberal and generous or less just, liberal and generous, in dealing with India after the war than they were before the war. And in the report itself it is admitted that, with all their sense of justice, liberalism and generosity, "Hitherto we have ruled India by a system of absolute government", and "that Parliament's omission to institute regular means of reviewing the Indian administration is as much responsible as any single cause for our failure in the face of growing nationalist feeling in India, to think out and to work out a policy of continuous advance." In all countries where the people have won or got charters, these have been intended to definitely raise the people from a position of dependence on the good graces of the powers that be to the position of sure possessors and enjoyers of well-defined rights of which they cannot be deprived. It may or may not be justifiable to suspect that British statesmen and Anglo-Indian bureaucrats would act in an unjust or illiberal manner. But what we have the right to ask frankly is, why a Report should be called a Charter which has the effect of breeding in us a periodical beggar-like mood of expectancy.

For, the need of cultivating the mendicant mood would not cease to exist at the end of the first five years. Ten years after the first meeting of the councils established under the statute a parliamentary commission is to be appointed to review the position. "The commissioners' mandate should be to consider whether by the end of the term of the legislature then in existence it would be possible to establish complete responsible government in any province or provinces, or how far it would be possible to approximate it to others ; to advise on the continued reservation of any departments for the transfer of which to popular control it has been proved to their satisfaction that the time had not yet come ; to recommend the retransfer of other matters to the control of the Governor in council if serious maladministration were established ; and to make any recommendations for the working of responsible government or the improvement of the constitutional machinery which experience of the systems in operation may show to be desirable." It is clear from the report that "responsible government" such as it is, will not be established

in any province even after a decade. The report says: "In proposing the appointment of a commission ten years after the new Act takes effect we wish to guard against possible misunderstanding. We would not be taken as implying that there can be established by that time complete responsible government in the provinces. In many of the provinces no such consummation can follow in the time named. The pace will be everywhere unequal, though progress in one province will always stimulate progress elsewhere; but undue expectations might be aroused, if we indicated any opinion as to the degree of approximation to complete self-government that might be reached even in one or two of the most advanced provinces. The reasons that make complete responsibility at present impossible are likely to continue operative in some degree even after a decade." It has been proposed, therefore, "that the further course of constitutional development in the country.....shall from time to time be similarly investigated at intervals of twelve years, a period which represents the life of four councils under the existing regulations." So, we and our descendants and successors must learn to rouse in our and their minds the mood of mendicant expectancy to its acme first after five years, then after another five years, and thence-forward every twelve years. No period is named or indicated at the end of which our periodical political university examinations will cease to be held, and when any province and all the provinces may be declared to have graduated in the Faculty of Provincial Administration. Supposing such a time ever arrives, it is left entirely uncertain as to whether after all the provinces had graduated in the Faculty of Provincial Administration, there would be any post-graduate courses in Pan-Indian Administration, by mastering and passing in which our grandchildren's grand-children might expect to become full-fledged Masters or Doctors of Pan-Indian Administration.

And this is our Charter!

Has there ever been in the world's history any Charter which laid it down that, unless the grantees could satisfy the grantors that the former were good boys, not only could they not have more rights, but that even the natural and ordinary citizen's rights already obtained by them would be taken away,—it being always

borne in mind that whatever rights the grantees acquired meant the curtailment of the privileges and powers of the grantors?

Qualifications for the Vote.

The proposal that qualifications for the vote are not to be the same in the different provinces and even in all parts of the same province, is defended on the ground that all parts of India and all parts of each province are not equally advanced, educationally, politically and economically. This sounds very well in theory. But representative institutions exist in many countries of Europe, America and Asia. Are all parts of every such country equally advanced in every respect? Obviously not. Even all the shires of the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland are not equally advanced in all respects. Such being the case, are qualifications for the vote different in different parts of all or most self-governing countries?

The differences which the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme proposes to make in different parts of India as regards reserved and transferred subjects, electoral qualifications, and the periods after which different provinces of India may have a greater or less amount of "responsible" government, are sure to prove causes of jealousy and heart-burning between province and province, Division and Division and even district and district.

Re-transfer of "transferred" Subjects.

We have seen before that if "responsible" provincial ministers prove unfit for their charges, in the opinion of the foreign rulers of India, a "transferred" subject may be re-transferred to the bureaucratic members of the Government. But if a European member of the bureaucracy, or a Governor, is incompetent, will a reserved subject entrusted to him be transferred to the charge of the responsible Indian minister or ministers? Nothing is said in the Report regarding such a contingency. But it is not an impossibility. Let us mention a few examples. Whose failure was it in the earlier stages of the Mesopotamia campaign, a failure which made some features of Hell visible among the soldiers in that country? The failure was on the part of some Anglo-Indian bureaucrat or bureaucrats. Who were responsible for the deaths of millions of persons in the

Orissa famine of 1865-67 and the great South Indian famine of 1876-78, not to mention other terrible famines? Who failed to maintain peace and order and prevent outrages in the Mymensingh and Tipperah districts in the days of the anti-partition agitation, who failed to maintain order in several Punjab districts in more recent times, who was responsible for failing to prevent the riots in Arrah, who failed to preserve order and prevent outrages in the Barabazar and Machooabazar areas of Calcutta on more occasions than one in recent years? Was not the partition of Bengal a blunder, and did not Lord Macdonnell say openly in the House of Lords that it was the greatest since Plassey? It cannot be denied that but for this measure revolutionary ideas would not have taken root in Bengal. Even the Rowlatt Committee's report admits that "It was the agitation that attended and followed on the latter measure that brought previous discontent to a climax and afforded a much-desired opportunity to Barindra and his friends" (p. 13). The responsible parties were one and all British bureaucrats serving in India. So, most incredible and astonishing though it may sound, British bureaucrats serving in India are not infallible. They may be incompetent, they may be wanting in judgment, they may even be guilty of neglect of duty; for there *have been* imbeciles and vicious men among them, men who were undutiful and injudicious. Therefore, in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report there ought to have been a proposal that if a Governor-in-Council or any European member of an Executive Council prove incompetent, their charges should be transferred to Indian Governors and Executive-Council Members appointed in their place. Of course, it is almost unthinkable that a parliamentary commission composed of British members should find any of their own countrymen out here incompetent; but we make the suggestion in order that the Reform Scheme may be theoretically perfect and its authors may claim to be fair and impartial.

However hard Britishers may try to make us believe that they are infallible, the attempt appears to us ridiculous. British history itself, even very recent history, shows what serious mistakes men of cabinet rank have made, what greed, peculation and corruption even prime

ministers have been guilty of, what imbecility and incompetence high place and pedigree have concealed. Therefore, the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms ought to have taken for granted that both British and Indian men in authority may prove incapable or negligent, and provided the remedy. It may be argued that if one or more British bureaucrats prove unsuccessful, that does not mean that the whole British race are incapable,—incapable men may be replaced by capable ones. Exactly. But why is not the same argument to apply in the case of Indians? If one or more Indian ministers fail, why is it to be assumed that capable Indians cannot be found to replace them and therefore the subjects with which they were entrusted must be retransferred and again be made reserved subjects? It may be said in reply: "O, but we British people have produced so large a number of capable men that it must be taken for granted that we can always find substitutes for nincompoops and sluggards." But as we, too, have in our history, which is longer than British history, produced a very large number of successful men of all kinds, given the opportunity, we can produce the same or a larger number now and in future. Moreover, the question is not, whether the British people as a whole are more capable than the Indian people. The question is, is it right to infer the incapacity of a whole people from the failure of a few men, *chosen as ministers not by their own people, but by a foreign governor*, during an experiment extending over five, ten or twelve years? Certainly not. When among self-governing independent peoples, ministers or other men in authority make serious, nay fatal, mistakes, as in Gallipoli, the men are called to account, but the whole people or nation are not pronounced incompetent and their affairs placed in the hands of a foreign people. Because this would be unjust and unreasonable, and because there is no strong and impartial world-tribunal or world-parliament which can do it. But in the case of dependent peoples, this is done or proposed to be done, because it is easy to do it. But what is feasible is not necessarily fair and just. The right to manage one's own affairs is a natural right, and it cannot cease to be a natural right even though one may make very

serious mistakes. In fact, the right to make mistakes and yet to continue to remain in charge of one's own affairs is an essential right. For that provides the only school where one may learn to be efficient.

Well has the *Philippine Review* (May, 1916) observed :—

Dependent peoples are always looked upon by Westerners as short of qualifications ; and, whatever their actual merits may be, they (their merits) are lost sight of under cover of such *advisably* prevailing belief that they (said people) are short of qualifications.

Their failures are magnified, and their successes minimized. Their failures are theirs, and their successes not theirs, and the latter are necessarily the work of their masters.

The mistakes of independent peoples are not mistakes to them ; but the same mistakes, if made by dependent peoples even in the minimum degree, are considered mistakes in the maximum degree deserving the most spiteful condemnation,—the result of their alleged lack of qualifications, character, or what not.

Besides, dependent peoples are not in a position to act for themselves ; for others act for them—those who, for one reason or another, in one way or another, have assumed responsibility for their tutelage—and are always discriminated against, and subject to the pleasure of their masters, whose convenience must obtain.

On the other hand, an independent people are free from outside prejudices, none cares to waste time searching for their virtues and vices, and they are *per se* considered as fully qualified people, particularly if before and behind them big modern guns can deafeningly roar defensively and offensively.

The Announcement of August 20, 1917, and the Montagu-Chelmsford Report.

The first chapter of the report on Indian constitutional reforms begins with a reproduction of the announcement made by the Secretary of State for India in the House of Commons on August 20, 1917 ; and it is observed : "We take these words to be the most momentous utterance ever made in India's chequered history." India's chequered history is a very long one. The British period of that history is neither the only one worth mentioning, nor the most glorious. And even in the British period Queen Victoria's Proclamation was a more momentous utterance than the announcement quoted in the report. But that is not the main observation which we wish to make thereupon. There is an English proverb which runs :—"Do not look a gift horse in the mouth ;"—but the people of India have followed this precept so patiently in the past with regard to public announcements and they have found such meagre results from doing

so, that now they are inclined to look with suspicion on all new Proclamations and to say with the Latin poet that those persons are most to be feared who come with gifts in their hands.

We cannot fail to remember how the Queen's Proclamation, promising racial equality, was whittled down and how its force was explained away by Lord Curzon and others. This experience is too fresh in our memories for us not to look with grave suspicion on the qualifying paragraph in the announcement of August 20, 1918. It runs as follows :—

"The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be judges of the time and measure of each advance."

If the responsibility for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples were a matter of concern only for the British Government and the Government of India, then there might be some reason for stating that they alone were to be judges of the time and measure of each advance. But it goes without saying that the Indian peoples themselves are far more intimately concerned in their own welfare and progress than any British Government or Government of India (as at present constituted) can possibly be. It should therefore be obvious that *their* voice should be heard in judging the time and measure of each advance and not merely or chiefly the voice of the British and Indian Governments.

There is a wellknown story in English History of King Canute sitting in his chair as the tide came in and saying to the incoming waves,—"Thus far shalt thou go and no further." There is something pathetic in the fallacy, which seems to be shared in common by all autocratic rulers in all ages, that they can set bounds by some statute of their own to the vast incalculable movements of national upheaval ; that they can say at each moment, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no further.' It is forgotten that world-forces, too, have to be reckoned with. Was it as entirely free choosers of the time and measure of each advance of the Indian people that their rulers made the announcement of August 20, 1917, and wrote and published the report on Indian constitutional reforms on July 8, 1918 ; or did they also feel the compelling force of circumstance ?

If the British Government and the

Government of India were altogether one with the Indian peoples in interest, sentiment, race and religion, there might be hope that the signs of the times would be closely watched and followed, and no very grave mistake in judgment might ensue. But the history of recent British Rule in India, as the present Report frankly acknowledges, has shown how the two elements,—the Government and the people,—have been drifting farther apart. Is it conceivable, then, that rulers of this description will be the best and wisest “judges as to the time and measure of each advance”?

One point, of even more serious importance, is to be noted throughout the whole of this second paragraph of the Announcement. However good the intentions of the writers may have been, it has the air of the superior person about it. Opportunities of service are to be *conferred* on Indians. Indians are to be judged worthy or unworthy of more self-governing powers according to “the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.” There is no open acknowledgement of self-government as an elemental human right which all men ought to share. Instead of this, there is a kind of bargaining with this very right as a thing which may or may not be conferred on Indians according to what their judges consider good or bad behaviour. It is this frame of mind, more than anything else, which needs changing, if healthy co-operation between the rulers and the ruled is to be made possible.

The British Prime Minister and other British statesmen of high rank have repeatedly declared that the present European war is a war for securing to nations the right of self-determination. But this announcement says that the British Government and the Government of India must be the judges of the time and the measure of each advance. Where does the right of self-determination come in here? Were British statesmen then guilty of mental reservation, when they made their declaration about the principle of self-determination in an unqualified form and probably mentally excluded India from its benefit? Or will they have recourse to petty quibbling, saying either that the principle is meant for small nations, and India is not a small nation, or that it is meant only for nations, and

the people of India are not a nation? But even in that case one might ask, Are the natives of the former German Colonies in Africa, who have been promised the right of self-determination by Mr. Lloyd George, nations?

Considering both the spirit and the letter of the announcement, it must be said that in one most important, if not the most important, respect, the report is not a fulfilment nor even a step in fulfilment of the central promise contained in the announcement. The promise was that of “the progressive realization of responsible government in India.” India does not mean any part of India, or even all the parts taken separately and singly; it means the country considered as a whole. Now, in the report, so far as the governance of India as a whole is concerned there is neither the actuality nor even a promise of the introduction of the principle of responsible government to the smallest extent. It may be said that full responsible government must first be attained in all the provinces, before its introduction in India as a whole can be talked of. But why was not that said clearly in the announcement? It speaks of responsible government *in India*, not in the provinces. We have not got full freedom even in our local bodies like the municipalities, district boards, &c. Therefore the first formula laid down in the report is: “There should be, as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control.” This, rightly, has not been called “responsible government in India” nor even its beginning. If full popular control in *local* affairs cannot be called “responsible government in India,” that name cannot also be given to full popular control in *provincial* affairs, when that is attained. Our argument, briefly, is this: the functionaries in charge of at least one very unimportant Pan-Indian department of the Government of India must be made responsible to the people or their representatives in the legislature before it can be said that the promise of “the progressive realization of responsible government in India” has been fulfilled or begua to be fulfilled. Popular control in the affairs of parts of India,—be the parts small or large, be they villages, towns, sub-divisions, districts, or provinces—is not at all synonymous with “responsible government in

India." There will be the beginning of "responsible government in India" only as soon as *the people of India* begin to have control in Pan-Indian matters. But the third formula in the report concludes by saying only this: "In the meantime the Indian Legislative Council should be enlarged and made more representative and its opportunities of *influencing* Government increased." The report does not go further than this. Therefore it does not give effect to the central principle of the announcement. Moreover, far from making the Government of India responsible to the people in the least degree, it actually increases in some respects its autocratic powers and releases it from responsibility to Parliament in some matters. To that extent it goes against the policy underlying the announcement.

The Racial Bar in the Public Services.

In the summary of the recommendations contained in the report, we find the following:—

64. Any racial bars that still exist in regulations for appointment to the public services to be abolished.

65. In addition to recruitment in England, where such exists, a system of appointment to all the public services to be established in India.

66. Percentages of recruitment in India, with definite rate of increase, to be fixed for all these services.

67. In the Indian Civil Service the percentage to be 33 per cent. of the superior posts, increasing annually by $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. until the position is reviewed by the commission.

Recommendations like the above have been taken and explained by some advocates of the reform scheme to mean that all racial distinctions are to be abolished in the public services. That is not so, as we shall presently see.

If the intention of the writers of the report had been to abolish all racial distinctions, they would have recommended the holding of simultaneous competitive examinations in India and England for all the services for which there is at present recruitment in England. They would not have merely fixed an increased percentage of the appointments to be made in India. The removal of the racial bar ought properly to mean that all appointments are to be made solely on the ground of merit, irrespective of race; that is to say, that race is not to be considered either a qualification or a disqualification. If such a principle were followed, and proper arrangements were

made for giving effect to it, all or most of the appointments might go to Indians or to Europeans; but nobody would be justified in making a grievance of that fact.

It is to be carefully noted that 33 per cent. of the *superior posts* in the Indian Civil Service are proposed to be filled in India, not 33 per cent. of *all* the posts; so that the actual number will be very small.

It is also to be noted that the method of recruitment in India is not definitely mentioned. If it be not by competitive examination but by some system of nomination, not only will the most deserving not get the posts, but such a system will cause demoralization among a large circle of educated young men and their guardians. They would try to behave in such a way as to be able to win the good graces of district officers, police superintendents, &c.

The principle of race equality was explicitly recognized by the Court of Directors of the East India Company when they said that there was to be no governing caste in India. In the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, too, equality was promised. It was Lord Curzon who started the cry of having a *corps de elite* in the public service, consisting of officers of British birth. And ever since many official and non-official Europeans have insisted that the *British character of the administration*, whatever that may mean, must be maintained. In the present report, far from the claim of racial superiority being knocked on the head, the principle of race superiority is enunciated in a very arrogant and offensive form.

In paragraph 155 it is stated:—

We have shown that the political education of the ryot cannot be a very rapid and may be a very difficult process. Till it is complete, he must be exposed to the risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is; and until it is clear that his interests can safely be left in his own hands or that the legislative councils represent and consider his interests, we must retain power to protect him. So with the depressed classes.

In the words "risk of oppression by people who are stronger and cleverer than he is," reference is made to "people" of his own race. It is assumed, contrary to the facts recorded in history, laws and newspapers from the days of Clive and Warren Hastings downwards, that the ryot and the depressed classes have been

and may be oppressed only by higher class people of their own race, not by people of the British race, too! It is assumed, contrary to the teaching of history, that the latter have always played only the part of protectors of the Indian masses. In their own country, did the higher class British members of parliament represent and consider the interests of the labouring classes from the birth of representative institutions? Do they do so now? What for, then, has the Labour Party been formed? Even an elementary knowledge of the history of parliamentary representation shows that the classes have never properly represented the masses, and that the representation of the masses has been gradually secured by successive reform acts. Yet the fact that the classes did not or could not represent the masses was never allowed to stand in the way of the British legislature acquiring full control over national affairs in all directions.

It cannot but be admitted that just as in other old civilised countries so in India, the higher classes do not fully represent the lower classes, but it is as false as it is insulting to assume that the foreign bureaucrat has sought to protect and promote the interests of the ryots and the depressed classes to a greater extent than their own educated countrymen.

But it is in speaking of the public services that race arrogance finds expression in its most offensive form. Let us illustrate what we mean by quoting some sentences from paragraph 314.

The characteristics which we have learned to associate with the Indian public services must as far as possible be maintained; and the leaven of officers possessed of them should be strong enough to assure and develop them in the service as a whole. The qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgment, and integrity in her public servants will be as necessary as ever to India. There must be no such sudden swamping of any service with any new element that its whole character suffers a rapid alteration. As practical men we must also recognise that there are essential differences between the various services and that it is possible to increase the employment of Indians in some more than in others. The solution lies therefore in recruiting year by year such a number of Indians as the existing members of the service will be able to train in an adequate manner and inspire with the spirit of the whole.

Let any intelligent and honest man say whether this is the language of men who want really to do away with racial distinctions in the public services.

The "new element" is the Indian element, and as it is an inferior element not inferently possessed, like the superior British element, of "the qualities of courage, leadership, decision, fixity of purpose, detached judgment, and integrity," "there must be no" "sudden swamping of any service with" this new element! Every year, suppose, some 40 or 50 new covenanted civilians join the service. If these young men are all or mostly Europeans, either they do not require any adequate training by the older men in the service, they do not require to be inspired with the spirit of the whole,—their race makes training and inspiration unnecessary, being itself a training and an inspiration,—or this training and inspiration can be very easily given them by the older British I.C.S. men. But when it comes to the question of training the young civilians of Indian birth, why, they are necessarily by their race so inferior to their fellows of British birth of the same age, that it would be very difficult to the older I. C. S. men to train and inspire them! Therefore, only a very small number of this bad lot, of this inferior "new element," must be recruited every year. Otherwise the "whole character" of the service would "suffer a rapid alteration" for the worse! And who are these young Indians who are branded as inferior? They have stood a severe competitive test,—a proof of intellectual attainments and at least some moral worth. They have passed in riding, which speaks of their physical fitness. They have braved the seas, and the courage and self-restraint necessary to go to a distant foreign country for undergoing difficult courses of studies are indications of the possession of at least some strength of character. But it is assumed that they are inferior to their stay-at-home British competitors, whose superiority is axiomatic. Have the Indian members of the I. C. S. been found by experience to be as a class lacking in the qualities named in the report? When and by what decisive tests was this assumed inferiority established?

This is obliteration of race distinctions with a vengeance!

The writers of the report have not even dreamt that a time may come when the entire personnel of the higher services can be Indian. They say: "the continued

presence of the English officer is vital, and we intend to act on that belief."

Self-rule and Getting High Posts.

There cannot be complete self-rule in a country unless the personnel of the services becomes entirely indigenous. This is so obvious that in the Philippine Islands the American Government has been rapidly Filipinizing the services. Filipinization of the government service was the policy of President Mackinley in his organic letter of instructions, and has been endorsed with emphasis as a principle by succeeding presidents and by most of the Governors General of the islands. The law requires that the Filipinos be given an opportunity to fill any offices for which they demonstrate their ability, which will be evident from the following extract from the civil service act:

Sec. 6. In the appointment of officers and employees under the provisions of this act, the appointing officer in his selection from the list of eligibles, furnished to him by the director of civil service, shall, where other qualifications are equal, prefer—

First. Natives of the Philippine Islands or persons who have, under and by virtue of the Treaty of Paris, acquired the political rights of the natives of the islands.

Second. Persons who have served as members of the Army, Navy, or Marine corps of the United States and have been honorably discharged therefrom.

Third. Citizens of the United States.

So in their native land *the Filipinos have the first claim to civil service appointments, and their conquerors the Americans have the last claim.*

The extract from the report of the Governor General of the islands given below will show that the Americans have adopted the policy of Filipinization, not in pursuit of some abstract political theory, but for the sake of administrative efficiency.

"In addition to the justice of the policy of Filipinization, it is obvious to all that efficiency must result when capable Filipinos are placed in office, because thereby the confidence and cordial co-operation of the people are obtained. An administrative efficiency which may sparkle in the lecture room is not necessarily perceptible in action when the co-operation of the people cannot be obtained or when the opposition of the people is invited."

Americans are examined for and appointed to the Philippine civil service only when there are no properly qualified Filipino eligibles. For detailed proof, see the extracts given in the article on "America's Work in the Philippines" published in the Modern Review for March, 1917.

Instead of laying down the policy of complete Indianization of the services in the long run and bringing it about as rapidly as possible, the Montagu-Chelmsford report says in paragraph 324:—

"We are no longer seeking to govern a subject race by means of the services; we are seeking to make the Indian people self-governing. To this end we believe that the continued presence of the English officer is vital, and we intend to act on that belief."

How paradoxical! You intend to make us self-governing by providing that we shall have "the continued presence" of English masters bearing the courtesy name of civil servants. And in respect of certain functions, it is said in paragraph 323, "English commissioners, magistrates, doctors and engineers will be required to carry out the policy of Indian ministers." It stands to reason that a race which can produce ministers to lay down policies can also furnish men able to carry out those policies, because in all countries the ministers are rightly taken to be men of higher calibre than the civil servants. So, considering that the principle has been accepted that in provincial affairs, all functions or subjects will be ultimately transferred to Indian ministers, it being taken for granted that such ministers will be found, why could not another principle and policy be recognised and laid down that in the provinces ultimately all Government servants from the highest to the lowest will be Indians?

But, while insisting that all the services must gradually and rapidly be Indianized, for unless that is done there can be no real Indian self-rule, we should not forget that self-rule or responsible government is not at all synonymous with the people of a country getting all the appointments in the government of that country. Take the case of England.

When the civic struggles associated with the Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Petition of Rights, the Revolution of 1688, &c., took place, all the highest and lowest servants of the crown were Englishmen. When the Civil War between the royalists and the parliamentarians took place in the reign of Charles I, the government services were filled by Englishmen. The different reform acts which have been gradually making popular representation more and more of a reality, were passed during times when Englishmen held all

posts in their country, high and low. But Englishmen have understood all along that to be the servants of government is not the same thing as to be the masters of government. And popular self-rule or responsible government means that the people are to be the masters of government. So while striving to obtain all the public appointments in our country, our aim should be not merely to be servants of government but masters of government.

Communal Representation.

In the report the arguments against communal electorates have been very ably stated. Nevertheless, Musalmans are to have communal representation under the new scheme, because, "they were given special representation in 1909, and the Hindus' acquiescence is embodied in the present agreement between the political leaders of the two communities." This we can understand. But the extension of the principle of communal representation to the Sikhs in the Punjab is altogether indefensible. Paragraph 229 says :

"The British Government is often accused of dividing men in order to govern them. But if it unnecessarily divides them at the very moment when it professes to start them on the road to governing themselves, it will find it difficult to meet the charge of being hypocritical or short sighted."

Exactly.

In the matter of communal electorates the only improvement on the present state of things is indicated in the sentence "But we can see no reason to set up communal representation for Muhammadans in any province where they form a majority of the voters." It should, however, be noted that "a majority of voters" is spoken of, not a "majority of the population." Musalmans form the majority of the population of Bengal. But if the bureaucracy wish to give them separate representation in Bengal, they have only to adopt such voters' qualifications in the East and North Bengal districts as to make the total number of Musalman voters less than that of Hindu voters by only a dozen or two.

Power of the Purse.

The power of the purse is the very corner-stone of all popular governments. But neither in the Government of India nor in that of the provinces, are we to have the power of the purse. Freed from all technicalities, the financial arrange-

ments would be something like this. Of the total revenues of India, provincial and imperial, the Government of India will first take what is sufficient to meet all their needs. That will be the first charge on the revenues of India. The Legislative Assembly of the Government of India will have no power to modify the budget in any way contrary to the wishes of the Governor-General-in-Council.

"The budget will be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, but the Assembly will not vote it. Resolutions upon budget matters and upon all other questions, whether moved in the Assembly or in the Council of State will continue to be advisory in character." (Paragraph 284.)

In order to put the best complexion on thus keeping the peoples' representatives deprived of the power of the purse, it is said in the same paragraph :—

".....since resolutions will no longer be defeated in the Assembly by the vote of an official majority, they will, if carried, stand on record as the considered opinion of a body which is at all events more representative than the Legislative Council which it displaced. That in itself will mean that the significance of resolutions will be enhanced : there will be a heavier responsibility upon those who pass them, because of their added weight ; and the Government's responsibility for not taking action upon them will also be heavier. It will be therefore incumbent on Government to oppose resolutions which it regards as prejudicial with all the force and earnestness that it can command in the hope of convincing the Assembly of their undesirability."

But all this means "influence," not "power."

As far as we can see, private members are not precluded from introducing fiscal legislation. They can also bring in bills bearing indirectly on the budget. In all such cases, it would be quite easy for the Governor-General in Council, if he did not like it, either to get it thrown out or to remove from it the objectionable features, by following the procedure described in paragraphs 279 and 280.

As regards the provinces,

"We propose...that the provincial budget should be framed by the executive Government as a whole. The first charge on provincial revenues will be the contribution to the Government of India; and after that the supply for the reserved subjects will have priority. The allocation of supply for the transferred subjects will be decided by the ministers. If the revenue is insufficient for their needs, the question of new taxation will be decided by the Governor and the ministers....The budget will then be laid before the council which will discuss it and vote by resolution upon the allotments. If the legislative council rejects or modifies the proposed allotment for reserved subjects, the Governor should have power to insist on the whole or any

part of the allotment originally provided, if for reasons to be stated, he certifies its necessity in the terms which we have already suggested. * We are emphatically of opinion that the Governor in Council must be empowered to obtain the supply which he declares to be necessary for the discharge of his responsibilities. Except in so far as the Governor exercises this power the budget would be altered in accordance with the resolutions carried in council." (Paragraph 256.)

So far, then, as the budget is concerned, the representatives of the people in the provincial councils will have slightly more power than the elected members of the Indian Legislative Assembly. But the little power which they will have can by no means be called power of the purse. The Governor will not have any appreciable difficulty in getting and spending whatever amounts he wishes.

That "the provincial budget should be framed by the executive government as a whole," does not give any power to the people. For, "the executive government as a whole" will mean, the Governor, one European official councillor, one Indian councillor *nominated by the Governor*, one or more Indian ministers *chosen by the Governor* from the elected members of the legislative council, and one or more European official members without portfolio. It is clear then that in the executive government as a whole, the Indian element (not elected or consisting wholly of elected members chosen by the Governor) will be weaker than the European element.

The subjects which are likely to be transferred to the Indian ministers will be such as - primary and secondary education, sanitation, &c., which have never had sufficient money allotted to them. Under the new scheme, there will be several additional high appointments, and the pay and pension of the "European" services will be increased. It is not at all likely, therefore, that the Indian ministers will have sufficient money for their subjects unless fresh taxation is resorted to. We strongly object to the odium of proposing and levying fresh taxation being thrown, and that at the very start, on the Indian ministers who will require all the popularity with and

co-operation of their countrymen, that they can get to make the experiment of responsible government successful, before recourse has been had to economies *both in imperial and provincial expenditure* to obtain sufficient funds for education, &c. But as the peoples' representatives will not have the power of the purse in the government of India or of the provinces, economies will not be capable of being effected. The writers of the report think that Indians hold "an exaggerated view of the possibilities of economy in the reserved subjects." But we think large economies can be effected in imperial and provincial expenditure, and the salaries of high European and Indian officials can be cut down without impairing efficiency. One has only to consider the salaries paid to high officials in other countries to be convinced that in this country higher officials are paid on an extravagant scale. Many bureaucrats now swear by Mr. Gokhale. They will do well to read his Budget speeches, particularly, his speech on increase in public expenditure delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council on January 28, 1911, to be convinced that it is both practicable and necessary to cut down expenditure in many directions.

No doubt in the long run, fresh taxation will be necessary to raise India to the level of other self-governing countries. But we should first be able to see what can be done by retrenchment of non-essential expenditure. When we have been able thus to increase the earning power and incomes of the people, they will be able, too, to pay more taxes.

But if in the immediate future taxation must be resorted to, why should not the Governor himself obtain supplies partly in that way? Why throw the odium on the Indian ministers? Government are not unaware of the difficulties of new taxation; they know that there is little or no margin of taxation. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy write in their report (para. 187): "The defects of the present [educational] system have often been discussed in the legislative councils but, as was inevitable so long as the councils had no responsibility, without due appreciation of financial difficulties, or serious consideration of the question *how far fresh taxation for educational improvement would be acceptable*" (italics ours). This

* The terms as suggested in paragraph 252 are: "essential to the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for the reserved subjects."

is very nice. Government have grave doubts as to the acceptability of fresh taxation, and, therefore, let the Indian ministers do what would most probably be unacceptable, and which on that account the bureaucracy have not yet attempted!

In paragraph 257 of the report we find it mentioned as a safeguard that "if the ministers and the legislative councils are compelled to accept allotments for the reserved subjects with which they do not agree, our proposal that a periodic commission shall review the proceedings affords another safeguard. Both the Government and the legislative council will decide on their course of action with full knowledge that their conduct in the matter will, in due course, come under review by the commission." But this is no substitute for the power of the purse resting in the hands of the people. Extravagant and unessential expenditure should be prevented and money for essential objects provided, every year. It is poor consolation that 10 or 12 years hence, a parliamentary commission may find fault with this governor or that councillor. That will not undo the harm done by the previous ten or twelve years' inadequate expenditure on essential objects and waste of money in other directions. Besides, the result of all inquests is uncertain, and the parliamentary commission would consist of Englishmen chosen by Englishmen. We cannot expect them to take the same view of things and of the relative importance of different government functions in India as we take. But self-government and self-determination mean that we are to decide what we require most and regulate our public expenditure accordingly.

Personal Liberty.

Without personal liberty, responsible government, or by whatever other name self-rule may be styled, is a sham. In the report, we do not find any provision for securing to the people of India a greater measure of personal liberty than they at present enjoy. On the contrary the liberty-destroying provisions of the Defence of India Act stand the best chance of being given a permanent place in the statute book. All penal legislation operating over the whole of India is passed by the Government of India; that will continue to be the

case in future. And the Government of India is to be irresponsible to the people as at present, being able to pass any laws which it thinks necessary for maintaining peace and order and for good government, and being also able to prevent the passage of any law or any section of a law which it thinks prejudicial to peace, order and good government. Moreover, as both in the government of India and of the provinces, resolutions of the legislature are to have effect only as recommendations, there cannot be any effective check exercised by the people's representatives upon arbitrary action, high-handedness, misrule or oppression by the executive and the police. The Governor General is to retain his existing power of making ordinances and the Governor General in Council his power of making Regulations. It is said in the report, moreover, "It is our intention to reserve to the Government of India a general overriding power of legislation for the discharge of all functions which it will have to perform." In the provinces, though the legislative council is to have an elected majority, the Governor is to have power to constitute Grand Committees, comprising from 40 to 50 per cent. of the legislative council, in such a manner as to keep for himself a bare majority. By means of the Grand Committee, he will be able generally to pass any bill by certifying that it is essential for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects; "but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject." In the case of legislation on transferred subjects, the report gives the Governor power to prevent the passage of any law or section of a law which trenches on the reserved field of legislation. It is moreover provided that all provincial legislation is to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty, and the veto of the Governor to include the power of return for amendment.

From the statement of the principles according to which subjects will be divided into reserved and transferred and from

the illustrative list of transferred subjects printed in the appendix, it is clear that the responsible Indian ministers are not for the present (for a decade or decades) to have anything to do with the administration of criminal justice, police, C.I.D., prisons, working of particular Acts, e. g., incitements to crime, seditious meetings, press, arms, etc.

From what has been written above, it will be clear that personal liberty will continue as at present to be at the mercy of the C.I.D., the police and the executive. It will not be possible for the legislature, either of the Government of India or of any provincial government, at the instance of the members elected by the people and against the will of the executive government, to pass any law containing clauses like the following, taken from the Philippine Autonomy Law of 1916 :

"That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws."

"That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion, insurrection, or invasion, the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President, or by the Governor General, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist."

Throughout the report it is assumed that the foreign governor general or governor is far more interested in maintaining peace and order and in good government and far better able to decide what means should be adopted therefor, than scores of political leaders of the country chosen by the people: A fine compliment to Democracy and Self-determination!

As an illustration of the extent to which the people of India may be permanently deprived of the right of the free citizen to enjoy personal liberty, we may refer to the recommendations made in

The Rowlatt Committee's Report.

The recommendations of this Committee would permanently place on the statute book all those provisions of the Defence of India Act which have placed the liberty of the subject entirely and absolutely at the mercy of the C.I.D., the police, and the executive, and, as we have seen before, under the Reform Scheme all the elected members of all the legislatures combined will not have the power to obtain certain relief from official tyranny for any aggrieved

person. *The Tribune* is quite right in observing:—

Most of the recommendations are such that the public can adopt but one attitude in regard to them, that of strong and unqualified condemnation. The police and the executive are all-powerful, even as things are. If the recommendations of the Committee were given effect to, their power would be immensely increased, and public men and public movements would be at their mercy in a far larger measure and degree than they are at present. We cannot help thinking that the report, judging from the summary, is the outcome of minds not only imperfectly acquainted with Indian conditions, but with either an inadequate grasp of the fundamental principles of the British constitution or with an inadequate equipment of that active and burning faith in liberty and justice without which mere knowledge is of no avail. Let us not be misunderstood. We are as anxious as any member of the Commission that crime should be suppressed and the spirit of revolution rooted out. If India became self-governing tomorrow, this task would yet have to be faced, and we should face it deliberately and determinedly. But it is one thing to suppress crime, another to adopt measures for this purpose that in their actual operation would make free public activities, except under sufferance, difficult, if not impossible. It is precisely because we believe this last to be the inevitable tendency of the measures proposed by the Committee that we consider it our duty to enter our strong and emphatic protest against them.

The recommendations are the outcome of the committee's historical survey of the revolutionary movements in India. That this survey cannot be considered complete, impartial and statesmanlike, will appear from what the *Tribune* says.

We do not know what material the Committee had before it for the compilation of this history. On the face of it its commission was a limited one, and the only evidence it was able to take was evidence which the executive Government placed before it. * We should think this was a very inadequate as well as unfair basis on which to place a verdict on the most difficult and complicated situation that the Government and the public in India have had to face since the Mutiny. Nor was the limitation of the material the only drawback in this case. For so stupendous a task as that of judging a political revolution the composition of the Committee itself was extremely defective. If it was the intention of the authorities that the work of political leaders like Mr. Tilak and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal and its supposed relation to the revolutionary movement should be judged it was essential to constitute a committee not merely with judges, and lawyers but with statesmen, and not only should every opportunity have been afforded to the gentlemen concerned and other political workers to state their side of the case but evidence should have been gone into both as regards the state of the law and of the country at the time, and as regards all the attendant circumstances. We are not aware that anything like this

* The only possible additional material, if any, having been obtained from some gentlemen in Bengal and the Punjab whom the committee invited to appear before them to give them "information from various non-official points of view." —Ed., M. R.

was done or attempted. What importance can the public, in the circumstances, be expected to attach to the verdict of the Committee?

Our contemporary then cites a historical parallel which is quite apposite.

One is naturally reminded in this connection of the committee of three judges who tried Parnell and his fellow-workers in 1888. On that committee a highly competent authority has recorded the following verdict:—"It was a strange and fantastic scene. Three judges were trying social and political revolution. The leading actors in it were virtually in the dock. The tribunal had been specially set up by their political opponents, without giving them any effective voice either in its composition or upon the character and scope of its powers. For the first time in England since the Great Rebellion men were practically put on their trial on a political charge without giving them the protection of a jury. For the first time in that period judges were to find a verdict upon the facts of crime. **** A jury would have taken all the attendant circumstances into account. The three judges found themselves bound expressly to shut out those circumstances. In words of vital importance they said: 'We must leave it for politicians to discuss and for statesmen to determine in what respects the present laws affecting land in Ireland are capable of improvement. We have no commission to consider whether the conduct of which they are accused can be palliated by the circumstances of the time or whether it should be condoned in consideration of benefits alleged to have resulted from their acting.' " We leave it to our readers to judge if much of all this does not apply with even greater force to the case before us.

The Tribune also says:—

Nor finally is another fact to be overlooked. It has hitherto been generally believed that what is called the revolutionary movement in India had its origin in 1905, the year of the Partition of Bengal. The Committee goes as far back as 1893 to find the first indication of the movement, on the single ground so far as one gathers from the summary, that in that year certain isolated crimes were perpetrated. At this rate we fail to see why they should not have taken us as far back as the Mutiny or even earlier, and included the assassination of Lord Mayo and all other tragic incidents in India's chequered history in one master plot.

Considering how since the institution of criminal proceedings in England against Sir Valentine Chirol by Mr. B. G. Tilak, the bureaucracy have been directly and indirectly helping Sir Valentine, Mr. Tilak's paper the *Kesari* is justified in saying that the reference in the committee's report "to the Ganapati and Sivaji festivals and Tilak prosecutions is a disgraceful attempt to unduly influence the Chirol case.

Mr. Tilak, says the paper, challenged in the court of law to produce evidence and Government reports, to prove the very allegations made in this Report, but the Government declined to produce them as confidential, but now it appears that these very papers have been produced before the committee, and surely this will prejudice the court. This is

like a stab in the dark and amounts to contempt to the court in London."

The bureaucracy has hitherto had various weapons in their hands to crush those patriots whom they considered their political opponents or enemies. We are now reminded that they have another weapon also, namely, to get a verdict pronounced against them, on *ex parte* evidence, by appointing a committee or a commission. We do not know whether this is "privileged," but it is certainly not fair. No free citizen will care even to consider such a verdict.

Certain general observations of the *Kesari* are also worth quoting:

The "*Kesari*" characterises the Report as giving power similar to court martial to the bureaucracy in India. The paper says, the bureaucracy desires to launch a policy of repression and it has tried to satisfy its conscience by this report. When feelings of genuine loyalty are not in question, it is a most reactionary measure to add to the powers of the bureaucracy. Publication of the report, adds the paper, is an attempt to coerce unwilling public opinion into acceptance of the Montagu scheme.

It is the province of sociology to enquire scientifically into the origin of revolutionary ideas and propaganda and to suggest how they should be properly dealt with. Was any member of the committee a competent sociologist, or even a student of sociology?

Division of Functions of Government.

In the provinces the report proposes to divide the functions of government into reserved (comprising all the most important ones concerned with the maintenance of law and order, land revenue, tenants' rights, &c.) and transferred subjects, the latter probably consisting of primary and secondary education, sanitation, &c. A similar arrangement was suggested in the Joint Address promoted by Mr. Curtis and his friends, in criticising which in the December number of this Review last year we said:

"The problem of government, or, in other words, of ordered mental, moral and material progress for the entire civic body, is a problem which should be considered as an organic whole. Its different departments are inter-related and inter-dependent. One authority, be it one man or a body of men, should consider it as a whole and should settle the work to be done in different departments and control that work. Every State has certain resources

in men and money for carrying on the work of government. One and the same authority should apportion, allot or assign these resources for carrying on the work in different departments and directions, according to their importance and urgency, and control their use. In the kind of.....government proposed for us, it will not be possible for us to consider the problem of government as an organic whole or to think out its solution as such, nor will our representatives be the authority controlling the work of all departments as a whole of which the parts are inter-related. This may be responsible government, but it is certainly not self-government. From the bureaucratic point of view, too, the state of things will be worse than now. For the bureaucracy, too, will not be the authority solely responsible for the solution of the problem of government or for the carrying on or control of the work of all departments.

"When a man is in a debilitated condition, his relatives, friends or other well-wishers, do not entrust one doctor with the work of improving his toe-nails, another with the work of strengthening his fingers, a third with taking care of his teeth, and so on, whilst all the time the work of regulating the quantity, quality and kind of food to be supplied to him is reserved for a person who is beyond the control of the doctors. The procedure usually followed is for either one physician or a body of physicians to examine the whole physical constitution of the patient [and his environment], and prescribe the remedies and the diet."

To all criticisms of the above description the reply given in the report is :—

"241. No doubt we shall be told,—indeed we have often been told already,—that the business of government is one and indivisible, and that the attempt to divide it into two spheres controlled by different authorities, who are inspired by different principles and amenable to different sanctions, even with the unifying provisions which we have described, is doomed to encounter such confusion and friction as will make the arrangement unworkable. We feel the force of these objections. We have considered them very anxiously and have sought out every possible means of meeting them. But to those critics who press them to the point of condemning our scheme we would reply that we have examined many alternative plans, and found that they led either to deadlock or to more frequent or greater potentialities of friction. Such destructive arguments, so far as we can discover, are directed not so much against our particular plan, but against any plan that attempts to define the stages between

the existing position and complete responsible government. The announcement of August 20 postulated that such stages could be found; indeed unless we can find them it is evident that there is no other course open than at some date or other to take a precipitate plunge forward from total irresponsibility to complete responsibility."

This reply does not meet our objections. But let the reader judge. It speaks of "the unifying provisions," "deadlock" and "potentialities of friction." But the "unifying provisions" unify by practically subordinating the popular authority (called the ministers) to the bureaucratic authority, and deadlocks and potentialities of frictions are sought to be avoided in the same way, which is not popular self-government.

The Guiding Principle of the Division.

In dividing the functions of Government into reserved and transferred, the report suggests that the following guiding principle should be adopted :

"Their guiding principle should be to include in the transferred list those departments which afford most opportunity for local knowledge and social service, those in which Indians have shown themselves to be keenly interested, those in which mistakes which may occur, though serious, would not be irremediable, and those which stand most in need of development. In pursuance of this principle we should not expect to find that departments primarily concerned with the maintenance of law and order were transferred. Nor should we expect the transfer of matters which vitally affect the well-being of the masses who may not be adequately represented in the new councils, such for example as questions of land revenue or tenant rights."

It is interesting to note in this connection that in all the districts of Bengal, the Panjab, the U. P. and Bihar, in which in recent years, say since the Partition of Bengal, there have been riots, disorder and outrages on an extensive scale, the district authorities and the superintendents of police (in Calcutta the Commissioner of Police) have been Europeans; and that in those districts of these provinces which had Indian district magistrates and police superintendents there were no such riots, disorders and outrages. It should also be considered, that such riots, disorder, and outrages are of rarer occurrence, if not entirely absent, in the Native States.

As for the pretension that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy have been; and are more interested in promoting the welfare of the ryots and the depressed classes and safeguarding their interests than the

educated middle class, it will not bear a moment's examination. The Note in which Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and other moderate Bombay leaders supported the Congress-League scheme thoroughly demolished this pretension. We may in addition note that Sir N. G. Chandavarkar has written in Mr. G. A. Natesan's "What India Wants":

"The memorandum and the [Congress-League] scheme have been condemned in some quarters as being revolutionary on the main ground that their proposals transfer powers from the Indian Civil Service, who (it is said) are best fitted to represent the masses in India, to the Indian educated classes, who (it is maintained) are not the true representatives of the masses. We may, without fear of the result in favour of the Indian educated classes, invite one test which is a sure test, on this question. If we take the history of the administration from 1858 down to now, with special reference to the amelioration of the condition of the Indian agriculturists, who form 75 per cent of the people in India, we shall incontrovertibly find that measures advocated in their interests by the educated Indians through their newspapers and public associations and at public meetings had been strenuously opposed as chimerical by the British officials in India for a long time and were ultimately more or less adopted under the stress of circumstances. It is the view of the Indian educated classes regarding the ryot's lot which, generally speaking, has after more or less painful experience to some extent won; and the official view has yielded in the end."

Mr. Justice Abdur Rahim of the Madras High Court, a member of the Public Services Commission, wrote in his dissenting minute in that Commission's report:

"In paragraph 18 of the majority report, allusion is made to the allegation that the western educated Indians do not reflect the views or represent the interests of the many scores of millions in India..... As for the representation of their interests, if the claim be that they are better represented by European officials than by educated Indian officials or non-officials, it is difficult to conceive how such a reckless claim has come to be urged."

Sir M. B. Chaulbal, a late member of the Bombay Executive Council and a member of the Public Services Commission, recorded the following observations in his minute in that Commission's report:

"This is rather a shallow pretence—this attempt to take shelter behind the masses; and I think it only fair to state that the class of educated Indians from which only the higher posts can be filled is singularly free from this narrow-mindedness and class or caste bias..... and I have no hesitation in endorsing the opinion of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, in his recent contribution on village life in his tour through Southern India, that the interests of the masses are likely to be far better understood and taken care of by the educated Indian than by the foreigner. As a matter of fact all the measures proposed for the regeneration of the lower and depressed classes have emanated from the educated

Indians of the higher castes. The scheme for the free and compulsory education of these masses was proposed by an educated Indian of a high caste and supported mainly by the western educated classes. High-souled and self-sacrificing men are every day coming forward from this class to work wholeheartedly in improving the condition of the masses."

One incontestable proof of the unflagging zeal with which the bureaucracy have sought to better the lot of the dumb millions of India is that, of all countries in the world under the rule of civilised men, India is the poorest, the most illiterate, and the most unhealthy, and in India alone there has been plague in an epidemic form continually for the last twenty-two years.

It is the educated middle class which has fought for tenants' rights, the latest proofs of which are to be found in the recent history of the Champaran and Kaira districts. It is that class which has always urged in the legislative councils the increase of grants for education and sanitation. They it is who have urged measures for free compulsory education, for the supply of good drinking water, for agricultural improvements, &c. And their efforts have been generally opposed and thwarted by the bureaucracy.

One main reason why Indians are not at first to have charge of "the reserved subjects" is alleged to be want of experience; they may have charge of some such subjects after acquiring experience. But what sort of experience will they have the opportunity of acquiring at first? If a minister has charge of village schools, co-operative credit societies, village roads, &c., how will his experience of work connected with these help him afterwards to successfully undertake the functions of the government relating to criminal administration, policing, land revenue, &c.? If it be argued that any government function being directly or indirectly connected with any other function, all being akin, experience in one is of value in the successful discharge of any other: we may reply, if want of previous experience of even a single department is no bar to a man's having charge of some departments (namely, the transferred ones), it ought not to be a bar to his having charge of other departments (viz., the reserved ones), all being akin. If it be said that official experience is of value in any and every department, in whatever department it may have been acquired;—whilst admitting that it is so,

we may reply that in England and other self-governing countries many distinguished men become ministers without any previous experience of official or departmental work,—the permanent officials supplying that lack of experience,—and that a minister may be Lord Chancellor, first lord of the admiralty, foreign secretary, or president of the board of trade in succession or in different cabinets, without his having given actual proofs of very great versatility.

As for the argument that Indian ministers may make serious and "irremediable" mistakes, will anybody point out in what country even the greatest of statesmen have not made very serious mistakes? In the life of the individual there may be so far as man's earthly life is concerned, fatal and irremediable mistakes. In the life of nations there are no mistakes which are irremediable, though it may take long, persistent and strenuous efforts to undo the harm resulting therefrom. The school of mistakes is the only school where individuals and nations can perfect themselves gradually. If it is made impossible for any people to make great mistakes, it is also made impossible for them to acquire greatness of any kind. It is usual to compare the first efforts of a nation at self-government to the tottering steps of a child, and to say that one must learn to walk before one is permitted to run. But it is only a similitude. No nation is exactly like children; no nation has in history been prescribed doses or morsels of self-government as in the report under discussion,—no, not even the naked Gilbert and Ellis Islanders*; and no parent ever draws a definite line of demarcation between walking and running in allowing his child to master locomotion, no parent actually tests whether a child has mastered the art of walking before allowing him to run, and no parent prevents a child from even attempting to run before it has mastered the art of walking.

The Government of India.

We were under the impression that in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report there is no mention or indication of a time when the Government of India may be a responsible government; but that is a wrong impression. In the *scheme* proposed and

recommended in the report, there is certainly nothing said as to how or when even the first steps towards responsibility in the Government of India may be taken. But in the report, in the following sentence, the imagination of the writers carries them into a future when responsible government may develop in the Government of India:—

"It must, we think, be laid down broadly that in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, Parliament must be prepared to forego the exercise of its own power of control, and that this process must continue *pari passu* with the development of responsible government in the Provinces and eventually in the Government of India." (Para. 291.)

The words we have italicised contain the gleam of hope. There are such gleams in paragraphs 349 and 350 also.

So far as the *scheme* is concerned, it keeps the Government of India as absolute as now. Perhaps it has been made somewhat more absolute than now. For to the Governor General is given the power to dissolve either the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly. It has been also urged (paragraph 292) that, not only in respect of all matters in which responsibility is entrusted to representative bodies in India, "but even as regards reserved subjects,.....there should be such delegation of financial and administrative authority as will leave the Government of India free, and enable them to leave the Provincial Governments free, to work with the expedition that is desirable." (Para. 292). We cannot now say without a closer study of the report than we have yet found possible whether in some other respects also the Government of India has been proposed to be made more autocratic than now; we suspect that it has been.

The Legislative Assembly of the Government of India is to be more representative of the people than the present Indian Legislative Council, as two-thirds of its members will be elected. It will therefore be in a better position than the present council to influence the Government of India. But, as we have said before, influence is not power, nor is it control. In the Council of State, which will be like a second chamber, there will be an official majority, and that will be used to secure the passage of all laws and sections or clauses of laws which the Governor General may think necessary or desirable and to prevent the passage of all laws or

* See "Towards Home Rule," part II, pp. 65-70.

sections or clauses of laws which he considers undesirable or prejudicial to good government.

Government of India Legislation.

The following extracts from the "Summary of Recommendations" will give a general idea of how the Government of India will legislate:

The Council of State to consist of 50 members (exclusive of the Governor-General who will be President, with power to nominate a Vice-President). Of the members 21 to be elected and 29 nominated by the Governor-General. Of the nominated members 4 to be non-officials and not more than 25 (including the Members of the Executive Council) to be officials.

The Legislative Assembly to consist of about 100 members, of whom two-thirds to be elected and one-third nominated. Of the nominated members not less than one-third to be non-officials.

The following procedure to be adopted for legislation.

A. Government bills: ordinarily to be introduced and carried through the usual stages in the Assembly, and if passed by the Assembly to be sent to the Council of State. If the Council of State amend the bill in a manner which is unacceptable to the Assembly, the bill to be submitted to a joint session of both houses, unless the Governor General in Council is prepared to certify that the amendments introduced by the Council are essential to the interests of peace and order or good government (including in this term sound financial administration), in which case the Assembly not to have power to reject or modify such amendments. But in the event of leave to introduce being refused or the bill being thrown out at any stage, the Governor General in Council to have the power, on certifying that the bill is within the formula cited above, to refer it *de novo*, to the Council of State. The Governor General in Council also to have the power in cases of emergency so certified to introduce the bill in the first instance in and to pass it through the Council of State, merely reporting it to the Assembly.

B. Private bills: to be introduced in the chamber of which the mover is a member and on being passed by that chamber to be submitted to the other. Differences of opinion between the chambers to be settled by means of joint sessions. If, however, a bill emerge from the Assembly in a form which the Government think prejudicial to good administration, the Governor General in Council to have power to certify it in the terms already cited and to submit or re-submit it to the Council of State: the bill only to become law in the form given it by the Council.

The above will show that it will be utterly impossible for the elected members, even if they all combine, to prevent the passing of any law desired by the bureaucracy, however retrograde, repressive or subversive of liberty it may be, or to secure the passing of any law in the interest of the people against the will of the Governor General. It is true the Governor General in Council is to adopt the method of "certifying," but "good government" is a

sufficiently vague, elastic and inclusive term to enable him to do so with plausibility and a clean "official" conscience whenever he likes. In the case of "uncertified" legislation, there will be a greater chance than now of private bills passing, as in the joint sessions the elected members of the two chambers will outnumber the nominated and official members, and nominated official members of the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly are to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs. But obviously "uncertified" laws, though they may be more numerous than "certified" laws, cannot be of vital importance from the point of view of power of the purse, personal liberty, tariff policy, fiscal policy, pan-Indian educational policy, railway policy, &c.

Provincial Legislation.

The process of provincial legislation will be understood from the following summary of recommendations:

In each province a enlarged Legislative Council with a substantial elected majority to be established. The Council to consist of (1) members elected on as broad a franchise as possible, (2) nominated including (a) official and (b) non-official members, (3) ex-officio members.

Nominated official members to have freedom of speech and vote except when Government otherwise directs.

Legislation on all subjects normally to be passed in the Legislative Council. Exceptional procedure is provided in the succeeding paragraphs.

The Governor to have power to certify that a bill dealing with reserved subjects is essential either for the discharge of his responsibility for the peace or tranquility of the province or of any part thereof, or for the discharge of his responsibility for reserved subjects. The bill will then, with this certificate, be published in the Gazette. It will be introduced and read in the Legislative Council, and, after discussion on its general principles, will be referred to a grand committee: but the Legislative Council may require the Governor to refer to the Government of India, whose decision shall be final, the question whether he has rightly decided that the bill which he has certified was concerned with a reserved subject.

The Governor not to certify a bill if he is of opinion that the question of the enactment of the legislation may safely be left to the Legislative Council.

The grand committee (the composition of which may vary according to the subject-matter of the bill) to comprise from 40 to 50 per cent. of the Legislative Council. The members to be chosen partly by election by ballot, partly by nomination. The Governor to have power to nominate a bare majority (in addition to himself), but not more than two-thirds of the nominated members to be officials.

The bill as passed in grand committee to be reported to the Legislative Council, which may

again discuss it generally within such time limits as may be laid down, but may not amend it except on the motion of a Member of the Executive Council or reject it. After such discussion the bill to pass automatically, but during such discussion the Legislative Council may record by resolution any objection felt to the principle or details and any such resolution to be transmitted with the Act to the Governor General and the Secretary of State.

Any Member of the Executive Council to have the right to challenge the whole or any part of a bill on its introduction, or any amendment when moved, on the ground that it trenches on the reserved field of legislation. The Governor to have the choice then either of allowing the bill to proceed in the Legislative Council, or of certifying the bill, clause, or amendment. If he certifies the bill, clause, or amendment the Governor may either decline to allow it to be discussed, or suggest to the Legislative Council an amended bill or clause, or at the request of the Legislative Council refer the bill to a Grand Committee.

All provincial legislation to require the assent of the Governor and the Governor General and to be subject to disallowance by His Majesty.

The veto of the Governor to include power of return for amendment.

The Governor General to have power to reserve provincial Acts.

It will be clear from the above that though the elected element in the legislative council will have more power than now, it will not be able even by complete unanimity among its members to prevent the passage of bills which they consider to be opposed to the interests of the country, nor will they be able by complete unanimity to carry through even bills which they consider vitally necessary for the good of the country, against the will of the Governor. All that they will be able to do in such cases is to make a sort of appeal to the Government of India, the Governor General, or the Secretary of State. In the case of "uncertified" bills, which will not obviously be vital or very important, elected members will have greater power to pass their bills than now.

The Power of Dissolution.

We are against giving the Governor General the power to dissolve the Council of State or the Legislative Assembly, and the Governor the power to dissolve the Legislative Council. The British sovereign has the power to dissolve Parliament. But he is a constitutional king and acts on the advice of his ministers, and the British electorate has large powers. The British Parliament is dissolved when it is thought no longer to represent the views of the electorates. The Governor General of India and the provincial governors do

not stand in the position of constitutional monarchs, they are not to act on the advice of Indian ministers representing the people, our electorates are not to have even a considerable fraction of the powers of the British electorate, and our rulers cannot be expected to have better and more direct knowledge of the views of the electorates than the elected members, nor can we trust them to be better exponents of the views of the country than the elected members. The Governor General and the Governor may dissolve the legislative bodies to delay (to them) unwelcome legislation, to prevent or delay the ventilation of grievances or the exposure of misrule by the moving of resolutions, asking of questions, &c., to prevent the moving of otherwise inconvenient resolutions and for other bureaucratic reasons.

Parliamentary Control.

At present Parliament possesses the theoretical power of controlling the Government in India, but it seldom exercises this power. Still this power is a safeguard. In India Government should be made completely responsible to the people. So long as that does not come about, Parliament ought to have and exercise control. For full five years after the first meeting of the new legislative councils in the Provinces, the ministers will be very remotely and not really responsible to their constituencies. After five years they may be really responsible. Then, and not till then, should parliament cease to have control, in the transferred subjects, over the provincial governments and the Government of India. In paragraph 292, it is proposed, as quoted before, to leave the Government of India and the provincial Governments free in some respects as regards reserved subjects also. We are entirely against this proposal. So long as any Government is not made responsible to us in any matter, it should remain directly responsible to Parliament in that matter.

The Secretary of State's Salary.

The proposal to pay the salary of the Secretary of State for India from the British treasury is good and follows a demand of the Congress.

Parliamentary Commissions and Select Committee.

The periodical parliamentary commissions proposed are likely to do some

good, though they may also do harm in retransferring subjects to the reserved list. But the nomination of the members should be made not by our Secretary of State alone but by the whole British cabinet.

The proposed select committee of the House of Commons to keep the House informed on Indian affairs is also good.

The Ministers.

The Indian minister or ministers will be nominated from the elected members of the legislative council by the Governor. The practice in England is for the king to ask the leader of a party to form a cabinet. The Indian practice should be made, as far as possible, similar to the British practice. Otherwise the Governor's power of choosing ministers irrespective of their influence in the country, and his power also to appoint some elected members under-secretaries may be a source of demoralization. "Responsible government" by Indian ministers should not have the chance of becoming a government by safe men, toadies, or place men. It is just possible that a governor may choose the most capable, influential, representative and independent members of his council to become ministers, but that is not in keeping with the nature of autocrats and bureaucrats.

It is only five years after the first meeting of the new councils that the ministers' salaries may be required to be voted annually and thus they may be made directly and quickly amenable to control by the legislative council. We think their direct responsibility should begin earlier and with their tenure of office. The Governor has been proposed to be given too much power of control over them, as will appear from paragraph 219 quoted below :

"The portfolios dealing with the transferred subjects would be committed to the ministers, and on these subjects the minister together with the governor would form the administration. On such subjects their decisions would be final, subject only to the Governor's advice and control. We do not contemplate that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor who is bound to accept the decisions of his ministers. Our hope and intention is that the ministers will gladly avail themselves of Governor's trained advice upon administrative questions, while on his part he will be willing to meet their wishes to the furthest possible extent, in cases where he realises that they have the support of popular opinion. We reserve to him a power of control, because we regard

him as generally responsible for his administration, but we should expect him to refuse assent to the proposals of his ministers only when the consequences of acquiescence would clearly be serious. Also we do not think that he should accept without hesitation and discussion proposals which are clearly seen to be the result of inexperience. But we do not intend that he should be in a position to refuse assent at discretion to all his ministers' proposals. We recommend that for the guidance of Governors in relation to their ministers, and indeed on other matters also, an Instrument of Instructions be issued to them on appointment by the Secretary of State in Council."

We are for giving them much greater, if not perfect, freedom.

We are against the retransfer of transferred subjects to the reserved list, by the Government of India or a parliamentary commission. We have given some of our reasons before.

Most Important Functions Kept Outside Popular Control.

From what we have said in several previous notes, the reader will have observed that the most important functions of government which affect the people of India as a whole, have been left outside the sphere of popular control. The Government of India exercises these functions. If our leaders had the power to shape the policy of the state in all these matters, not only would India have had the opportunity of producing many great statesmen, but the nationalization of the people of India could have been given great impetus. The moral growth of the people, in courage, in love of liberty, and in other directions, depends partly on the absence of repressive penal legislation and of legislation restricting foreign travel. The material prosperity of the country depends, on fiscal, economic, industrial, and railway policy, and on a ship-building programme and the policy regulating international trade and exchange. But all these matters are in the hands of the Government of India, over which we are not to have any control for an indefinite period of time to come.

Even full provincial responsible government can give us only parochialism and provincialism, nothing broader; it can also produce great diversity in civic affairs. Only if there be full responsible government for the whole of India in pan-Indian affairs, can our statesmen have a wide national outlook, and help in producing civic and national unity.

The Prospect.

It will be clear from our preceding observations that the Reform Scheme gives the people not the slightest power of control over the Government of India, but somewhat greater facility than now to exert influence over it. In provincial matters, the people's representatives and ministers are in no affairs given perfect freedom and full control, though their position would be somewhat better than now, and the power to influence government much greater. It is very anomalous that even after five years from the starting of the scheme when the ministers will be made responsible to the provincial legislatures by having their salaries to be voted annually, they are to be subject to the guidance, advice and control of the Governor. A man who is controlled by one authority ought not to be made responsible to another authority; it is the controlling authority (*viz.*, the Governor) who ought to be made responsible to the second authority (*viz.*, the legislative council). If the minister is to be responsible to the latter, he ought not to be controlled by the former.

It is natural to ask, will the Reform Scheme lead to full responsible government? If the bureaucracy and the members of the proposed periodical parliamentary commissions be determined and anxious to give responsible government to us, the scheme will ultimately lead to responsible government in the provinces, but not in pan-Indian affairs. But if they be not so determined and anxious, the scheme gives them very ample powers and opportunities to prove Indians utterly unfit for even what the Report would give us to begin with, and to take away even these "rights" or "powers" or "functions." Every change of ministry in every self-governing country implies that, in the opinion of the majority of voters in the country, the outgoing ministers had failed seriously in some directions; otherwise they would not be driven out of power. The greatest of statesmen have been subject to this sort of vicissitude and implied censure. It is plain, therefore, that if any Anglo-Indian Government or any Parliamentary Commission wanted to give the verdict that the Indian minister or ministers had seriously failed to do their work, it would be quite easy for them to do so; particularly, if, as is possible or probable, the Anglo-Indian

bureaucracy were inclined to be obstructive or did not want cordially to co-operate with the ministers.

History shows that ruling men and ruling nations do not willingly part with power and lucre. British India's history has not so far been an exception. But in future, unlike the leopard and his spots, bureaucratic nature and selfishness may part company. It is a question of scepticism and the disposition to have faith in autocrats and bureaucrats. We are not unwilling to hope for the best, though previous experience may not make us sanguine.

Our final conclusion is that the Report contains nothing which makes Indian autonomy inevitable; it leaves our fate, humanly speaking, in the hands of Englishmen, whether serving here as officials, or living in their home-land.

Ex-Detenus.

We learn that many of the ex-detenus who were students are finding great difficulty in entering educational institutions. It cannot be the duty of Government to ruin these young men and make them sources of danger to society and the State. As Government provides education in reformatories for juveniles convicted of crime, it is much more its obvious duty to provide facilities for the education of these young men, who have never been convicted of any offence, in State schools or colleges, under proper safeguards and restraints, however stringent they may be. They have been placed in a position of disadvantage owing to Government policy and action, and it is therefore incumbent on Government to provide a means of relief.

The Menace of Fiji.

It would be folly to think that, where profits have been so enormous, capitalists in Fiji are going to abandon them without a struggle. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company has already begun to feel the pressure of public opinion in Australia. There has been no attempt whatever on their part, however, to remedy the evils. Instead of this, they have merely employed the cheaper method of slander.

In their Annual Report, recently published, the following significant paragraph occurs:—

"Concerning attacks on the Company in various Australian newspapers, about the conditions under

which the Indian labour is housed and worked in Fiji, it is only necessary to say that all details of the living conditions of these people, and their relations with employers, are strictly ordered in accordance with regulations laid down by the Indian and Colonial Governments. In respect of health, earning and prospective employment, immigrants are much better off in Fiji than in India, the one serious defect being the discrepancies of the sexes—a point inseparable from emigration from every country: *The attack though apparently directed at the Company is really on the Fiji Government, and it is, we believe, instigated and carried out by the party in India which has for its main object the weakening of British Rule in that country.*

The leader of the various organisations in Australia, which are trying to ameliorate the condition of the Indian women in Fiji, has written to Mr. C. F. Andrews as follows:—

"The argument here used, in this Annual Report, is the only argument I have heard defending the present conditions in Fiji, and it would surely be a serious matter for the Imperial authorities, if this line of argument is accepted."

There could scarcely be a grosser case of slander, with an ulterior object, than the statement that the abolition of indentured labour was instigated and carried out by "the party in India which has for its main object the weakening of British Rule in that country." To take four names only, out of many,—surely Mr. Gokhale and Lord Hardinge, Mr. Gandhi and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya could not, by the wildest stretch of imagination come under that category! But it is quite needless to argue such a point at all. The Directors of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company have, in their possession, the fullest information about India for which they have been ready regularly to pay their own price. It is almost inconceivable that their agents could have given them such false information. The more probable explanation is, that they found that this slander was an easy and inexpensive method of throwing dust in the eyes of the Australian public, at a time when great moral indignation had been awakened.

In Fiji itself, the Government appears to have completely changed round to an attitude of subservience to the C. S. R. Company and the Planting interests. A resolution has been passed unanimously in the Fiji Legislative Council as follows:—

"That the Government should take measures such as will assist in encouraging and promoting the resumption of Indian Immigration after the war."

That is to say the Fiji Government is now pledged to attempt once more to open recruiting in India for Fiji. The Fiji Government itself, unless prevented by the strongest action on the part of the people of India, will try, as soon as the war is over, to re-open the whole Indian emigration and recruiting question. In the course of the debate on the Resolution (which was accepted by the Fiji Government) Mr. Harricks, a leading member of the Legislative Council, spoke as follows:

"We are altogether too modest here about ourselves. In fact a great many people are inclined to run the place down. There is a man who is in every way adapted and qualified for the work of being our Representative in India."

Voices: "Who is he?"

Mr. Harricks: "Captain Lamb, at present serving in the Naval Corps. He writes and tells me that, from a knowledge gained in Mesopotamia, recruiting in Fiji could be very much easier after the War."

ADVERTISING FIJI.

Mr. Clapcott, a leading Planter, seconded the motion. They should advertise Fiji far more than they had done in the past. Moving pictures constituted an excellent method of letting Indians in India see what conditions in Fiji were. He agreed too that they should have a Representative in India to contradict all these reports that were going about.

The Secretary of the Colony said that the Government were prepared to accept the motion. He thought the questions of sending a man to India, and of taking Cinematograph pictures there, were matters for private enterprise.

Mr. Harricks did not agree that it should be left to private enterprise. Mr. Lamb had informed him that the name of Fiji was so good among Indians, that he would guarantee 3000 labourers the first year and 5000 the year after.

Proposals of Forced Labour in Fiji.

During the same Council Session Mr. Harricks also moved a resolution that "in view of the acute labour situation the Fiji Government should consider the advisability of releasing as many able-bodied natives as possible from communal and village work." Mr. Crompton in seconding the motion stated that the time had arrived to consider the conscription of labour throughout the colony. He did not think, at the present time, that any man, black, white or brindled, had any right to be idle, and if they would not work or cultivate they ought to be made to. He wished the motion had been worded more strongly. Mr. Hedstrom in supporting the motion, also thought that it ought to have been more strongly worded. May be, the time had not come yet for compulsory labour, but the time had arrived

when they should consider the possibility Government could step in and force any
 of compulsion. The Colonial Secretary said man to work when he did not want to do
 that the time had not arrived when so. The original motion was carried.

WORSHIP

You flood my music with your autumn-silence,
 And burn me in the flame-burst of your spring.....
 Lo! through my beggar-being's tattered garments
 Resplendent shines your crystal heart, my King!

Like a rich song you chant your red-fire sunrise
 Deep in my dreams, and forge your white-flame moon....
 You hide the crimson secret of your sunset
 And the pure, golden message of the noon...

You fashion cool, grey clouds within my body,
 And weave your rain into a diamond mesh....
 The Universal Beauty dances ... dances,
 A glimmering peacock in my flowering flesh!

HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY.

EVENING PRAYER

A hush in the scented valley
 Packed full of purple shades;
 A streak on the far horizon
 Where the last red glimmer fades.

A glimpse of the night's pale lady
 Descending her golden stair,
 To stretch her white arms seaward
 In hallowing tender prayer.

A stir in the swaying palm tree
 When the sweetest vesper then
 Ripples the mystic stillness—
 The nightingale's Amen.

• GERVE BARONTI.



TYPE OF A CLASS OF MEN ASPIRING TO LEADERSHIP.
From the original Painting by Mr. Muhammad Abdur Rahman Chughtai.
By the courtesy of Maulvi Abdul Hayy; owner of the picture.



"J.M."

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THE OBJECT AND SUBJECT OF A STORY

[The following paper was written by the Author of "At Home and Outside" in answer to the letter of a lady criticising the publication of his novel.]

MY writings do not please all my readers, but whenever they take the trouble to make me realise that fact, they usually employ a form of language in which I am no master. For this reason I never answer them.

But the letter, which has just reached me, contains to my surprise complaints, but no insults. It comes from a lady, who is a stranger to me, and it is evident that she has felt pain, though she has avoided giving it. Her letter which puts forward some questions for me to answer is unaddressed. From that I could infer that these questions come from her, as a representative of the public, and she wants the answer to be sent to the address of the same public.

First of all, she has asked me, with some dismay, what was my object in writing this story?

The answer to this is, that the true object of writing a story is story-writing. In a word, I write a story because it is my wish. But this cannot be interpreted as an object, because when you say 'wish', you ignore all other aims. All the same, when people are expecting some object, it sounds like insolence, if you tell them that you have no object to speak of.

Yet, very often, an object is revealed to an onlooker which escapes the principal actor. The antelope does not know why its skin is marked; but those who take notes on the subject tell us, that there are there to make it less conspicuous to its pursuers. This guess may or may not be true, but it is quite evident that the object is not in the mind of the animal.

But you may contend that the object which was in the mind of the animal was manifested through its behaviour.

that in like manner, the age in which he is born expresses its object through the author. It cannot be gainsaid, that the age acts, consciously or unconsciously, upon the author's mind; nevertheless, I assert that this action is that of an artist, not of a teacher. The age is weaving in our minds its web of many-coloured threads simply for the purpose of creation. If you must utilise it, then the object becomes yours. This modern age of our country's history has secretly touched with its brush the present author's mind, and the impressions of that touch have come out in this novel. These impressions are artistic impressions.

Let us take the example of a great writing, such as Shakespeare's "Othello." If the poet were asked, what was his object in writing the play, it would drive him out of his wits to give a reply. If, after a great deal of cogitation, he came out with an answer, I am sure it would be a wrong one. If I happen to be a member of the "Brahmin Association," I should be certain that the poet's object was to offer sound advice to the world about respect for colour distinctions. If I am opposed to the emancipation of women, I should say that the poet wanted to prove the mistake of allowing women to associate with men. If I am opposed to the intelligence of the lower classes, I should say that the poet wanted to prove the wisdom of the upper classes.

the very life and beauty of the play. When I see a Bengali before me, I see him one with his race and ancestry. I see no line of cleavage between his individuality and his race. So, also, in a poet's works, the individuality and the environment are vitally blended.

This is why I was saying that, when I am writing a story, my contemporary experience is woven into its fabric and also my personal likes and dislikes. But their coloured threads, tinged with life's own colour, are simply the materials which the artist has in his hands to use. If you read any object into the work, it is not mine but your own.

Rich men use the tails of yaks for making whisks; but the poor yak knows that the tail belongs to its own vital organisations and to cut it off and make it into an 'object' is absolutely alien to its nature.

My next point is that, when there is a conflict between my own ideals and those of my readers, the reader has the advantage of being able to inflict punishment. When a child has a fall, it kicks at the floor on which it fell; and it is a well-known fact that the generality of readers follow the same rule. But that the punishment is always just and inevitable, I do not admit.

Grown-up people may not be afraid of ghosts. They may even think it harmful to foster the fear of ghosts. Yet, when a grown-up person reads a ghost story, he need not remember all this. For, in a story, the question of opinion does not matter; it is the enjoyment which is important.

When a man of real culture, who is a Christian, judges some image of a Hindu god made by a Hindu artist, it will be a real help to him to forget, for the time, that it is imaginary. But, if unfortunately he must not forget the latter part, he is bound to

kerosene lamp. Hindus had lamps of their own before these English lamps were introduced. The difference here lies in the lamps; but light is light, both to the Hindu and to the Englishman. There is every likelihood of a difference of opinion between my countrymen and myself as to what is good for my country. But if my story is a story, then, in spite of my opinions, it will float.

When, however, the opinions are of such a nature, that they cannot but deeply concern my readers, it would be foolish to expect from them that perfect detachment of mind which is necessary for true appreciation, and in that case, the lamp which bears the light becomes more important than the light itself.

Let us agree to this.

Then what is the advice which the author must follow? Should he change his opinion altogether with regard to the good and bad of his country? If his readers are incapable of doing so, simply for the sake of the story, what obligation has the author to play such moral somersaults, simply for the sake of his readers? But if it is maintained that the cause of one's country is greater than the perfection of a story, then this holds good for the reader as well as for the writer.

It is the paramount duty of the author to fix his attention only on the perfecting of his story, not on the applause of his reading public. But if this duty, for some reason or other, becomes impossible, then let him think what is good for his country, and not merely that his country should think him good.

The second question which the writer puts is whether the story of this novel is imaginary or whether it has its basis in actual fact; and if the latter, then does that fact belong to some orthodox Hindu family,—or to some sect enamoured of its western culture?

My answer is,—the story portion, like that contained in most of my writings, is imaginary. But that is not a complete answer to my correspondent. There is an element hidden in the question, that as I have described are impossible in orthodox Hinduism.

The coincidence of an imaginary story with the real fact is nowhere to be found in an orthodox family, or as it has drifted away from the merely gossip about

things that have actually happened in some family; you cannot write a story about them.

The possibilities that lie deep in human nature are the basis of the plots of all the best stories and dramas in literature. There is eternal truth in human nature itself, but not in mere events. Events happen in a different manner in different places. They are never the same on two occasions. But man's nature, which is at the root of these events, is the same in all ages; therefore the author keeps his eye fixed on human nature and avoids all exact copying of actual events.

The question reduces itself to this, whether human nature in orthodox Hindu families always follows the direction of the orthodox Hindu code. Does it never, on any provocation whatever, break away from its tether and run wild?

It is a matter of common observation, from the Vedic period up to the present, that the fight is endless between the outbreak of nature on the one hand and man's heroic remedies on the other. If there exists a Hindu society, where such a fight is altogether impossible, its address is concealed from us. Then further, one must know that where there is no possibility of evil, there can be no place for good. If it is absolutely impossible for a member of an orthodox Hindu family to go wrong, then the members of that family are neither good nor bad, but puppets worked by the texts of ancient scriptures.

We have seen the ugliest calumnies against women written in old Sanskrit verses, such as are rare in those authors who are proud of their western culture. This proves that our modern Bengali writers have a genuine regard for women. At the same time, one must fully admit that these ancient calumnies may be wrong, when applied to the whole of womankind. But if they were untrue even with regard to individual women, how did they come to be written at all?

So our discussion narrows itself down to this point, whether the impulse which is a fact of human nature is a proper subject for literature. To this question has been answered by literature itself, through all ages and tries, and therefore it will remain silent about it.

Unfortunately, in Europe

of literature has resolved itself into a judgment of the proprieties which are necessary for orthodoxy. Our critics go to the extreme tenuity of debate as to the excellence of Bankim's heroines in their strict conformity with the canons of Hinduism. Whether the indignation which Bhramar showed against her husband took away from the transcendental preciousness of her Hindu womanhood; whether the inability of Surjamukhi to accept, as her friend, her co-wife, Kunda, has cheapened the value of her Hindu character; how far Sakuntala is the perfect Hindu woman and Dushyanta the perfect Hindu king,—these are the questions seriously discussed in the name of literary criticism. Such criticism can only be found in our country, among all the countries of the world.

There are a crowd of heroines in Shakespeare's dramas, but their excellence is not judged according to their peculiar English qualities; and even the most fanatical Christian theologians desist from awarding them marks, in order of merit, according to their degree of Christianity. But possibly I am spoiling my own cause by admitting this, because our modern Bengali takes a special pride in thinking that India has nothing in common with the rest of the world.

But India is not a creation of the Bengalis, and it had already existed before we began our literary criticism. The classification of heroines which we find in the rhetoric of ancient India, was not in accordance with the models put forward in the Laws of Manu. I am not for such classification at all, because literature is not science; if in literature heroes and heroines are introduced according to certain classified types, then such literature becomes a toy shop, not an ideal world of living creatures. If one takes this absurd manner of classification in literature, the

WOMEN AS COMBATANTS IN EAST AND WEST

THOUGH it is not likely or desirous that any considerable number of women will join the profession of arms, it is impossible not to admire the spirit in which some have shared in the privations of dangers of war side by side with those of the sterner sex. If we search the records of the various armies, we shall find that every country is able to point to individual cases of women who have volunteered for active service and who have rendered a worthy account of themselves when engaged in upholding the cause of their country. We propose to cite a few instances from the records of the armies in the East and the West, and these will serve to show that when the occasion demands the women are prepared to take up not only the lighter duties connected with the preparations for war, but to serve in the ranks as common soldiers. Though in one sense combatants, we do not propose to deal with the cases of women whose names are world wide, such as Joan of Arc, Boadecia, and the famous Indian queens, but we seek to recall the exploits of the women who have shared in a real sense the fighting experiences of the men.

The adventures of the British Amazon, Mrs. Christiana Davis, are recorded in a book, a copy of which is preserved in the British museum. On the title page of the book is the following—

"The Life and Adventures of Mrs Christiana Davis, the British Amazon, commonly called Mother Ross, who served as a footsoldier and dragoon in several campaigns under King William and the late Duke of Marlborough; Containing variety of transactions by her own hand, and diverting wherein she gave proof of her courage, strength and dexterity in the use of arms, rarely to be met with in women. Besides being a valiant warrior, she was a skilful and experienced nurse, and a good housewife."

wounded and it was then that her sex was discovered. But she was retained in the army and afterwards took part in the war in Flanders where she rendered splendid help to the soldiers by carrying water and other necessities "even to the mouth of the cannon." As a reward for her services the King granted her a pension of one shilling per day for life. She died in 1739 and was interred, as she desired, in the Pensioners' Burying Ground, the soldiers firing three volleys over her grave. It is recorded that she fought in three battles and was three times wounded.

Another interesting case from the British army may be quoted. In the army of the British that fought at Fontenoy, there was a woman named Phoebe Hessel who was born at Stepney in the year 1713. Her memory is perpetuated by a tombstone in the graveyard of the parish church of St. Nicholas, Brighton. The inscription states that she served for many years as private soldier in the 5th Regiment of Foot in different parts of Europe, and that during the battle of Fontenoy she received a severe bayonet wound in her arm. She lived to a good old age, dying as late as 1821, being then 108 years old. George the Fourth seems to have taken great interest in her and is said to have provided handsomely for her in her old days. Some years ago the Chicago Hussars had on its roll a certain Nicholas de Raylam, who enjoyed the reputation of being a hard rider, an inveterate smoker and a "jolly good fellow". In civil life this person was secretary of the Russian Consulate in Chicago, and was credited with great skill as a diplomatist. Though for long her companions would not credit the fact, it was shown that the boon companion and clever diplomat was really a woman.

When the first signs of rot set in in Russia after the Revolution, the country was stirred by the news of the formation of the Red Battalion of Death. The Comrade-in-Arms Botchkereva, succeeded in recruiting a considerable number of women from all classes, and within a short time these women were trained and ready for any emergency. The story of their efforts stands out as one of

the most glorious in Russian annals, for in that attempt to hold back the enemy when the men were running nearly half their number were killed or wounded. The women composing this battalion were dressed in full men's uniform and took their place on the same footing as the rest of the army. Before leaving for the front a picturesque and significant spectacle was witnessed in the square of St. Isaac Cathedral when the colours of the regiment were blessed. Mlle. Michailoff, in command of the first battalion to serve in the trenches, stated that the Chief of Staff declared the Battalion was one of the most perfectly disciplined and trained units around Petrograd. We have no clear details as to the part they took in the recent fighting in Petrograd though Reuter mentioned the fact that they held out for some time in the Winter Palace against the Maximalists. It will be interesting to follow the development of this movement.

In connection with Russia mention must be made of the "Lady Chevalier", Nadezhda Andreyevna Dourova, whose experiences as a common soldier must surely be among the most interesting records of the Russian Army. When quite a young girl she was attracted to military life, and after donning a boy's dress, and the garb of a Cossack, succeeded in enlisting. The Cossacks were delighted with this sixteen year-old boy, and she soon became a favourite. Through the winter she marched and camped with her regiment, took part in all their daily work and drill, and practised all the details of military service with untiring zeal and diligence, leading without a murmur the hard life of a common Russian soldier. She took part in her first battle at Gustadt, and in her autobiography she records her sensations as she joined in the combat. In the course of this battle Nadezhda observed that some of the enemy's dragoons had wounded a Russian officer, whom they were about to finish. The young Amazon, without a thought dashed up on horseback to the rescue and by her dauntless courage she put the French dragoons to flight. She helped the wounded man on to her own horse and brought him safely back to the rear. She took part in the bloody battle of Friedland where more than half her regiment were left dead on the field. Again

she showed great courage and succeeded in saving the life of a comrade. By this a rumour had got abroad that she was really a woman, and the Emperor Alexander himself sent for her and received the young Cossack, now aged nineteen, very graciously. She confessed she was a girl and the Emperor praised her pluck and said that she had set an almost unprecedented example of heroism to the women of the empire. On expressing her strong desire to remain in the army, the Emperor appointed her to be an officer, and gave her his own name, Alexander, by which she was afterwards known. She gradually rose in the army and became the gallant, skilled, and trustworthy commander of a squadron of horse. She took part in nearly all the battles, exposing herself fearlessly wherever the fight was thickest and the danger greatest. At Smolensk she took part in the battle against Napoleon and had many escapes. In this campaign she was again wounded. At the age of 25 feeling that her duty was beside her invalid father, she left the army and spent the rest of her life as a novelist. She died in 1886, and was buried with full military honours.

Gibbon relates the story of the heroism of the wife of Aban, one of the officers of the Saracens in the war against the Arabs. On the death of her husband she laid hold of his weapons and entered into the midst of the fighters. It is said that her first arrow pierced the hand of the standard bearer and the second wounded the archer who was responsible for the death of many Saracens. The names of several Muhammadan women who followed their husbands to the wars might be quoted as instances of personal bravery on the battlefield. On several occasions the women of the East have enlisted in the armies, and in the battles they wielded the bow and the lance with great dexterity, and showed by their horsemanship their ability to take their place beside the men. The conquest of Bokhara by Kotaiba is said to have been due to the presence of mind and courage shown by the women who followed the army to the front on active service. In Indian history there are several instances of women serving as regular soldiers. The army of Timur was composed of men and women, the latter riding on horseback with consummate skill. The daughter

of Shah AltaMash, named Razia Sultan, was an efficient military leader, and on more than one occasion by her intrepid behaviour in battle, completely shattered her foes. In the history of India it has frequently happened that the defence of

the state was upheld by women, and though their individual names are not known to fame, they proved the capacity of Eastern women to take a share, in case of need, in active warfare.

M. TURNER.

INTERVIEWER

BY BABU LAL SUD, B.A. BAR-AT-LAW.

INTERVIEWING originated with the American press, and it is in America that it is carried to extremes. The American press thinks that it has not only the right, but it is its duty to divulge in public what has been confided to it in private, and to exercise this, what it considers to be its right, it often violates the elementary principle of courtesy. The French press, too, which, of course, borrowed the art of interviewing from the Americans, does not hesitate to exercise this spirit of inquiry and espionage. But the English press, since the time the interview first came over from America, has not gone so far in this department of journalistic business as America and France, and has not misused it. In the early eighties when this interviewing business was imported from America into England, there used to be a tendency in some newspaper offices to interview celebrities of the ordinary sort, not because they could enlighten the public on a matter of some general and public importance, but simply because they were celebrities. Their birth, dress, tastes, such as smoking and drinking, the questions put and the answers given, etc., were chronicled by the interviewer in his paper. But all these have become things of the past now. Now only those men are interviewed by the London press who have got something good and new to say. They are interviewed by newspaper men who themselves are experts in the subjects to be discussed. Their private characteristics, such as smoking and drinking, are never mentioned in papers. Such replies as "I refuse to talk for publication," "I decline to answer," "I decline to discuss the matter," "I have nothing to say," etc., are not published. These things do not

interest the newspaper-reading public in England, though they do all right for the newspaper-reader in America. The plain truth is that these things were never of value in England, and were never counted much. On the contrary, it has always been considered downright bad taste and bad manners to give them out in papers. It is due to general indifference to these things on the part of the average newspaper-reader in England that accounts of interviews in London papers are more "full of meat", i.e., abounding in solid facts, than in papers across the Atlantic. There is not only more soul in them, but they are more lively, bright and sparkling than they are in American papers. The London press is more conscientious than the American press in this matter. It observes the principles of courtesy more scrupulously than the American press.

To an average reader, the name of the late Mr. W. T. Stead, of the "Pall Mall Gazette", and founder of the "Review of Reviews" is associated with the fearless exposure of social abuses culminating in "The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon" in 1885, for which he was prosecuted for criminal libel and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. Those who want to know the whole story of how Mr. Stead came to be placed in the dock and arraigned for committing one of the very crimes against which he had secured the passage of an Act of Parliament for the protection of young girls can not do better than read "My Father" by Miss Estelle W. Stead, daughter of the late Mr. W. T. Stead and present editor of the "Review of Reviews". Enough to say here that "it was one of the greatest achievements which any journalist single-handed had ever accomplished in the

coercion of an unwilling legislature and a reluctant Ministry," in the words of Mr. Stead himself. But an ordinary reader of newspapers does not know that his name and fame are most intimately associated with one of the most remarkable phases in modern English journalism, viz., interviewing. It is he who, when editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette," introduced what is generally called the "personal note," which began with the interview, and the personal paragraph. He was the first English journalist to interview in the modern style a public man in England. We have it on the unimpeachable authority of Sir Wemyss Reid that Mr. W. E. Forster was the first public man in England who was interviewed, and that Mr. W. T. Stead was the first English journalist who interviewed him on his (Mr. Forster's) return from the East at the beginning of the eighties. "Mr. Forster," said Sir Wemyss Reid, "came to see me immediately after the interview appeared, and I reproached him for having countenanced such an abominable innovation from America. We had a long discussion, and in the end agreed, that, while the ordinary interview was not a thing to be encouraged, yet that the interview in which a man stated his views on some great topic of interest might be useful to the person interviewed and to the public generally, 'but,' said Forster, 'the interviewer must let you have a proof before it is published.'" Mr. Forster was at the time generally blamed for granting the interview. Mr. Stead was a most persistent interviewer, and "the list of the captives of his bow and spear extends from the Czar to General Gordon" of Soudan fame.

When the interviewing first came in, it was a great novelty, and the London newspapers used to send anybody to interview anybody. Some years ago when Mr. Pierpont Morgan of America came to London, newspapers vied with one another to interview him. Now Mr. Pierpont Morgan is known to be one of those who never submit themselves to the interview. But there was also known to be an English journalist equally clever in interviewing celebrities, and he took upon himself the arduous task of interviewing him. He went to the hotel where Mr. Morgan was staying and sent in his card with the request that the business on which he was

anxious to see him was most important and would not brook delay. Mr. Morgan was quite familiar with this sort of trick on the part of newspaper interviewers, and sent back word that he too was awfully busy on a matter of equally extreme importance, and therefore could not see the interviewer, his one minute being worth a guinea to him. The interviewer sent back word by his secretary that he would be quite prepared to give him even three guineas for a minute's interview, for the matter was of extreme importance. Mr. Morgan gave in at this point, and the interviewer interviewed the millionaire. The three guineas which the interviewer gave to the interviewee was, of course, subscribed to a charitable institution. Now there was nothing in that interview which was of any special interest to the public. It was done because the interviewee was a great man. This kind of novelty has absolutely worn off now. The London papers do not trouble themselves to send their representative to interview a man simply because he is a great man in the eyes of the public, and they do not publish anything resulting from an interview until it is of some public interest. The craze for interviewing, so rampant in America, has in many European countries taken hold of the press to such an extent as to acclimatise itself there, but it has never taken root in England. Since the day it came into England, it has never hit the fancy of the Press and the public, which think, and rightly too, that if badly or spitefully done, it is a source of annoyance to the interviewee. Apart from this, an Englishman is, by nature, most reserved, and does not like the idea of anybody prying into his affairs. Statesmen and politicians in many European countries submit themselves with bland smile and naive resignation to the presence of certain newspaper interviewers. But in England no statesman worth the name tolerates the idea of unnecessary interview, and that is the reason that the newspaper men have very little access in Downing Street, while they easily get the access in official departments of some countries. For example, the status of the newspaper interviewer is so well recognised in America that there is a room specially set apart for the newspaper men in the White House Office, and it is so placed that every official as he leaves the President's room can be seen and approach-

ed and asked as to what he and other Ministers were talking about for the last two hours or so. The Ministers in America don't mind taking the newspaper men into their confidence, and giving them a brief resume, making it a condition that their names should not be used as the authority for the information. The point I wish to emphasize is that in America and some other countries, particularly in America, interviewing has gone so far that the newspaper interviewers do not hesitate to pounce upon Ministers coming out of their offices and asking them as to what they were doing and talking about, and ministers do not object to being interviewed. But in England interviewing has not reached that stage, and, I am sure, it will never come to that, I mean, when Ministers coming out of Downing Street will be easily approached and asked as to what they were discussing for such a long time. English people are not inclined in that way. It is a well-known fact that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Kitchener both had the reputation of being the most difficult personages to interview.

But when all this has been said and done, the fact remains that now-a-days the interview is common to the English press, and the modern journalist combines the writing of articles with the interviewing of celebrities which his predecessor regarded as something beneath the dignity of his calling. It was nearly two years ago that the editor of "Answers," London, a weekly paper of not much importance, sent his representative Mr. Hayden Talbot to America to interview Mr. Theodore Roosevelt, the famous ex-President of the United States of America, and one of the most famous statesmen of world-wide reputation, to know his views on the war for readers of "Answers." When asked by the editor to go to America on the said mission, Mr. Hayden Talbot said to the editor, "Do you know what this is going to cost you?" "I don't care what it costs," answered the editor. "I want Roosevelt on the war, and I mean to get him. He's the one big personality in the world that the newspaper people have been unable to get talking on this side, and I'm sure my readers would like to read what he has got to say about the Germans." Mr. Hayden Talbot sailed for America by the first boat, and succeeded in interviewing Mr. Roosevelt at his "Out-

look" office in New York, for Mr. Roosevelt is at present on the editorial staff of the "Outlook." The result of his interview is being published in "Answers" in a series of articles, the first appeared in "Answers" dated October 14, 1916. This will show the reader that even to an ordinary London paper no expense is too great and no effort is too arduous to get an important news so long as it is satisfied that its readers would like to know that news. In the first week of October, 1916, Mr. Roy Howard, the president of the United Press Association of America, interviewed Mr. Lloyd George, the War Minister, "to define the British attitude towards the recent British talk, pointing out that America's attitude was that she was willing to initiate peace negotiations when all the belligerents were desirous of her intervention, and that in one or two quarters in America there was the feeling that an appropriate time for such mediation might be at the end of the autumn offensive," to quote the words of Mr. Roy Howard. Now this is a kind of interview of which Mr. Roy Howard and his paper would be justly proud, and it is an interview for which the world would be grateful to Mr. Lloyd George, for it would tend to undeceive such neutrals as were labouring under the erroneous impression that England was prepared for peace without bringing the Germans to their knees and without completely and finally crushing the Prussian militarism. This interview clearly proves to demonstration, if any proof were needed, that peace can only be brought about by completely crushing Prussian militarism, otherwise it would be a "patched-up, precarious and dishonouring compromise, masquerading under the name of peace," as Mr. Asquith so beautifully puts it.

Lately the London press has discovered another way of finding out the views and opinions of great men on important subjects of the day. Instead of sending their representative to a great man to interview him on some important subject they invite him to write for their paper on that important subject. This is decidedly a better way. In the case of interview, the views of the interviewee are expressed through the intermediary of the interviewer and are in some cases tainted with the personality of the latter. Cases are on record where the interviewee has

declaimed his views after these views were published in papers by the interviewer. But this cannot be said of the signed articles contributed by the great men on some important subjects of the day to a paper at the special request of the editor. There is no intermediary, and, therefore, they carry greater weight and authority with them as well as with the reader, who sometimes does not believe in all that the interviewer writes about the interviewee and his views on a particular subject. Since October 16, 1916, the "Star," for example, has been publishing the views of some important and authoritative men, such as Mr. J. G. Swift Macneil, K.C., M.P., Major General Sir Alfred Turner, K.C.B., Sir Robert Pearce M.P., pioneer of day-light saving, Mr. G. Bernard Shaw, and others on the subject of "my changed opinions", i.e. pre-war opinions and opinions after the war broke out. But this has one serious disadvantage. The paper has to pay a lot for this kind of contributions. But the press has got over that monetary side of the question too. In many cases these signed articles by great men are only interviews after all. The whole thing is done in this way. The representative of the paper goes to the man whose opinion he wants on a particular subject for his paper, and after conversing with him for a few minutes on that subject, says to him, "I have fully understood your view of the question. Now if I were to write in the first person, as if you yourself had written it, will you do me the favour of signing it and letting it appear in my paper?" If the interviewee is a courteous and obliging man, he replies in the affirmative, with the result that the interviewer writes it hurriedly then and there and the interviewee signs it. And why should he not sign? He knows that the views are his views and not those of the interviewer. He knows that they are put in a better way than he could put them. He knows that if he were to write his views on the subject, it would mean a good deal of time, and even then they might not be written in such an interesting and pleasing way as the interviewer has written them in. And above all, perhaps the interviewee himself was anxious to let the public know his views on that subject, but in the midst of pressing work he could not get time to do so. And what about the paper? It means a saving of, say, fifty guineas, at

the lowest, to the paper. But this is not true in the case of really great men in the public eye such as Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Roosevelt, and other notable personages of their importance and greatness. They have no time for that kind of thing. If the press want to know their views on any important topical subject, the only chance is to try to interview them, and even that chance is rare! It is not the representative of every leading paper who can interview them. It is only sheer luck that the representative of one paper might bring off a "scoop" by interviewing a notable personage like Mr. Lloyd George, whereas others might fail.

It is very seldom that the Indian papers take the trouble of sending their representatives to interview celebrities on some important topical subjects. The reason is simple. People in general have a panicky view of interview, and, therefore, they object to being interviewed in the majority of cases. Neither the press nor the public think that the interview is a thing really useful in the interests of the public. They think it as something quite out of the common. The editor of the newspaper published in the north of India does not like to send a representative of his paper to the south of India to know the views of a great man in the public eye on a burning topic of the day. He—in fact, the proprietor—does not like to spend money on an enterprise like this, for two reasons; firstly, as said above, he does not think it would serve any useful purpose, and secondly, he is afraid the great man to be interviewed might not grant an interview, in which case it would be a sheer waste of money. But, let it be remembered, great feats in every walk of life, journalism included, are achieved by enterprises which do not prove successful at first. Take the case of the London press. It did not at first take a rosy view of interview, and did not think much of it. But it did not fail to try the experiment and spend money. And the result is that to-day we find the editor of "Answers" sending his representative to America to interview Mr. Roosevelt on the war. Now the editor of "Answers" was not sure whether the enterprise would be really successful. He thought it worth the candle, and there you are.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL GROUPING IN THE EAST AND THE WEST*

ARGUMENT.

Family as the foundation of social groups. The disintegration of the family in the West. Individual egoism forces social groups into distinct classes each with a bundle of exclusive interests to promote. Cultural or likeness-groups in the East. Difference between communal and interest-groups. Tendency to coercion among interest-groups. In the East group-action is social, not coercive.

Group-action in the East promoted the same ends as are achieved in the West by state-interference and activities.

Communalism, characteristic of China and India. China, whether monarchical or republican, is a great aggregate of democratic village communities. Village bodies and their functions. Inter-village treaties and alliances.

The Roman Family and the Chinese Family. The Indian Family.

The clan in China and India. The ancestral hall, and the village temple.

The development of the elaborate caste organisation characteristic of India.

The economics of the caste system. The formation of castes and sub-castes has often corresponded with an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation. Illustrations from Bengal, Bombay, the Punjab.

Merchants' and artisans' guilds in China and India. The Panchayet of bankers and merchants in India.

Contrasted principles of social grouping in the East and West. In the West social grouping is determined by the instincts of appropriation and aggression; in the East it is the outcome of a *vital elan* in the direction of natural and human relationships.

The contribution of communalism to culture and civilisation.

THE fundamental unit of civilised society is not the individual but the family.

Without the family no other social groups are possible. The family leads the individual out of his seclusion, deprives him of his egoistic selfishness and lifts him to a more elevated selfishness in order that he can enjoy a higher life with his fellow individuals. In the family relation a man first of all learns to live for others. Without this discipline higher social relations are impossible. It is for this reason that the disintegration of the family is a menace to social existence. The family is the foundation of society; its disintegration threatens the foundations of social

life. The individual by himself cannot act effectively in civilised society. The individual by himself cannot enjoy effectively the fruits of civilisation.

Social progress finds man in many social groups. Each of these groups moulds and re-shapes a man. It expresses and develops a particular phase of a man's personality.

But the foundation of them all is the family, which is at once the unit of activity and the unity of enjoyment, which supplies as it were the link of all social relationships.

In the West this link is being snapped asunder on account of the disintegration of the family. The industrial and social conditions, the laxity of marriage laws and the frequency of divorce have all contributed to that.

When the uniting and disciplinary forces are weakened, individuals are a prey to passions, the caravan spirit. The family has been the centrifugal force, the passions are the centripetal forces which now become dominant.

When the family which is the bond of social co-operation is destroyed, individual egoism forces social groups into distinct classes, not cultural or likeness-groups, but each with a bundle of exclusive interests to defend. Each individual finds that his self-interest is made effective by the formation of special groups to promote it. If these latter had an unchecked play, the whole society would be rent asunder by the conflict of antagonistic groups.

That is the contrast between labour organisations, tradesunions, employers' associations, landlords' associations and so forth and the caste, the tribe, religious brotherhood or the church and Samaj. Trades unions or employers' guilds do not represent the mass of human interests as are embodied in such institutions as the family or the church. The family and the church are therefore communal, properly representative of society as a whole and not of sectional interests and well-being.

In the West each social group focusses

* A lecture delivered under the presidency of the Hon'ble Mr. H. J. Maynard, M.A., C.S.I., at the University of the Punjab.

the interests of a particular class so effectively, and presents the strength of numbers in such a force that it is apt to act as a coercive authority. In India, out of each group, an ethical standard, an element of public opinion comes, which rises into a principle which society cannot oppose. That is the difference between the coercion of Marx and the coercion exercised by the caste, the *gotra*, the tribe, the *samaj*, and the religious association in India.

The disintegration of the family in the West has strengthened and is strengthened by the forces and feelings of the individual egoism of man in the state of nature which delights in mutual warfare, war against society, and war against himself. This has warped the other social groups from their natural lines of development. Carried to excesses and accelerated as they are apt to be, they become coercive agents for carrying out exclusive interests antagonistic to social welfare. Nowhere is coercion more marked than in industrial conflicts, though politics is also becoming too much a wrangle for power of party-groups which force their judgment upon the whole community.

The present machinery of settling labour disputes in the West is unworkable because each industrial group carries such a load of dogmatism, develops such a strong ante-social group-opinion and adopts methods so coercive on the rest of the community.

In the East, group action is social; social progress is evolved through the co-operation of the social groups. This is what I term communalism. If this free development were possible and monopolistic or theocratic tendencies were not to come into play, there would be no outside control of one group by another. If there be conflict of groups, the individual would form his judgment independently on moral grounds and would not be coerced by any group, be it the trade or industrial organisation, the family, or even the state itself.

In the West one group tends to coerce another, and all coerce society. This implies that the natural evolution of society is checked. This again implies revolutions. Group opinion is thus apt to be dogmatic and ante-social and group-action is revolutionary in the West.

The East does not know of compulsory

education, or compulsory military training. Communalism secures the same results without the adoption of the coercive methods of the West. Among the *Dwijās*, viz., the Brahmins, the Kshatriyas, the Vaisyas, in other words among the members of the personality-social class, higher education was universal under the unwritten social and ethical code; while every boy or girl of the village would receive the elements of primary education in the village monastery or temple supported by the whole community. Thus group-action under favourable circumstances contributed to the same fitness as is sought to be achieved in the West by state activities and functions. Neither state-socialism with its dogmatic suppression of group-opinion nor anarchism impatient of group-control really belongs to the East. Throughout the east group-interests correspond to public welfare. It is through group-cooperation that social progress is achieved. It is this success which makes opinion conservative and activity traditional. Thus communalism characterises the oldest and most conservative nations in the world now living, China and India.

The haughty imperialist, the rapacious millionaire, or the uncompromising labour-leader are the wildest of revolutionaries. Earth-hunger, wealth-hunger, and food-hunger are each born of a social order where failure has embittered the social tone and destroyed social restraints.

Communalism implies an internal success which uproots dogmatism and revolutionary ideas. In communalism group-opinion and group-action are essentially social and co-operative.

In China, as in India, the internal administration of the country is managed entirely by voluntary associations which co-operate with one another. Like India, China is a huge republic within which are myriads of petty republics. Like the Indian village community, the Chinese village has perfect freedom of industry and trade, of religion and everything that concerns the government, regulation and protection of the locality. The central Government plays but an insignificantly small part in the village life. Police, education, public health, public repairs of roads and canals, lighting and innumerable other functions are managed by the villagers themselves through

• The proportion belonging to each element varies. In general the larger proportion is owned by private individuals, while the land belonging to the temple and ancestral halls is invariably left to those who possess none of their own.

So far both the plan system and the village organisation have withstood the growth of towns.

In India the common temple of the Chinese which symbolises the co-operative unity not merely of religious but social and economic activity of the community has not been seen. But the development of the elaborate caste organisation is characteristic of India. The caste is the trade-guild which protects the standard of work as well as the standard of life and comfort of the artisans. The caste lays down strict rules of industry and trade. It serves the functions of a Benefit Society, or an accident or insurance association, and gives old age pensions. Sub-castes as well have important socio-economic significance. I have elsewhere shown that the formation of castes has often corresponded with an upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation. As artisans and traders rise in the economic scale, in every step in the rise there is a ramification of the caste into groups, marking an ascent in the social ladder.

In some cases the adoption of a degrading occupation by certain families has spelt social disaster for that section and though still retaining the caste name they are compelled to marry amongst themselves and thus form a sub-caste.

In other instances the converse is the case and a group that abandons a disreputable occupation or commands social respect by the adoption of the customs (and restrictions) of higher castes, itself attains in time to a higher social grade.

Thus we find in Bombay the upper section of Nadors looked down upon because they commenced making salt, the *Rangari* or dyeing division of *Shimpis* and the *Halde Males* who prepare turmeric-halad.

• On the other hand, comes the shining example of the Chandlagar, Chilara, and Rasonia sub-castes of Mochis who gave up leather work and took to making spangles, painting and electroplating. As a result, they are treated like reputable

artisans and do not touch their brother muchis.

In the Punjab the Desi *Kumhars* rarely engage in making earthen vessels; although this seems to be the original trade of the tribe, they look down upon it and take to it only in extremity. They have a higher status than their fellows from Jodhpur who still work in clay. Many of them who have no land of their own engage in agricultural labour rather than in potter's work. Similarly the *Suthars* who are almost exclusively devoted to agriculture, look down upon the trade of the carpenter which they follow only when in poor circumstances. They keep aloof from the *Khathi* or carpenter who works in wood.

It is especially characteristic how many of the lower castes have taken to agriculture and despise their former occupation, and separate themselves from those who still follow it.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of the upward economic movement and consequent social differentiation is to be seen among the workers in cloth and tanned leather who rank higher than makers of the raw materials. All the tribes, Chamar, Bhambi, Meghwal, Dhed, Julaha, Paoli, Mochi, engaged in weaving coarse cloth and working in tanned leather are originally the same race, or at all events closely connected, and perhaps of aboriginal descent. The Chamars are divided into several distinct sections which will not intermarry with each other. The *Chandor* chamars will not associate with the *Jatiya* chamars who (they say) work in leather made from camel's and horse's skins which is an abomination to the former. On the other hand, the Marwari chamars settled at Delhi who make trips in the Punjab in the cold weather selling leather ropes in the villages, refuse to have any connection with the local chamars who (they say) tan leather and eat the flesh of animals that have died. While these Marwari chamars work only in leather already tanned.

The stationary village Lohars look down upon itinerant Gadiya Lohars who have no fixed home, but go about from village to village in carts (gadi) carrying their families and implements with them. Similarly the wandering musicians and actors rank low because of their nomadic life, and also because their women often

• dance or act and sometimes prostitute themselves.

The washerman ranks low because he handles the dirty clothes of other people. The hunters are looked down upon because of their uncertain jungle life. The Dhanaks who occupy a low position on account of their dirty work yet consider themselves superior to the Churas, because, although they sweep up and carry away everything else, they do not like the Churas clean up night soil.

Many of these classes to some extent merge in each other, but when a better economic position or a less degraded work gives a clear superiority in status, the higher sub-group ceases to consort with the lower in smoking, eating and marrying, and gradually by an inevitable course of development is differentiated into a new caste. In the West men who attain success in industry occupy a higher social position which wealth gives or are rewarded with titles of distinction. Here not individuals but individuals formed into groups when they rise in the economic scale, reward themselves with a higher status and society has got to recognise it.

In China there is the artisan's guild which resembles the Indian artisan's caste in many ways but this has not reached a high degree of complex development as the caste organisation represents in India. Still the workers, both masters and apprentices form a multitude of small groups, each in their own locality. They protect the standard of work. They meet very seldom, except once or twice in the new-year season when entertainments are arranged for all artisans belonging to the guild.

In China as well as in India there is also the merchant's guild. Traders have their own guilds. The morals of the trade are strictly observed. Members violating the regulations are expelled from the guild. The Chinese merchants are middlemen, pure and simple, their profit is generally very limited, unlike that of capitalists who possess both the machine of production and exchange. It is the collectivity and solidarity of these trade guilds that answer for the stability of the Chinese market and hence for social peace. They check the immoral competition which would in the long run ruin the people and also the competitors.

It is characteristic that though the East has not proposed to itself the ideal of mere

mechanical efficiency, she has shown a remarkable skill in the management of the affairs of men. The advanced methods of science and the scientific organisation of industry have led in the West to an enormous increase of efficiency in production, but vital values have been sacrificed and the organisation of social groups has exhibited marked defects in certain important directions. In politics and in industry, fitness and efficiency have been pursued to the detriment of some of the fundamental and elemental values of life. In the East the increase of efficiency, industrial and political, has been circumscribed by the restricted natural and social needs suited to the peculiar natural and historical environment. Race Psychology has led to a greater emphasis on the satisfaction of the few primary needs than on comforts and luxuries (which multiply beyond limits in the West), and of the intellectual and spiritual needs, which have been relegated to the background in the West. The historical conditions have favoured the development of petty republics characterised by a high degree of local autonomy and unarrested growth rather than the organisation of a central governing power. Not wedded to the ideal of mere efficiency, fitness, and quantity the East has found scope for the unarrested increase of the complex values of life, has sought quality more than quantity, and well-being more than mechanical efficiency and by the emphasis of natural relationships based on primary needs and instincts, rather than contractual ones, has built up a social fabric where progress is achieved by spontaneous group-action and not by state-control and state-interference. In her social organisation the mother East has been guided by her natural instinct which is itself the wisdom of nature, by her strong human sympathies, and her communistic and collectivistic sense which have welded autonomous individuals and social groups into a harmonious co-operation for the common realisation of the ends of society, ends which are quite in keeping with those of Universal Humanity. Rousseau's famous diatribe of civilisation that man was born free and is now everywhere in chains, is becoming more and more true of the West, where society in the pursuit of a mechanical ideal of efficiency is ignoring the true interests of organic efficiency and culture.

and for that end is stretching its limbs like those of an octopus into those domains of the private personal life within which the individual is rightful sovereign for the imperative need and inalienable right of self-realisation. Social grouping in the West has been determined almost entirely by the instincts of appropriation and aggression, manifested in the form of a yearning after productivity and exploitation. In this social scheme the concrete personality has been relegated to the background, and only a fragment has been hypostatised as the true individual. In the East social grouping has been the outcome of a *vital élan* in the direction of natural and human relationships. Consequently social grouping or stratification in the East always tends to ensure the satisfaction of the totality of human interests that constitute the personality. In industrial and political business which is really the management of the affairs of men, the handling of machines, industrial or political, does not mean the same as the handling of living personalities, individuals or groups. Trusts and cartels, federations and empires may imply a high degree of efficiency, but as industrial machines produce monotony

of work and life, and hamper the originality of creative genius, they govern whole societies under the steam-roller of dead routine and uniformity, and, in the pursuit of economic and administrative efficiency, destroy the conditions for the free realisation of the totality of needs and interests of individual and social units. The communalism of the East, has achieved efficiency in its own way and in adaptation to the simple but total needs of individual and social life, suited to the environment; it has secured economy and justice by a healthy and diffused distribution of wealth and population, of work and leisure in a well-organised and efficient system of agriculture, arts and crafts; through decentralisation in administration, it has developed the autonomy of local bodies and assemblies to an extent unknown in the West; and by its emphasis of the primary values of life, of human instincts and sympathies, of a social and humanistic valuation, it stands for all that is noble in enjoyment, art and religion, in other words, for true culture instead of the bare materialistic and mechanical ideal which has given a wrong trend to the civilisation of the West.

RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE.

MICA AND ITS INDUSTRY

MICA may be mentioned as one of the various kinds of minerals which have been more or less known from a long time, but whose utility had not been so far taken much advantage of. Although, it is being used for various purposes for long ages, it is within the last twenty years that its uses have been greatly recognised by the civilised world. In fact, it has suffered the lot of a much neglected substance, which is likely to play a very great part in the future industry and trade of the commercial and industrial world.

The name mica is probably derived from Latin Mico—flash, Micare—to glitter, to shine, and in some form or other its glittering, shining and transparent properties are expressed by its names in various languages of the world.

There is some confusion between the use of the word Talc for the minerals that come under the term Mica. The word talc seems to have an Arabic origin. The German word Glimmer—to shine (Der Glimmer=Mica), the Urdu word Abr and the sanskrit word Abhra cloud, etc., convey the same meanings and ideas.

The Hindu classical story is that Indra in order to kill Britasura produced the thunderbolts (Vajra). This Vajra scattered all round the sky while the sparks which fell on mountains below took the forms of mica. The folklore still goes that with the thunderings in heaven micas are born or are deposited on the earth's crust. Another folklore goes that clouds taking the shapes of elephants eat sal leaves and while doing so the saliva that drops out of their mouth fall to the earth as

mica. The word talc seems to be reserved by mineralogists for advantage's sake or for technical consideration for some other meaning and the word mica is now generally used for all purposes.

Mica is the name given to an important group of rock-forming minerals and is characterised by the perfect cleavage in one direction—along the base—and laminae which may be made very thin by a process of continued separation. Mica being the most delicate among the rock-forming substances suffers great deformation due to crust disturbances of the earth. As commercially valuable mica should be mica crystals without flaw and of a certain size and which can only be obtained from particular places unaffected and unaltered by earth and crust movements, hence is the scarcity of a very widespread area of ground of production.

Thus on account of nature's restrictions the mica supplies of the world are limited. Fortunate is the country which possesses the greatest store of these minerals, for it will have the advantage and opportunity of monopolising and controlling the world's trade of commercial mica.

Mica is found in India, Tibet, Central Asia, regions near Lake Baikal, China, Siberia, Scandinavia, Wales, Canada, U.S.A., Brazil, Peru and the region formerly known as German East Africa. Of all the countries in the world mica is commercially worked in India and America mostly, and these two countries practically supply the world's market. Mica was well-known in prehistoric America, traces of its use being widespread. In Quebec, Ontario, etc., in Canada, the supply is of excellent quality and it is easily mined and hence cheap.

India is fortunate enough to possess certain areas of very good and rich deposits of mica. Almost all the presidencies of India possess more or less mica bearing tracts. The principal of these are:

1. Gaya, Hazaribagh and Monghyr districts in Behar and Orissa.
2. Nellore district in Madras Presidency.
3. Ajmere in Rajputana, Central India. These are the places where mica industry and mica mining are carried out on an extensive commercial scale. In fact the greater portion of the world's supply of mica is sent out from these districts. It may be said that India gives the world one-half

and Canada and the United States together make up the other half. Europe has no commercial supply whatsoever. Europe however takes no share in producing but is the biggest buyer and consumer of this mineral.

The micas vary greatly in chemical composition and also sometimes in physical properties. But all micas however have this striking permanent characteristic that they can be split in thinnest films along the base. Attempts have been made to explain the variations in their compositions by scientists but they all seemed to have agreed to differ.

The micas are silicates and are divided into two main groups—Alkali and Ferromagnesium micas. Micas may be defined as silicates of aluminium with other bases as iron, calcium, magnesium, potassium, sodium, lithium, fluorine, etc. The chief four species of mica are:

1. Muscovite, the commonest, is a silicate of potassium and aluminium. It is seldom colourless but generally brownish or greenish. It is light-coloured and has pearly and metallic lustre.

2. Biotite, commonly called magnesium iron mica and marked by its darker tints of either black or dark green.

3. Lepidolite is a lithium mica with fluorine, potassium and aluminium as its constituents. It has a rose-red or lilac tint.

4. Phlogopite is a biotite of reddish brown; sometimes yellow or greenish.

Mica is generally found in the veins or along stratas and deposits of granite, felspar, quartz, limestone, etc. The micas enter into the composition of crystalline as well as sedimentary rocks. They are often mixed with crystallised minerals such as tourmaline, garnet and sometime also kaolin. Deposits are most frequently found in dikes of intergrowths of quartz, felspar, etc., and mica is scattered through the dikes or veins as they are called by miners. Deposits vary in thicknesses from a few inches to hundreds of feet. Almost everywhere the veins start near the surface and therefore mining is simple and prospecting operations easy and inexpensive.

The colours of mica, as will be seen from above, vary according to their different compositions. They are silver white, black, brown, smoky brown, green, yellow, amber, red and ruby. Those containing iron or magnesium are generally of deeper

colour. The inclusion of different proportions of hydrogen or water or some other minerals alter the colour, lustre and consistency. The Hindu writers and authorities knew of four kinds of mica and the colour of each was assigned to one of the four great castes of the Hindus.

The classification was ingenious and probably time-serving—

1. The Brahman was white and transparent.
2. The Kshatriya was red.
3. The Vaisya was yellow.
4. The Sudra was dark tinted, black and opaque.

A good piece of commercial mica should be medium hard and elastic. Crystals or Books of mica as they are technically called have their value in large sheets in which form they can be mined out. The largest books sometimes measure even up to 10 to 15 feet sides and a good few inches thick, while usually a book of an area of say one square foot should be considered as a good piece.

Mica mining operations have been carried out in India from ages and centuries ago, but there seems to be no history coming down to us to ascertain the period as to when such works were first started for all practical purposes of commerce and industry. From various accounts we come to know that mica mining and the processes of its industry as have been carried out in India, have been a huge wasteful system in the past. Even as far as two decades back the same system had continued. The old system of working mica was simply a process of digging and picking out the minerals in the easiest way possible. The people engaged in conducting the same had a crude knowledge of things, and an unsystematic way of 'safe and quick return of labour and money invested' was the dominant spirit and idea. The result was a systematic waste of this mineral which has now been considered as one of the most useful minerals which can probably never be suitably substituted. There are also fears in some quarters of its sudden exhaustion.

Although geologists and best trained foreign mining engineers consider that a systematic scientific mining process for successfully working mica mines should and could be resorted to, the practical experience of the people concerned and connected with this particular work show that

nothing very scientific can be applied for improving the present affairs to a very great magnitude. Although large sums of money have been spent for experiments, the actual processes of mining operations—apart from mechanical and other minor contrivances and arrangements and general system of non-wasteful work—have not much differed or improved from the past. In fact experts in mica-mining say that there is not much new to be learnt or applied unless the whole system somehow or other is completely changed and revolutionised. In due course however some such system must be forthcoming. It is never too late for inventions.

In mica-bearing areas pegmatite or mica-bearing veins—if we can say so—are easily detected. Sometimes there are outcrops of mica on the very surfaces of the grounds or generally crests or slopes of hillocks. In former times when mica mining had not become industrially popular, the local tribes, hillmen or agriculturists, a whole family of them, the youngsters accompanying, would go up a known place of mica-bearing area with a few picks and baskets. They knew the natural signs of the soil and would begin digging a place and following the crop or vein of mica in whatever direction it would go in worm-like, tortuous holes, which would sometimes extend to a depth of 20 feet. They would simply bring out the cuttings and diggings, stone, mica and all, sort out the serviceable micas, bring them home and use them themselves for some purpose or other or sell them to persons interested for paltry sums. On another occasion they would again go to another place and soon they would cover all the near areas with holes and pits all over the place and thus denude and damage the nearest available mica deposits in that locality. Such methods of working, and exploiting, or rather devastating, mica lands had continued till a quarter of a century back.

In the good old days two systems of mining were followed—

(1) Quarries and open pit system.

(2) Following the mica vein crystal to crystal in whatever direction it would lead.

Even nowadays both these systems have been adhered to. These however have now been supplemented by other systems of works, such as, vertical shafts, air and

ventilation shafts, etc. The unspacious and unhealthy holes of the former system have been greatly improved. Mines which now go underground to the depths of 200 to 300 ft. are receiving special attention both of the owners and of the law-makers of the land. Those deep mines which have struck rich deposits are yielding good crops and hence people and parties concerned in the profits and working, naturally pay more attention for safety and security both of life and property. Various laws and regulations, which are the outcome of serious ventures in proper business ways, are being applied to systematise the whole works in all its branches and systems.

The mining implements are simple and easily obtainable. Pick-axes, spades, crow-bars, chisels, sledge hammers, baskets, brickets, tawas, are more or less all that are practically necessary for an ordinary mining operation. These entail an outlay of very small capital. For more systematic works of larger concerns use of dynamite and other explosives, hand and steam pumps, pulleys etc. are the necessary accessories.

To follow a day's work in a mica mine in Behar may be interesting reading. At about 8 o'clock in the morning streams of people, men, women and juveniles are seen walking through lonely places of forests over beaten tracks, fording rivulets, crossing over hills and dales and going towards the mining centres and pits, which are generally in out of the way places in uninhabited areas and uncultivated lands over hill crests or slopes or valleys. The labourers carry with them all the necessary implements required for the day's work. They mostly carry their food with them for the midday meals and sometimes they have to carry even their own supply of drinking water. Mine labourers and the youngsters among them have been seen to walk a distance of 8 to 10 miles to go to their works every morning and to come back home the same evening after putting in 8 to 10 hours' work. This they do day after day and in all weather and seasons. Mine works generally begin from 9 in the mornings. The labourers having all assembled at the pit heads the roll is called, attendance is registered and parties or gangs of workers are formed and, headed by their mate or chief, are sent to various pits or places either for regular mining or for

prospecting work. Mining may be carried on with or without explosives.

In pits where mining proper is carried on, the man in charge of the mines technically known as "competent person" goes in first and sees that the pit sloping, barricades, the scaffoldings, the inside walls and projections, the wooden props, etc., are all intact and safe. He then allows the workers to go in. The work of women and children begins first. The water that has accumulated through percolation or springs overnight and the heaps of rock, mica, etc., that have remained in the pits after the blasting which was the last operation of the previous day have respectively to be bailed out and cleaned out by a chain of women and juveniles with buckets, pitchers, baskets, etc. The men or miners then begin their work with pick, hammer, chisel, etc., and if blasting operations are needed, the blasting holes are made and stuffed with explosives and fuses. For blasting work the pit is immediately vacated after the fuse has been fired and then after the explosion and the lapse of some time for the smoke to clear out the work of sorting out serviceable micas, if any, are obtained and that of the clearing of broken rocks by women and children is again done.

If elaborate machineries are employed the pumping operations are done with either hand or machine pumps and the loads brought up by means of pulleys or some such mechanical contrivance. After every operation of blasting, the props, the inside walls, the openings of pits, etc., are carefully looked to and necessities fixed up. This cycle of similar operations goes on again and again. Mine work is generally stopped before dusk. In day time however all deep pits require lighting arrangements and small oil torches or candles are used. Actual mining work having ceased in the evening, the day's findings of mica are brought up and collected together in heaps on the top of each pit. The sortings are then made, the serviceable micas are made up in bundles and the scraps and unnecessary pieces thrown away in heaps, somewhere near the mines or dumped, as they say. The bundles are made in weights of 15 to 20 seers and bound up with cordlike barks of creepers plentiful in the bushes. The day's work being finished the labourers accompanied by headmen and watchmen proceed to the

nearest godown or store and make over the day's findings of mica, implements, tools and all. At this stage they have even to submit to personal searchings for stolen mica or any other things. Some mining concerns have day and night works and for continuity of work two and sometimes three sets of hands are employed. Projects are in view for electric illumination of mines and use of push trams.

The labourers in mica mines, specially in Bellar, are generally drawn from the natives of the localities. Almost all sorts of castes, from high to low, and of different professions are represented among the workmen. But almost all are tillers of land and depend a great deal on the amount of agriculture they can do along with their works in mica mines or mica factories. Sometimes all the members of the family are seen to work in mines or factories. In some places there is imported labour from other divisions or subdivisions and rarely from other provinces. But it is a noteworthy fact that people living in mica mine areas are more or less connected in some way or other with mica and its industry. For ordinary labour the juveniles earn about 1½ to 2as, women 2as. to 2½as. and men 3 to 5 as. a day. Weekly and fortnightly payments are made.

Labour is generally fairly regular and supply adequate. But during paddy or other important sowing and harvest seasons workmen invariably stay away from their works and some difficulty is always then felt. Prospectings are generally done during the rainy season when the ground is wet and easy for digging and when surface washings show up the outcrops. Winter months are also favourable for the purpose. During prospecting periods and rainy seasons there is generally some slackness in the regular mining work for reasons of labour and other technical considerations. Old works are renewed with full vigour and new works start during the dry days following rainy months.

For the last twenty years or so, mica-

mining has received the attention of the Government and mining rules, regulations, prospecting lease terms, etc., have been drawn up and fixed. Nowadays there are supposed to be regular inspections of mica mines by special Government mining inspectors and officers. The mining departments of the Government control all the mica mines as regards their safe workings, non-wastage and so on. All the details of work of the year, such as number of hands engaged, total raisings of mica and its approximate value, cases of accidents, health of workers, etc., are to be reported to the Government by all owners of mines.

Mica fields are worked on lease and share systems. Government lands are also let out on lease. Zemindars and landlords who own mica bearing lands make a very good profit by leasing out the rights to work and exploit mica. Fancy prices are often demanded for rich plots of land. To give an example: An area of about 500 square miles would bring a rent of about Rupees 25,000 a year plus a handsome *salami*. A few acres of mica bearing land would fetch as rent Rupees 1,000 a year.

Within the last decade or so there have been many enterprisers in the field of mica mining industry. Mica has however its sad failures too like all other mining. But considering the outlay in capital the results generally obtained have been marvellous. But the old system of small capital and quick return will not and cannot continue to have its advantage for time unlimited. A change must come and it has come. With the recognition of mica by the civilized world there has been a steady and increased demand. In these days of competition and industrialism, honest workers and parties, judicious systems of working a mica mine area, efficient management and expert and specialised knowledge are essentially necessary for profitably working mica mines and concerns.

ANANDAPROKASH GHOSE.

EVERLASTING PEACE

A MEDITATION.

BY MAHARSHI DEBENDRANATH TAGORE.

"Everlasting peace belongs only to those serene and saintly men, who find God in their innermost being."

CAN any one ever wish that the innermost Beloved should turn away, or that we ourselves should remain at a distance from Him? Can any one ever desire to dwell apart from the Giver of life and wisdom, the Closest of Friends? Even though a man's soul be steeped in sin, it can hardly be so dead as to wish to dwell apart from God. The longing for God cannot utterly be extinguished.

The man who shrinks before the great dread within, can never banish from his secret heart the sound of these words,— "Whither will you flee; from whence will you get deliverance? Deprived of His shelter, with whom will you take refuge?"

If you are afraid because of your sin, then all the more eagerly take shelter with Him, and long to gain freedom from sin's bondage. If you go to the mountain caves, the lonely forests, or the wide sea, you cannot escape from God. Nay, only as you take refuge with God, can you escape from the terror that dwells within.

Therefore, when you have sinned, do not seek to flee from Him, but all the more pray to Him with longing of heart and sorrow of spirit. Say to Him,— "I have made myself vile in Thy sight, but do thou accept me. I have plunged into the darkness, but do Thou, O Light of lights, lead me from darkness to light. Give me punishment to the full, I am ready to bear it, if only I may be freed from the snares of sin and know once again the joy of Thy Presence."

Surely, if we come to Him thus, with real longing and sorrow, He will shower His love upon us and heal with tenderness our troubled spirit.

There are those who sin and do not take shelter with God, glozing their conscience with the lie that God and immortality are things of nought. These men give place in their hearts to a thousand en-

tangling doubts. Their innermost soul does not wish to declare that God is not, and yet they wish to remain blind. They see that God is watching the evil and the good, and yet they wish to remain blind. They have fear in their hearts, and yet they will not fear God. The Father of all is calling them, but they remain deaf to that call.

If we shrink back from God in fear of His punishments, then let us know that all His stripes are healing to the soul. Taking shelter with Him we shall get freedom from all sorrow and release from all fear. Our spirits will once more become enlightened with the light of His truth, attracted by His revelation, and indwelt by His holy love.

When the hour of death draws near and we are called upon to enter God's presence, what will our thoughts be then?

Some will think, "At one time I had set out upon a wayward path, far away from God and without hope. Then God took pity on me, and I have again come back to Him."

Another will think, "My burden of sorrow and pain has become unbearable. Where is my path leading me? I have taken no pains to see where my life was going. When I could have gone on the right path I turned away in contempt. God warned me again and again, but I gave no heed to His warning."

Think not that the hour of death is far distant. Nothing is sure. Think not that we may now enjoy the pleasures of the senses, but when old age comes we can then give ourselves to works of piety and contemplate God. The demons of evil only require time to become strong.

Do not trifle with the thought, that, because to-day we can safely overcome some perverse desire, therefore to-day we may safely indulge. The very thought makes it clear that the temptation has already begun to gain the mastery. Can any one, who hates impurity, remain indifferent in the midst of impurity? Let

the man who longs to be free from sin, and to make vanquished right again triumphant, stand even now in God's presence and shed before Him true tears of repentance.

Then the attractiveness of sin will disappear, and the pangs of sorrow will be quenched. Then he will be full of deep remorse, that at one time he was away from God. He will feel how empty life was, and how impure, when he was not near to God. He will have learnt that only those wise men, who in their own souls can find His presence, have a real and lasting peace.

As the scripture says,—“Only those wise men have everlasting happiness who in their own spirits see a witness to Him, who is the only Lord of the inner soul of all beings, and who creates the many from the one. Others can never get such happiness.”

And again another scripture says,—“Only those wise men have everlasting peace, who see in their own spirits a witness to Him, who amidst all change is the only Eternal, the Creator of the consciousness of all conscious beings, supplying the needs of all. Others can never get such peace.”

The scripture speaks of God's witness in the innermost spirit. There is indeed a

true witness to God, outside us, even in this outward ray of light, but that is, in a sense, distant. There is a true witness to Him even in this temple, but He is closer still to us than that. He has His dwelling place in our innermost soul.

Our body is His temple, His inner shrine. He is our own sole wealth,—not only ours, as those things are ours, which belongs to all alike, such as the wind, the rain, the light of the sun,—but ours in intimate, innermost relations. He is the indwelling God of each man's body, the household God of everyone of us. Just as we say ‘my father,’ ‘my mother,’ ‘my brother,’ ‘my sister,’ speaking of them all as mine, so God also is ‘my God,’ the God of my heart.

The scripture says,—“Whoso makes separation, even in the least degree, him fear seizes.” When I feel God's presence in my own soul, then, with Him as my Companion, I become fearless.

Wonderful indeed is the truth that everywhere, within and without, I find His presence! When I open my eyes, I see Him all around and about me. When I close my eyes, I see His self-revealing image full of majesty within my heart.

“Everlasting peace belongs only to those serene and saintly men, who find God in their innermost being.”

THE SEMAS

THEIR DWELLING PLACE.

THE Semas call themselves Ashimis and their tongue is rather akin to that of the Angamis. They generally inhabit the Doyang, the Tizu and the Tita Valleys.

THEIR ORIGIN.

There are a number of traditions as to their origin. One amongst these is to the effect that they came from the Jalu Hills. Another current tradition ascribes the genesis of their race to a beautiful myth, which shortly runs thus:

The primeval mother gave birth to a man, a demon and a tiger. The former two were solicitous enough for her welfare but the tiger was much bent on preying upon

his plump mother—a nice idea, which he would have early carried out into action but for his wicked brothers, the man and the demon. Thus when they would go out into the field leaving the tiger in charge of their mother, he would often threaten the old creature. Such a continual tiger-terror began to sicken and emaciate the mother and the man and the demon having got a scent of what was going on and understanding that their dear mother must soon die, compelled him to hand over the charge of the mother to them and deputed him to the fields.

But alas! the poor mother did not survive; and they fearing some mischief might be wrought on the dead body by their peerless brother, hid it under the

hearth. Having returned home the tiger angrily asked them as to the whereabouts of the mother. The man and the demon pointed to the forest and off he went towards that direction in quest of the mother. Now the man and the demon took earnestly to cultivation.

Now that the demon knew a bit of the black art (*took-tak*), a sealed book to the man, and could do as much work in the field as could be done by the man in twice or thrice the time needed by the demon, so his fields bore plenty of crops, quite to the amazement of his human brother. At the time of going to the field the demon's wont was to take the opposite way of the man.

One day the man asked him about his way. The demon pointed to the way up. The man, according to his logic, went down and suddenly came across a red substance shooting by him which bore the semblance of a hen. At this the man fell senseless to the ground, when the demon, bringing him back to his senses again by means of his incantations, addressed him saying: "Fearing the worst of you, my dear, I act contrary to what I say." In consideration that his stay there might be prejudicial to the safety of man, he removed himself to the side of a distant tank and while leaving instructed him in better cultivation and in the practice of the (*took-tak*) black art. This explains the practice of demon-worship among the Nagas.

This man begot two sons. One was named Upa. [In sema, "Upa" means to fly away. And because a hen was flying off, hence this naming]. Another was called Huepo. ["Huepo" means a native jar for sucking honey. And because such a one was near by, hence the naming].

Some Semas explain their origin by a different tradition. They say the Aoo, Angami, Lota and Sema Nagas are the descendants of four uterine brothers. The eldest had a religious turn of mind, was much cared for by the parents and adequately clothed. He is the forefather of the Angamis. The second, a quarrelsome fellow, was poorly clothed by the parents and is traced as the head of the Aoo stock. The third was also an exact copy of the second and is the reputed ancestor of the Lota section.

A notorious scoundrel and mischievous

wretch, the fourth was never submissive to his parents, who angrily attached a piece of rag to his waist and turned him out of doors. The Semas are his progeny. This incident is at the root of different clothing amongst the above-mentioned four Naga tribes.

Some Semas again are of opinion that they have come out from the gigantic stone at the village of Kajakunema. The Angamis, too, favour various traditions explicative of their origin and also refer to the gigantic stone of Kajakunema as the birth-place of the Angamis, the Semas, and the Lotas. This peculiar stone-legend is current also among the other Nagas. The Aoo Nagas say they have come from the Loongturak mountain and so the Nagas as a rule deify the mountains.

I think it will not be quite out of place to give a detailed account of the Angamese legend about the Kajakunema stone. According to it there lived an old man and his wife with three sons in Kajakunema. The three sons used to sun their paddy on the stone. Great was their surprise when the paddy would double its amount every evening. This miracle was naturally attributed to a specific property in the stone itself and the phenomenon consequently tended to sound a jarring note amongst the brothers with regard to its possession, which fact, being perceived by their father, caused him to pile heaps of straw on the said stone and set fire to it. With the reverberation of thunder the stone split into two and out came the demon within and went up to Heaven. Though the property of the stone was lost, the brothers fell out with one another before long, separated and betook themselves to different regions.

The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas are the descendants of these three.

Though these legends never give us solid facts to rely upon yet they help us so much as to infer, and truly indeed, that once they lived together, and this is also corroborated by the striking unity of social life of the three different Naga tribes. The Aoo and Miris are similar and are traced to the same stock. The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas bury their dead; whereas the Aoo and the Miris preserve them. The Angami, Sema and Lota women do not tattoo their bodies; whereas the Aoo and Miri women do. The Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas

have no separate "Morong" (household for the unmarried); whereas the Aoo and the Miris have. Again, the former three have no "Shankum" (the music on the eve of a victory), whereas the latter two have it. A great deal of difference can be marked even in the construction of their houses. For instance, the Angamis, the Semas and the Lotas have got wooden "Kikas" in their houses, but no "Machang" there; whereas the Aoo and Miris have plenty of bamboo-built "Machang" inside the house and verandah outside but no "Kikas".

SEMA MALES AND FEMALES AND THEIR DRESSES.

The male Semas are of swarthy complexion but handsome, strongly built, brave and courageous. They are fond of hunting and rank highest among all the Nagas for their military tactics. The Semas, whose only wearing apparel is nothing but a piece of green rag, very small in size and kept hanging down from the fore part of the waist, can be unhesitatingly called a naked people.

But a very reasonable explanation is offered by them for this intentional paucity in dress: We are born naked and it is sinful to hide that nudity. The Semas, though a primitive race, are accustomed to theft and falsehood, and have a sharp sense of social precedence. You can easily single out a wealthy Sema with a wreath of conch shell around his neck and ivory ornaments on the arms and "cowry" ornaments on the wrist. They form a noble class by themselves and can wear bear's teeth as an insignia of their nobility won by succeeding in beheading a fellow-creature. Such a custom was prevalent indeed before the establishment of the British government there and the humanising influence thereof came into operation, but the relic of such a dignified sense of nobility amongst them is still visible when they as camp-followers accompany the frontier expeditionary forces sent against the Miris, Mishmis, Abaris, Akas or Dafflas, and can decapitate anybody, dead or alive, or even can spear a corpse.

The Sema dance is the best of all Naga dances. They generally dance on the eve of some festivities. The most striking feature of that dance is the fantastic dresses and ornaments they wear at the time of dancing. These generally consist of

some uncouth substances and rude implements of war worn in different parts of the body, such as a two edged *dao* hung along the back from the shoulder, caps made of bear's skin or human hair and the like.

The Sema women are strongly built but they are dark and not handsome. They have got their hair brown and short.

The Semas also have got a dowry system contrary to the Bengal system, the bride-groom has to pay for the bride, and therefore, like the Aoo, they cannot enjoy the blessing (!) of numberless marriages, as it entails a heavy expenditure of money on the profligate. Having no fear of a divorce, the Sema woman takes little care of her physical charms after the nuptial knot is once tied, and to their credit it may be said that among the whole family of Naga women the Sema kind is the only one that knows what chastity really means.

True to the nature of all women, the Sema females are very fond of ornaments and fine dresses. Thus they like various kinds of bangles made of mixed metals, and wreaths of conch-shells and crimson coloured "manis" are no less their favourite. Their "mekhalas" spreading from the waist down to the ankle is a very beautiful and costly thing if variegated by parallel lines of conch-shells or crimson-coloured "mani" wreaths. Such a "mekhala" belonging to a Sema girl of a wealthy father may be worth forty or fifty rupees at a rough estimate. But the primary defect in their dress, which strikes one most, is that they never care to cover their breast.

Christianity has not as yet appeared among the Semas and no light of education has, as yet, crept into their society. They are still at the lowest grade of civilisation like the Miris.

THE SEMA VILLAGE AND HOUSEHOLD.

There are trenches running round all the Sema villages, and these trenches again are palisaded with thick rows of bamboos.

All this is a provision for holding out against the enemy. There is no "para" or *khel* in the Sema Village. The two-thatched Sema houses are generally made of straw and bamboo with three doors respectively fitted in the front, in the back and in the side of the house. Opposite to the side door, peculiar only to the Sema houses, fire is

kept continually burning within. There are three rooms in every Sema house: the first or the fore room shelters the cows, pigs and other domestic animals; the second or the middle room serves as the paddy-house; the third or the last room serves the purpose of all other household affairs. The most important function, namely cooking, is performed there and the master of the house sleeps there with his wife and little children. As has already been said, the Semas have no separate "Marang" or household for the unmarried.

The unmarried Sema youths pass their nights in the first or fore-room which is big enough for them and the cattle, and the second or the middle room cordially welcomes the unmarried young girls.

MATRIMONIAL RITES.

There is nothing like courtship among the Semas. The parents on both sides settle a marriage, always subject to the opinion of the boy and the girl concerned. A matrimonial overture is confirmed by the would be bridegroom going to the bride's house attended by a number of friends, where they are helped to sumptuous dishes of sweet-smelling boiled rice and honey by the bride according to the wishes of her mother. A Sema girl values her chastity above all. The parents of a young unmarried Sema girl watch over her carefully, and Sema society is no less punctilious on this point. Thus if a young Sema touches the body of an unmarried young Sema girl, he is liable to a fine and is hated and ridiculed by society. A rigid observance of this moral rule by Sema society has served to save the Sema girls from living a life of immorality and shamelessness, to which the Aoo girls have succumbed mainly owing to the laxity of their society with regard to the keeping up of this standard of morality.

We have already said that there is a kind of dowry system among the Semas. Generally the girl's father is entitled to exact something from the boy's father. When an overture is consented to both by the boy and the girl, the father of the boy finds the amount to be paid to the girl's father. In the marriage of a rich man's daughter or of a chieftain's, the amount may rise as high as five or six hundred rupees. The lowest amount may be fifty or sixty rupees, roughly speaking, without paying which even the poorest Sema can-

not aspire to wedlock. It may be asked what dowry does the girl's father give to his dear daughter. To the credit of her father we may say that he often cuts out a considerable part of the much-talked-of amount paid to him consisting of cash money and domestic animals and gracefully allots it to the share of his daughter. On the day of the marriage the parents of the bridegroom, accompanied by their relations, proceeds with a big boar towards the house of the girl's father for bringing her. The bride's father feeds them sumptuously with the meat of that boar. The party then carries the bride to the new house of the bridegroom, which he himself builds specially for this purpose, and passes the night there sumptuously fed. The Sema bride comes no poor hanger-on to her husband's house. Apart from the handsome dowry already referred to, she comes possessed with a solid "Stridhana property" of her own. It is customary with Sema girls, while under their father's roof, to amass separate property unknown to their father and deposit with persons other than himself. This self-acquired property together with the dowry—which sometimes consist of valuable things such as pigs, hens, precious stones, ornaments of mixed metals, wearing apparel, &c.,—indeed farther dignifies her personality in the eye of her husband and his relations.

Polygamy is allowed in the Sema society, and a "Sardar" can marry six or seven wives. On the death of a Sema his wives may be married out to other families, but if the brothers of the deceased are willing to marry them themselves they can be given away to others on no account. A man can marry his step-mother on the death of his father. Though the Sema society allows divorce among its people, it never makes a very abundant use of this custom like the Aoo and other Nagas. The ground of divorce is dissatisfaction of the husband. If the divorce comes within three years of the marriage the husband may recover the amount paid to the father of the wife, but if it comes later the husband is to pay a fine to the wife. The birth of a child even within three years of the marriage is no bar to a divorce.

RELIGION AND PRIESTCRAFT.

The Semas are monotheistic in belief and their name of God is "Kunglin." Kunglin has created this universe and



A Sema Girl.



Sema Girls Fetching Firewood.

resides in the sky. He sees through the deeds of all. The Semas believe in "Satan" and favour the stories of ghosts and spectres. The Sema satan is known as "Tagamy." The favourite haunt of Tagamy is in the midst of gigantic stones, in the beds of rivers, in the dense forest and, according to some, in the very houses of men now and then. According to Sema belief the soul of a religious man goes up to the sky and becomes a Deo there and that of an irreligious one walks down to an abysmal depth below and is born again as a human being or a fly there.

Auou (আবু) is the principal priest of the Semas and in every village there is one of them. Being the hereditary priest of the Semas, and in respect second to the sardar, the Auou is the authority on questions of the "gena" or religious rites of the

Semas, and the sole person to fix the date for the celebration of such a gena and to order for its necessary publication. He receives paddy from every villager and in time of gena he gets meat. Whenever a new village is going to be founded, the house of the Auou has first to be built, then that of the sardar and then others.

In every village there is a class of people known as "Lapu" or Apnou whose business is to bury the dead of the village. The shovels used at the time of the burial come to the possession of these Lapus, whose secondary business is also to dig out canals for the purpose of letting the water in and out whenever a new village is in the process of being built. In a gena called "Afisata" the Lapu will suck honey first of all and will receive a cow's leg and a seer of salt. He also gets sufficient paddy for burying the dead.

GENA.

The Sema genas are few and simple and similar to other Naga genas, both individual and social. There is no hard and fast rule for the celebration of an individual 'gena,' which is indicative of the wealth and social position of the celebrater and which can only be performed by the rich folk of the community, but the social 'genas' must be performed by one and all and every one must render pecuniary help for the performance of such a rite.

The genas are naturally performed after the conclusion of a happy marriage, after the safe ending of the sowing season, at the time of reaping a harvest, and at the time of clearing a forest for the purpose of cultivation. During these genas people are fed to their heart's content with rice and honey and the celebration is graced by a lively demonstration of dancing and singing. These festivities and enjoyments which last sometimes for thirty days are meant for good harvest, increase of wealth and decrease of woe. At the time of worshipping the Deo, a woman is not allowed to be present there. Their sacrificing poles, something similar to those in Bengal, are of the shape of an Y. We have already said the Semas believe that the Tagami also lives in the houses of men. So, to avert such a catastrophe, they perform a gena called "Akichiney" yearly or every three years, in which the Sema male and female, rising early in a particular morning, will sacrifice a small boar, burn it, divide it into sixty parts on sixty leaves with sixty grains of rice, and pass the whole day within doors feeding themselves simply upon meat and honey. To avert any visitation of plague or outbreak of serious fire in the village the villagers unitedly perform every year a gena called "Akneya", at which the "Auou" is the principal priest who sacrifices a very large boar and several hens, and this is simply attended by the males to the exclusion of the females. There are various other genas like these.

SEMA SARDARS AND SEMA COLONY SYSTEM.

In every Sema village there is a sardar or a king who is the absolute master of that village. Sema sardarship is hereditary and succession to it is ruled by the law of primogeniture. When a sardar becomes too old to carry on the administration of his village he generally delegates

his power to his eldest son. The agricultural fields are the sardar's property, who leases out plots of them to the villagers, who in return work in their sardar's fields free of charge and whenever any one of them catches fish or hunts an animal, the sardar will undoubtedly get his royal share.

Whenever there is a perceptible increase in the population of a village and its limited resources cannot meet the demands of the increased population, a band of villagers set out with the purpose of founding a new village with new corn-fields. They take with them a Auou and a Lapu, and the sardar sends one of his sons with them who becomes the sardar of the new village. First of all the Lapu digs out the waterpaths of the village. Then the house of the Auou is prepared. Then comes the sardar's and last of all the other villagers'. Other Naga tribes lack such a colonising activity.

NAMING.

The sardar gives warlike, famous, and heroic names to his children which the other people cannot aspire to and if any one is ambitious enough to call one of his issues by such a name, an exclusive luxury of the sardar, he is sure to have heaps of ridicule and banter showered upon his head. Some villages are named after their sardars.

PRINCIPLE OF SUCCESSION TO PROPERTY.

On the death of a Sema, his eldest son takes the largest share in the property and the house of his father; and the remainder is equally divided amongst his other sons.

The daughters have no claim to the immoveable property of their father. Though they have a certain right to the movable property if their father was an admittedly rich man.

LYCANTHROPY.

The Semas fancy that certain people have the power of changing themselves into tigers. According to them, half the soul of such a lycanthropist runs into the forest and takes shelter in a tiger, whereas the other half remains in the body of the man himself. When this tiger is chased by anybody, the half-souled man instantaneously runs mad and the people suspect a lot of things. Some people change themselves into tigers in malice and

in that form destroy the cattle of their enemies. If the tiger is killed by chance, the man also dies.

It is very difficult to release half the soul from a tiger unless the lycanthropist can eat the remnant of the raw meattasted by that particular tiger in which his soul resides. It is not known if the tiger dies at the death of the man but it is unmistakably certain that the man dies at the death of the tiger. To make their belief

well-founded they generally trace a similarity in the outward appearance of the tiger and the man by means of a few signs. Thus, if the lycanthropist has a wreath around his neck, the tiger also must have white and red signs across its neck looking like a wreath, etc. If the lycanthropist by chance meets the tiger in the forest, the latter generally runs circling about the former very eagerly.

There is a rumour about a Naga of the Sarumi village that he ran away as a lycanthrope in the forest, and the people who ignorantly killed him were all drowned. When such a tiger is chased by the people the relatives of the man-tiger become conscious of it at once and they inform the chasers about it. My Naga servant "Huveykey" has seen his eldest brother "Lazatulukey" of the "Khukia" village and "Shakutukey" of "Hohibi" village turn themselves into tigers. He was himself one of the party when the villagers of "Khukia" gave chase to the tiger possessed of the soul of the aforesaid "Shakutukey".



The Semas Cultivating.

He says that just when a very hot chase was given to the tiger the villagers of "Hohibi" came running by and identified it to be Shakutukey, whereupon they had to cease the chase and return home. "Shakutukey" himself admitted that he had passed through a crisis. These lycanthropists can change others also into tigers but such an operation takes up a good deal of time.

AGRICULTURE AND ITS PRODUCE.

The Nagas are an agricultural people. The majority of the Semas are poor and some have no corn-field at all. Some live as serfs in the houses of the sardar and the rich man who gives them fields, and they in their turn work in the fields of their masters. Wool, corn, kani corn, etc., are their chief agricultural produce. They have very few watered fields, but the great majority of their fields are dry. If such a dry field is located in a very high place and the soil is comparatively rather fertile, the Semas can use it for two consecutive years; other-



A Sema Chief.

wise they have to leave it uncultivated for eight or nine years together so as to make it fit for cultivation again. This makes their cultivation a difficult and painful task for them.

The Semas know not how to weave their clothes but they are clever enough to hide their inability by adducing a false excuse that this is "prohibited". The same excuse is used to explain away their ignorance in the making of iron implements and weapons.

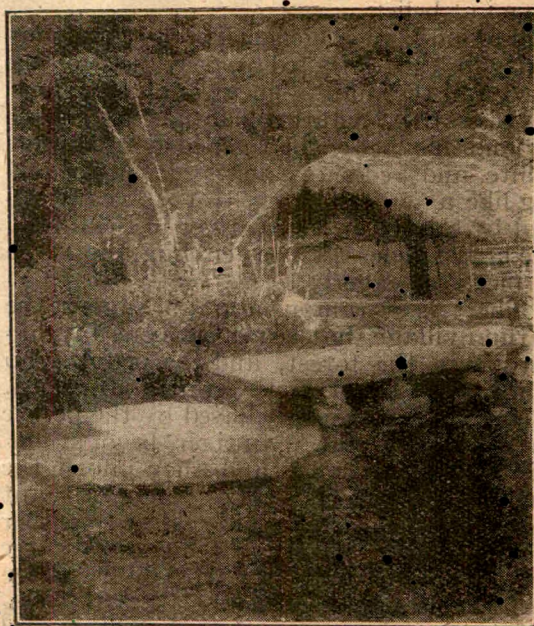
These articles they purchase from the Miris, Rangmas, and Lotas. But now in some villages this industry has dawned and some iron-made articles of every day use are being made there.

THEIR FOOD AND DRINK.

The Nagas eat cows, boars, dogs, and other domestic animals. Some Nagas like to eat monkeys, but bears and deer are the favourite food of all the Nagas. The Semas do not eat snakes and tigers. Among the whole race of the Nagas, the Semas only know a bit of cleanliness about their food, but the Aaos are the worst in this matter and the Angamis exclude nothing from their foodstuff.

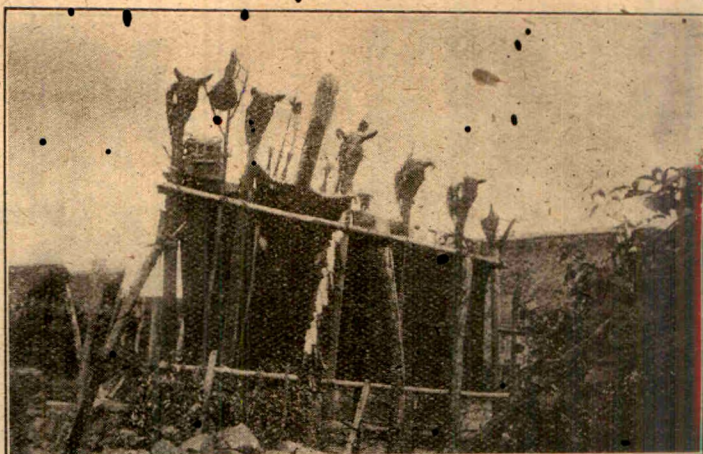
I have been an eye-witness to a very interesting spectacle. More than once I have seen both Semas and Lotas hold a grand feast upon the living white ants. In the dark of the evening when the white ants begin to come out from holes in the earth, quite a number of Sema men and women, both young and old, not to speak of the little boys and girls, assemble at their issuing place and feed themselves to their heart's content upon these delicious little things. Some catch a huge number for carrying them home. Some again gulp them down so greedily and in such a large quantity that it simply nauseates one to look at them at the time. Some need no other food for the night.

The school boys and the interpreters indeed become shy at the sight of us, but



The Stone From Which The Semas Believe That They Have Originated.

such a morbid hesitation gives way under a much more keen temptation before long, and with a little pause they take to their delightful labour with much more enthusiasm than before. The Semas do not eat elephants; perhaps because no such thing is available in their high-peaked mountains. The Nagas do full justice to an animal's flesh in the strictest sense of the word. To the credit of the Semas, Lotas, and Aoos, it may be said that they reject the hairy portion, whereas the Angamis are very careful to retain them. Honey is the favourite drink of the Nagas.



A Sema Grave.

TREATMENT OF DEAD BODIES.

The Semas, like the Angamis and the Lotas, bury their dead in the court-yard. The dead body of a very little child, five or six days old, is buried within the house. The burial takes place on the very day of the death. On the death of a rich man his relations assemble at his house to mourn his loss and do not bury him until they have performed some gena on behalf of his departed soul. The well-known Lapu digs the grave and places the dead body in it. He gets two "khangs" of paddy for burying each dead body and gets a share of the cattle sacrificed in the gena. On the third day of the death another gena is performed, and the relatives of the deceased are feasted with the meat of a big boar. The relatives of a dead male, on their part, celebrate the gena for six days and those of a female for five days, and during

that term of impurity none of them do any work for themselves.

On the death of a sardar or a wealthy man, the villagers in a body perform a universal gena for one day when none of them do any work.

The Semas build small houses over the graves of well-to-do persons with bamboo built "Machangs" within, whereupon they place spears, *dāos*, shields, various clothes and numerous wreathes of "matis." They keep suspended around the house as many wooden imitations of the heads of wild animals and ferocious beasts as the deceased had killed in their life-time and if any one distinguished himself by cutting off human heads during his life-time they hang an equal number of wooden imitations of human heads around the little house on his grave.

Gauhati, SURENDRANATH MAZUMDAR,
Assam. L. M. S.

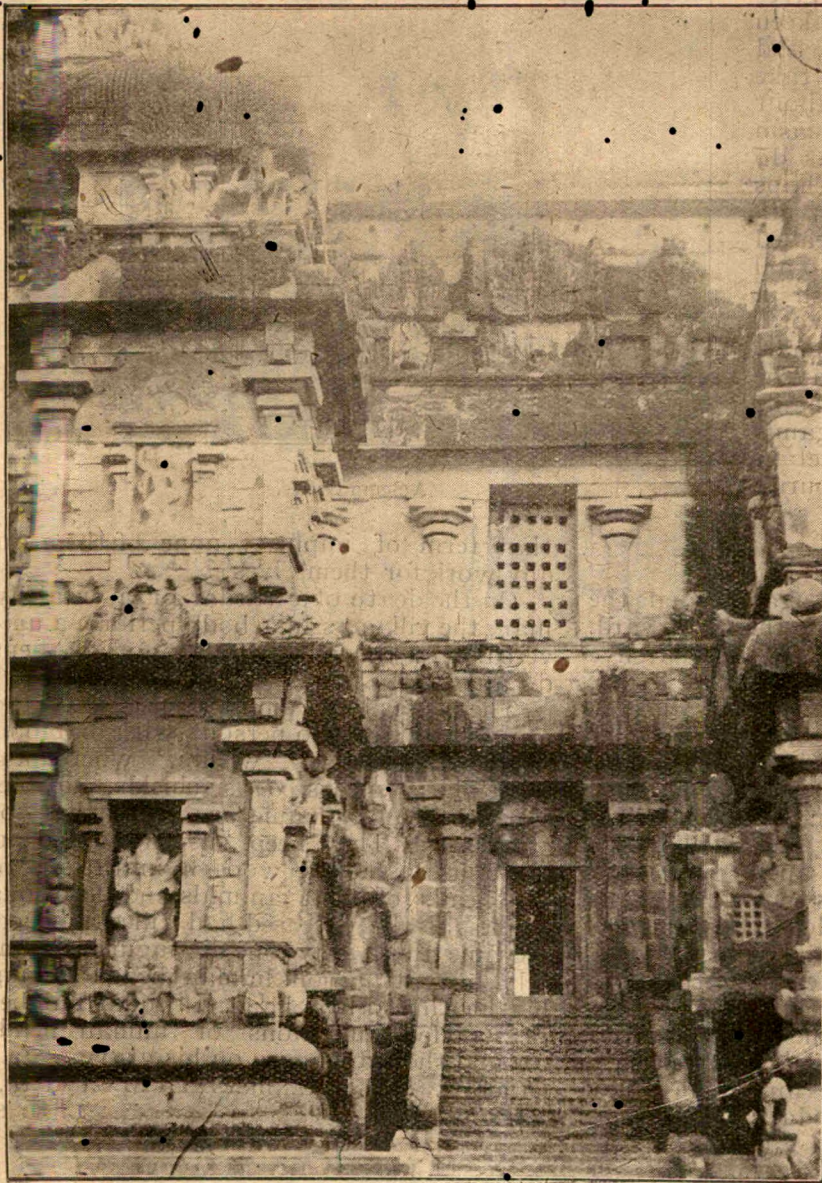
THE RUINS OF GANGAIKONDACHOLAPURAM

"Fair Greece! Sad relic of departed worth!
Immortal, though no more! though fallen, great!"
—Byron.

THE article deals with the ruins of the once great capital of Rajendra Chōla, situated in a remote corner of the Udāyarpalayam Taluk, Trichinopoly Dis-

trict, and connected by gravel road with Aduthurai, a railway station in the South Indian Railway, in the Tanjore District.

These ruins of India's forgotten greatness of an age—a golden age, when her emperors extended their puissant arms beyond the seas, when empires



The High Artistic Gateway Leading to the Sanctum From South.

mightier than those of Assyria, Babylon, and Greece, grew, flourished, and decayed; these ruins standing in lonely dignity, and solemn grandeur, amidst the now desolate waste, defying, as it were, the ravages of Time, scorning to note the violent convulsions and revolutions that were daily being acted before them, yet remaining always a silent witness; these ruins, a monument of Eternity, "once the Dome of Thought, the Palace of the Soul," and the

home of the mighty intellects, poets, statesmen, and philosophers; these ruins "glimmering through the things that were," with a peculiar witchery and delight on a moonlit night, strike the beholder with the mingled feelings of awe, reverence and admiration. There they stand, phoenix-like, changing, yet unchanged—yes, changing in all the varied, and charming processes of dilapidation to scarce a mound of crumbled sands!

HISTORY.

This Gangaikondacholapuram was made the Capital of the Empire, by Rajendra Chola Deva, surnamed Gangaikonda, son and successor of Rajaraja Chola, who reigned from 1018, 1035 A.D., and named it in commemoration of the conquests of Northern India, extending as far north as the Ganges. Gangaikondacholapuram means the town of Chola who conquered Ganga or the Ganges. His achievements

as an emperor were immense: his fleet crossing the Bay of Bengal attacked and captured Kadaram the ancient capital of Prome, and also the seaports of Takolam and Mattams (Martaban). The annexation of Nicobar and Andaman Islands soon followed the conquest of Pegu. Says V. A. Smith, the well-known author of the "Early History of India":

"During the earlier years of his reign, Rajendra Chola Deva, had occupied himself with a succession

of wars against the northern powers. He came into collision even with Mahipala, King of Behar and Bengal, and brought his army to the banks of the Ganges. In memory of this exploit, he assumed the title of Gangaikonda, and built a new capital city, which he called Gangaikondacholapuram. Near this city he constructed a vast artificial lake with an embankment 16 miles long, fully provided with the necessary sluices, and channels for the irrigation of a large area. The city was adorned by a magnificent palace, and a gigantic temple enshrining a lingam, formed of a black granite monolith 30 ft. high. The ruins of these structures, sadly defaced by the ravages of Modern Utilitarians in search of building materials, still stand in lonely grandeur in a desolate region of the Trichinopoly District. The sculptures in the temple are of singular excellence."

In his new capital, Rajendra Chola Deva built the gigantic temple in the model of the temple at Tanjore. The temple is surrounded by an enclosure measuring 580 ft. by 370 ft. and at the corners stand the bastions, now in a ruined condition.

The tower is built in a pyramidal form, measuring about 240 ft. high, and the base of it is so broad, that it is popularly supposed that the shadow of the tower, never falls beyond the base. The bull-god that faces the temple is said to be monolithic—but the broken pieces of masonry show it to be otherwise—and its height may be conceived by a comparison with the size of the man standing in the photograph by the side of it.

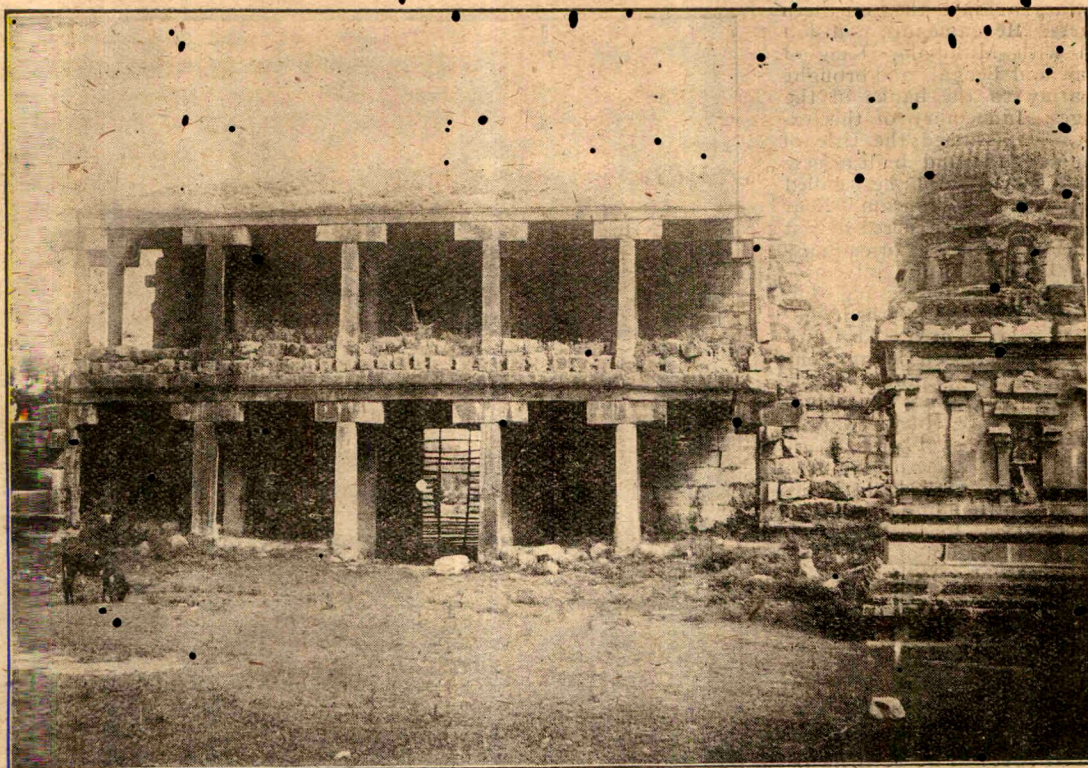
The works of art and sculpture are of a very high, standard, and the cost and labour that should have been spent in the construction of the artistic gateway that leads to the sanctum sanctorum may be imagined by a look at the photograph. There are two gateways, one in the south,



The Tall Pyramidal Tower, and the Colossal Bull god.

and one in the north, measuring 60 ft. high.

The surrounding gallery of two storeys high was a magnificent structure. What with the ravages of time, what with the utilitarian view—"Civilized Vandalism"—of the Company's Government to build the Lower Annicut (1836), and the Jubilee Tank at Jayangondacholapuram, these piles of ruins look sadder, affording an



The Remaining Portion of the Gallery, which once Extended Throughout the Prakara from which Granite Stone and other Building Materials Were Removed to Build the Lower Annicut in 1836.

Photographs taken by K. Kalyanasundram Iyer,
131 Sarkar Naik Street, Kumbakonam.

awful contrast, of what it had been, and what it is now!

But Oh! where are the palaces, the baths, the gardens, the pleasure groves? Alas! gone, gone are the days of the glorious Rajendra Chola, gone are the

village assemblies, the "little republics"; and the great Empire itself, obeying the predestined laws, has perished! *Hic jacet* is writ in the Book of Time!

K. RAMACHANDRAN.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE INDIAN PROBLEM

POLITICAL phenomena are at bottom but psychological phenomena. So it behoves the student of psychology no less than the politician to study, and if possible, also to solve, the problems presented by political complexities. The Indian situation is one of the greatest problems before the world. Politicians of various schools and divergent views have had their full say. Let the problem now

be attacked not from the standpoint of politics, but from that of human nature.

That a malady, and that of a very serious nature, exists, is undisputed. But the diagnosis has hitherto been a matter of the greatest dispute. The causes discovered are many, and the remedies prescribed are still more.

It is amusing as well as amazing to witness the singular spectacle of the leaders

of the opposite parties deciding their own case. Every judge may not be a very acute lawyer, but it is essential that he should not belong to any of the parties concerned. Absolute detachment is of course impossible in politics—every Indian has an unconscious bias in favour of India and every Englishman has the same in favour of England,—but relative detachment in the study of a problem so complex is not only desirable, it is essential, it is imperative. A party leader is *ex hypothesi* an impassioned enthusiast, a biassed advocate, void of balanced judgment. He would cease to be a party leader the moment he viewed the questions affecting his party with impartiality and detachment. This very fact disqualifies him for arriving at an equitable solution of a problem so full of emotional factors as the future of the British in India.

It would be interesting, if not also instructive, to acquaint ourselves with some of the causes discovered and remedies prescribed.

First, comes the theory of revenge. It means that the British in India by their deeds of oppression, tyranny, treachery and deceit have made themselves obnoxious to the people of India who are now seeking every opportunity to avenge themselves. Repression, pure and naked, is, according to this theory, the proper remedy.

Next, there is the opinion that it is Western education that has turned the heads of the Indian people, so the Government has only to curtail education in order to stop sedition and discontent.

Then there is another school whose formula is that the Indian unrest is essentially an un-employment problem, so that if the British could manage to create a sufficiently large number of employments for the educated classes, there would be an end of all the trouble.

There is yet another class of politicians who are convinced that the entire unrest is due to the exclusion of religion and theology from our modern scheme of education, so that if we could make Indian education a little theological, India could be won back.

These are some of the typical causes discovered by professional politicians to be at the root of the Indian discontent. Let us consider these separately.

1. If the alienation of India is due

solely to isolated acts of misdeed on the part of British Officials, how is it that the isolated acts of British justice and benevolence, far more numerous, have failed to bring about a reversal of this feeling of aversion? Has not England given India many good things? Has she not given her roads, bridges, canals, railways, post offices, telegraphs, hospitals, libraries, colleges, universities? Is India utterly insensible to these blessings of British rule? Or would it be seriously contended that Indians as a race are wholly devoid of that universal human instinct—gratitude? Moreover, is it not a fact that India placed herself under British rule willingly? She was as a whole never won by conquest. She placed herself almost voluntarily under Britain's protection. This was more than a century and a half ago. Sixty years ago she got an opportunity of repudiating her choice, but instead of that she ratified it. As for the remedy suggested, has repression succeeded in any country at any time? It failed in Russia, failed in Turkey, failed in France, failed in England herself. In India too it has had its trial. Since the year 1907, there has been an unbroken succession of repressive laws in the Statute Book, stringent and yet more stringent. And the only consequence has been a corresponding increase of lawlessness. Anarchism, utterly foreign to Indian history, took its birth in 1908, and ever since have deeds of violence, political dacoities, assassinations, and virulence of language continued to go up.

2. The cause discovered here is only partially true, but the remedy suggested is entirely inapplicable. Let the advocates of this view reflect. Is it at all practicable to check the ever-increasing volume of educational progress? It is now some years since the bureaucracy have been doing their level best, in the name of efficiency, to keep down the number of the school-going population. But what has been the result? A growing number of private schools, private colleges, and now comes the inauguration of a national university. The school-going population far from going down is constantly on the increase.

3. The third reason adduced is singularly puerile. Is the unrest confined wholly, or even largely, to the unsuccessful employment-seeking class? Just the reverse.

It is precisely the "agitator" class who not only do not seek Government employments, but very often positively decline to accept them when offered. Besides, the Government have for several years been throwing open to the dark-complexioned high offices hitherto preserved for the white; yet there is not the slightest sign of decrease in the prevailing unrest.

4. The last observation is also clearly opposed to facts. It is not the want of theological instruction but the excess of it that pervades the Indian home atmosphere. Nor is there a dearth of denominational and sectarian schools and colleges where theological instruction forms an integral part of the curriculum. Such institutions are not few and far between. They flourish at every important place throughout the country. And it is to be noted that not a few of the political internees and detenus have hailed from the religious and priestly classes. The unenviable position that the Arya Samajic societies have long held in the official eyes is known to all. And who in Upper India does not know that such avowedly theological and religious institutions as the Muslim College of Divinity at Cawnpur, Seminary for the Study of Quran at Delhi, and the Servants of Kaaba (Mecca) Society are the objects of special attention of the Police and the C.I.D.

Thus it is apparent that none of the explanations hitherto advanced have tackled the real difficulty. Some of them are entirely wrong, and some are only partially true.

What then is the correct etiology?

The fault lies not so much at the door of the enquirers as with the method of inquiry they have unconsciously adopted. They have exclusively used the Inductive plan. They have arrived at diverse conclusions, but the method of induction is common to all. All of them have observed some external phenomena—every one choosing his phenomena according to his personal predilection,—have generalized them, and based their conclusions on the same.

Now this method so useful in scientific inquiries has its limitations. The mere fact that the results have been so divergent is enough to show that this particular inquiry does not lend itself to this method. The subject is unmanageable by the inductive method owing partly to its extreme

natural complexity, partly to the impossibility of experimenting upon the immense and bewildering details collected round it, and partly to the force of bias and prejudices attending it. It is no disparagement of the inductive method to hold that it is not of universal application. There are occasions when instead of being helpful it is a positive hindrance. Even David Hume, who can nowise be termed an anti-empiricist, was obliged to discard its use in his *Natural History of Religion* as also in his far greater works, *The Treatise*, and *The Inquiry*.

Let us try the same expedient. Let us reverse the process in vogue. Instead of proceeding from the concrete to the abstract, let us proceed from the abstract to the concrete. Let us take our stand on internal principles, primary and original, instead of external events that elude experiment.

Just as the only way of gaining a decisive victory is to march direct at the capital and not to stop at the frontier, so the surest and simplest way to guide us out of the present labyrinth is a common-sense inspection of our own minds and to find out the general principles that govern human feelings and human actions—not to get confused in the bewildering details of the concrete facts, but to seize at the fundamental springs of conduct—and then to apply these to the particular case before us.

Thus the problem is immensely simplified. A few simple propositions respecting human nature will furnish us with a proper solution. Here they are:—

First:—Assertion of the individual will is one of the fundamental properties of the human mind. Self-rule is the universal desire. Every human being, may every animal, high or low, loves independence. This is one of the first principles of sentient life. Anybody who disputes this is not fit to be reasoned with.

Secondly:—Surrender of individual freedom is only possible either when there is a complete absence of self-consciousness, or when there is serious risk of loss of one's life or means of living (no matter whether one's idea of 'living' is modest or exaggerated). Court parasites and sycophants come under the last category. Their idea of 'living' makes them think that unless they demean themselves they cannot get on.

Thirdly :—As soon as this risk is over, there is a spontaneous revival of the said feeling—there is without any external intervention an automatic reappearance of the same strong feeling of self-assertion—and now with added impatience at the continuance of the old regime. Witness the zeal and fury with which an idolator converted to rationalism hastens to break his idols.

Fourthly :—Once this feeling is roused, repression and concession alike on the part of the protector are unavailing. Repression is bound to drive the *protege* into desperation who will seize the earliest opportunity of making open revolt. Nor can a policy of conciliation do any good, for every concession is sure to be taken as a sign of weakness. Total liberation is the only remedy.

Facts from history of various nations and countries can easily be adduced to support these propositions. Readers who may insist on having inductive evidence will do well to look at an account of Mediæval Europe in any good book on European History, where they will see how national self-consciousness of various barbarian tribes came into existence, how with a sense of proud nationalism they resisted the interference of both the emperor and the pope (the two mightiest powers of the time) in their affairs, and how finally they threw off all allegiance to both and became fully independent. But to cite such facts is superfluous. These propositions are not based on any chain of inductive evidence; they are merely the expression of the ultimate facts of human mind. They are not derived from experience. Observation and historical evidence can only illustrate them; they can not prove them. Their truth entirely depends on an inspection and reading of our own minds. They are part of the constitution of things.

Now, the collective mind, though different in many respects from the individual mind, is entirely at one with it in this particular respect. That is to say, the truth of these propositions holds good as much in the case of peoples as in the case of individuals—the conduct of the former is as inexorably governed by these laws as that of the latter.

To come to the application of these psychological axioms. From the Indian standpoint, British rule is an absolutely

foreign domination. Englishmen are foreigners to India in race, in colour, in religion, in language, in customs, in temperament, in short in every respect save what constitutes the common ground of humanity. India allowed herself to be placed under British protection (and ratified her choice) at times when excessive internal dissensions and distractions had made her void of self-consciousness. Every individual is liable to fits of distraction. And so is every people. India accepted England as her protector when the barometer of her political consciousness had reached the lowest point. But lapse of self-consciousness does not endure. This was bound to be a mere passing phase; judgment was destined to return sooner or later.

And return it did, perhaps sooner than the rulers had anticipated. With the advent of British rule peace and tranquillity began to reign supreme in a country which had long been oppressed with internal feuds,—in fact this is pre-eminently the blessing of British rule. A reign of peace, however, invariably brings with it some attendant vocations of its own, the most important of which is the vocation of knowledge. The British did all they could to encourage the spread of education consistent with their policy of carrying on the work of subordinate administration through the native agency. Now, education is the great revealer of one's latent possibilities. An uninterrupted reign of peace was in itself sufficient to bring about awakening. Spread of education served as a powerful stimulus. It was bound to hasten the revival of the feeling of self-consciousness that had lain dormant so long. And that it has done. Education has done its work. It has thoroughly rekindled the dead embers of self-will. It is now beyond the power of any Government to stop it. All efforts directed to this end will merely serve to further the cause of education. No human agency, however powerful, is capable of stifling the spirit of self-consciousness in any individual or community once it is roused. The lion has tasted blood; it is futile to lament the consequences.

India tolerated, even welcomed, foreign rule when she was in a state of stupor. She can tolerate it no more. She is now fully awake. It is no use at this juncture to recount the good that British rule has

done to India. It is of no avail to enumerate the benefits conferred by Britain on this dependency. You cannot keep a man in permanent bondage, if he wills to be free, by reminding him that once you rescued him from great danger and that since then you have fed him well in compensation of the menial duties that he performs for you.

The arguments so frequently used by Anglo-Indians to prove that India is incapable of self-rule because she is still so backward in point of literacy, religious toleration, etc., are amazingly *ad hominem*. India may or may not be capable of self-rule, but it is India, and India alone, who can judge of her competency. No foreigner has any business to act as the arbiter of her destiny. Such arguments do not touch the real issue. The only crucial point is,—does India mean to assert her will? Obviously she does. And there all talk about her incompetence becomes sheer irrelevance. What would these dictators of India's fate say if Germany were to employ similar arguments in reference to Belgium? Let us imagine a German with all the air of paternal concern addressing thus an audience of the Belgians:—"Look here, my boys, you are far inferior to us in point of literacy, culture, toleration, etc. We mean to educate you in the art of civilization gradually and by progressive stages. This would take a period of several centuries. Till that time arrives, welcome us as your kind masters." Let the champion of Anglo-India reflect on this picture. The only difference that he would be able to detect in the analogy will only accentuate his own weakness, since Germany has at any rate the right of conquest, while he cannot put forward even that plea.

What then is the conclusion? Are the British to relinquish their Government of India altogether? Are they after their rule of 160 years to leave this country bag and baggage?

To expect this is to expect the impossible. The British would be more than human if they could be persuaded to adopt this course. Their self-interest demands that they must always try to keep India in their grip. Self-interest is at the root of all human conduct, however altruistic some portions of it may seem to be. The same general principles of human nature that incite India to assert independence

impel England with equal imperativeness to continue her hold. Just as it is hard to find an individual Indian with any degree of self-respect willing to tolerate foreign rule, so it is extremely rare to come across an individual Englishman with any sense of self-interest prepared to relinquish an empire so fertile and so rich in natural resources. Here the Indian and the Briton take their stand on equally stable ground. They both cling to the fundamental principles of human life—self-assertion and self-interest.

Is there then no solution? Can there be no compromise? Preceding discussions have made us familiar with the root cause of discontent. Why is there a growing intolerance of British rule in India? Because the rulers are foreigners, because they are aliens, because the Indian community seeks to find an outlet for self-assertion. This is precisely the point where the shoe pinches. So the only way to bring about a settlement is to remove this bar, the bar of *foreign subjection*—to eliminate this factor as far as possible.

Now it is neither possible nor indeed very desirable that racial, religious and linguistic antagonism between the two communities be dispensed with, and absolute identity be established between them. But it is surely possible to do away with the political bondage, so that the Indian may feel that the Briton is not a foreigner, does not belong to a different nation, but is the same as he is.

In short, the pinch of subjection is the root cause; political equality is the sole remedy. To achieve this end in its entirety is not easy; to achieve it to a very considerable extent is not difficult. As things go at present, the Indian feels at every step, in every walk of life, that in his own country he belongs to a subject people—that in his own motherland it is for him to obey and for the foreigners to command. He finds that even the legislature makes invidious distinctions—laws for him are different from those for the white man.

But bad as these laws are in principle, they are far worse in practice. And not only in law-courts, but in clubs, in offices, in hotels, in universities, in councils, in railway carriages, in short whithersoever the Indian turns, he experiences humiliation and indignity, till at last his resources of patience and resignation are exhausted and embers burst into flames.

• Absolute equality and complete reciprocity alone can allay the excited feelings of an outraged India.

• Do the present rulers, by their actions rather than words, afford us any chance of hoping for the better?

Let the following recent incidents, typical of many others that are happening almost every day, answer the question. I give the newspaper reports almost verbatim:—

Madras, January, 9.

A. F. Cuffley, a guard on the M. and S. M. Railway, was charged with having interfered with the comfort of two Mahomedan "Gosha" ladies, who for want of room in second class were travelling in first class with the permission of railway officials, having agreed to pay additional fare. On a complaint made by two European ladies, who were travelling in the same compartment, the guard compelled the "Gosha" ladies to leave the compartment. The guard was convicted by the Sub-Divisional Magistrate and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 20.

The Sessions Judge referred the case to the High Court with a recommendation that the conviction should be set aside. Their Lordships Justice Abdur Rahim and Justice Napier upheld the conviction and sentence.

Transpose the terms "Gosha ladies" and "European ladies" in the above paragraphs, and the mockery of British justice will be apparent to the Europeans. "Gosha" ladies are those who observe strict seclusion, and their being compelled by a male guard to vacate their compartment which they rightfully occupied merely to oblige the women of his race is the highest pitch of insult that they could be subjected to. And yet the "European" guard gets off scot-free with a trivial fine of Rs. 20, and a recommendation by the Sessions Judge for annulment of the sentence!

Another case:—

Delhi, Jan. 9.

• Before Mr. Currie, Additional District Magistrate, Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh, Rais, Delhi, filed a complaint against Lieut. Widdicombe, Indian Army, Delhi, under Sections 504 and 323 I. P. C. for alleged assault. The complainant said he arrived at Delhi Railway Station by the Punjab Mail on 8th January 1918, and as he came out of the gate of the Railway platform his servant came up to him weeping. On being asked the servant informed the complainant that he had been kicked by a Sahib. The complainant, thereupon, asked the servant why and by whom he had been kicked and in reply the servant pointed to three Europeans, saying that one of them had kicked him. The complainant finding that they were getting into the tonga ready to leave, approached them to ascertain if his servant had been kicked by any one of them for any fault, so that he might reprimand his servant if necessary. Instead of replying to the complainant's query, the accused grew

insolently threatening and said, "what the hell are you talking" and gave him a stunning blow in the right eye, smashing the eye-glasses. A great stir has been caused and indignation prevails among the Indian citizens."

The sequel:—

Delhi, January 15.

"Rai Bahadur Sultan Singh Versus Lieut. Widdicombe came up for hearing before Mr. M. L. Currie, Additional District Magistrate to-day. The accused took his seat in the dock and as the Rai Bahadur proceeded with the evidence of assault the accused punctuated it with smiles of triumph. After prosecution evidence the accused made the following statement: On Monday night I came out of the station and went straight and sat down in a tonga. There were two other people with me. I came out first. Just after I sat down in the tonga I saw the two people with me having an argument with two Babus just outside the door. A third Babu came up to me, but I did not hear what he said. I then got out of the tonga and went over to two friends. On coming up to them one Babu, who was standing there in a very excited manner and waving his arms about in a threatening way, accused me of kicking his servant which I denied. He repeated the charge and asked my name. Thereupon I lost my temper and the result is that he has his eyes tied up.

Mr. M. L. Currie in the course of the judgment delivered to-day says after stating the facts of the case:—"The only question that calls for decision is, whether the accused received sufficient provocation to warrant assault. Anyone might be annoyed at being accused of assaulting somebody else's servant. This however does not justify him in hitting the man. In view of all the circumstances and taking into account the youth of the accused, I think a moderate fine will be a fit punishment. I therefore order him to pay a fine of Rs. 25.

"A huge crowd attended the court. An exemplary punishment was expected."

Nothing need be added to the above account, except perhaps that the gentleman so assaulted and brutally insulted by the bully who wore king's uniform is one of the most respected citizens of the metropolis, a title-holder and an Honorary Magistrate. The decision of the presiding Magistrate is inexplicable unless it is assumed that he fully shared the propensities of the culprit and was potentially in sympathy with him.

If incidents like these are unable to produce extreme bitterness and resentment in the mind of the insulted nation, nothing else can. Constant feeling of helplessness leads to despondency, and there is but a step from despondency to desperation. Sir Rabindranath Tagore's is not a name unknown in Europe. This philosopher-poet, this emblem of sobriety, while speaking of the unexplained and unexplainable interment of one of his pupils, is constrained to make the following observations:—

"We are anxiously waiting for some story to develop but the story takes a cruelly long time to come out about the poor boy. Also our grievances we must bear without any claim upon anybody for explanation or redress, if such be the decree of our rulers. But when we are asked to have blind faith on such dark methods, even our oriental training in the virtue of resignation does not help us."

Let all friends of England and of India make a note of this tone of sheer despondency. The depth of feeling revealed by these words of the Sage of the East is not to be taken lightly.

Yet no extent of isolated wrongs rectified can have the effect of reconciling a people who feel the sting of subjection every moment of their life, unless the whole idea of subjection and domination is banished altogether from the scheme of Government. A spirit of cordial conciliation can only prevail when both parties interchange mutual courtesies. Whatever may be the exact form of the future government of India, it is absolutely essential that its guiding principle should be reciprocity, complete and unqualified; a recognition of the absolute equality of the Indians and Britishers. No disability on one side, no privilege on the other. And the only practical way of effecting this is that the two communities be merged into one politically. There should be no separate Government of India subjected to the control of the Government of England, but only one Supreme Government of the Federal British Empire in

which England and India (as also other countries connected with Britain) should be linked as co-partners. Fraternity, not subjection, is the irreducible minimum of India's demand. Is England ready to fraternize? Let her reflect twice before she ventures to utter a refusal.

Preposterous though this suggestion may seem to politics-ridden brains, yet no other alternative is possible. If England wishes to retain her connection with India she must look at the facts as they stand, and not as she wishes them to be. Every one of us has to bow to the inevitable. No human agency is potent enough to direct a river to flow back to its source.

India is already lost to England in spirit. In this way alone can she be won back and kept linked with her for an indefinitely long time.

If the present study has hurt the interests of some, the writer can offer no apology. A psychological investigation aims at truth, or more correctly, at truth so far as it can be comprehended by our reason and senses. It cannot promise to bring happiness to all or any.

The supreme test of statesmanship is to avoid revolutions, and this can only be done by a prompt and frank recognition of the possibilities of the situation and by a wise adjustment of means to ends.

Blessed are those who possess the gift of provision.

A MUSSALMAN PSYCHOLOGIST.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE RED LAUGH by *Gerve Baronti*, published by the Cornhill Company, Boston.

This volume gives us a collection of short poems by the talented authoress of that excellent little drama, *The Modern Phoenix*. If we look for variety in a volume of verse we have enough of it here both as regards the sentiments expressed and the metres used. The first two pieces however,—"The Red Laugh" (from which the volume takes its title) and "The Question,"—seem to be connected by a community of subject matter. The authoress looks at the great convulsion which now shakes the world, the workings of that

"Arch-fiend of all dark worlds that be,
Whose poisoned breath blows scorching o'er
Fair lands of late prosperity—
Deep irrigated now with gore,"

and she feels about those who participate in this bloody play that

"Their hearts are closed, their reason gone,
Through reddened mist they cannot see,
They groping, stumble wildly on
Engaged in vile absurdity."

She sees that

"The beasts are tramping o'er the world
The maddened hordes by Mammon led—
While from the North's snow-lock'd embrace
Reach frozen fingers begging bread"—

and the questioning cry inevitably comes from her
"Where art thou, God?"

There is a tendency in some poems towards an epigrammatic mode of expression which however is never carried too far. "How I Love" is a case in point and here she tells us how she hates

"The coward who links arms with regret,
The weaklings who lean on atonement,
The weak-kneed charity of the ultra-respectable,
The sterilized vice of the hypocrite,
All who obey too easily."

The "Echpes" is a beautiful imaginative piece, telling us about the fairy queen, and the home of the mermaid and how

"At night the sea would gently moan
With echoes from that hidden home."
"Waiting" is replete with classical recollections;—

"With the masonic Socrates
If virtue be but knowledge true
You did discuss; and failed to see
The burning flame that leaped at you.
Across the Pincian hills you gazed,
As the immortal city passed
With mournful dirge, your vision cleared
And saw your soul revealed at last."

"The Triad" expresses the poetess' longings after the unusual and she asks for pain and love in turn and concludes with a prayer for death,—

"Oh send me Death that I may see
The beauty in the mystery
When beaten hope has fled!
For only light from flame divine
Can feed this famished soul of mine
When fire-bred love lies dead."

"The Storm" is powerful and picturesque and the irregular metre is effective in the way of illustrating the changeful aspects of the phenomenon. The call of love is again felt in the "Awakened" and she cries out at the end

"Love, I awake, I awake;
And to life, to hope, and to freedom
I add the birth of my laughter."

"The Sketches" lose none of their suggestiveness because of their shortness. Here are two or three:

"The snow and rain
Caress and soothe,
But the wind saddens,—
It is the deep rumbling
Earth—echo
Of all the gods' despair."

"Sweet white rose sprinkled with the dew,
How well you play your part!
For who would dream on seeing you
The canker eats your heart?"

"A dense, dark pall drapés the autumn sky
In premature mourning;
Below on Earth's charred altar
Piny incense is placed
As a last sad rite
By the passing forest."

It is useless to multiply quotations, for neither the remarks of a critic nor the study of passages taken out of their context can help one to understand the beauty of a piece of literature. On the whole it may be said that for the genuine lover of poetry this book will have a charm of its own and will never fail to attract the discerning reader.

NIRMAL KUMAR SIDDHANTA.

THE PURANAS by K. Raghurama Dandiliya, pp. 32. Travancore.

This pamphlet on the Puranas aims to popularise the recondite results of investigation of scholars into the subject. The object is laudable, especially in this

age of pseudo-specialisation. But the method adopted for the realisation of that object is far from satisfactory. As a popular treatise it is too much encumbered with quotations from authorities and pedantic digressions. As a scientific monograph it is too narrow in its range of survey and too hasty in its ambitious generalisations: "History is the biography of Society", "History is the anatomy of the nation"—such catching reflections are scattered indiscriminately all over the paper, without any attempt to bring out their real significance with reference to the Pauranic literature of Ancient India. As an instance of reckless historical comparison we quote the wild parallelism suggested between the Indian sage Vyasa and the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus. The writer betrays his ardour in social reform. He easily detects "pious frauds and interpolations in" the Puranas. But he forgets that the attitude of a historian towards historic materials is something very different from the attitude of a social reformer using those materials for his propagandism. History is not a "Book of Quotations" for platform preachers. It is a Book of Life—throbbing, pulsating, evolving life. Every historic material must be approached in that sacred detachment of spirit and deep *Shradha* without which Life never reveals its deepest Truth.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY.

A CHALLENGE TO ALL GOD-BELIEVERS OF EVERY DENOMINATION.

GOD-MYTH: WHAT IT LEADS TO. *Pamphlets of the Deva Samaj.*

Trash.

VEDANTA AND THE THREE POLICIES by N. Subramanya Aiyar, M.A. Pp. 4. Reprinted from the *Vedanta Kesari*.

Not worth reading.

LECTURES ON (i) RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS AND (ii) NATIONAL EDUCATION by R. Sivaramakrishna Aiyar, B.A., L.T. Published by E. R. S. Aiyer & Bros, Nagercoil. Pp. 16.

Good Lectures.

THE SANATANA DEFENCE SERIES NO. 1 by G. Haris Chandra Row, Cocanada. Pp. 67. Price 4 annas.

A defence of Idolatry.

REPORT OF THE ALL-INDIA COW CONFERENCE held on 30th and 31st December, 1917, in Calcutta.

The object of the Association is noble. Those who wish to be members of the Association may write to the Honorary Secretary, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

THE SUJNA GOKULJI TALA VEDANT PRIZE 1915 by M. T. Televala, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. 96. Price not known.

It discusses how far Sankaracharya truly represents the view of the author of the Brahmasutra. A masterly essay. Criticism sober, unbiassed and scholarly. Should be carefully studied by all the students of the Brahmasutra. Our complaint is—it is so brief.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS: VOL. XXI.
(Nos. 100-108; October 1917 to June 1918)
Yajnavalkya Smṛiti, Mitakshara and Balambhatta.
Book I. Achara Adhyaya. Translated by Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vasu Vidyaratna. Published by Babu Sudhindra Nath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. XX+440. Price Rs. 14. (Annual Subscription Rs. 12. 12 annas; Foreign £1.)

The book contains:

- (i) a preface by the translator.
- (ii) an introduction.
- (iii) a translation of the Smṛiti.
- (iv) a translation of the Mitakshara.
- (v) a translation of the gloss of Balambhatta.
- (vi) notes by the translator.

The Smṛiti of Yajnavalkya is divided into three adhyayas, viz.—Achara adhyaya, Vyavahara adhyaya and Prayaschitta adhyaya. This volume contains the whole of the first adhyaya which contains 13 chapters and 368 stanzas.

The commentary translated in this book is that of Vijnaneswara and is called Riju-Mitakshara, but is commonly known as Mitakshara. Of all the commentaries it is considered to be the best.

The gloss of Balambhatta professes to have been written by a lady but according to some scholars it was not the lady but her husband that was the real author of the gloss. This gloss is a wonderful production—vast, erudite and encyclopædic in character. In this book a free translation of the gloss has been given and in some places it has been abridged or omitted.

The introduction has been written by Mr. Ranendra Nath Basu, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, High Court, Allahabad. In a foot note he writes:—

"My father, the late Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna, intended to write an elaborate introduction to his translation of the Achara adhyaya..... With this object in view, he jotted down notes in one of his note books. Unfortunately good many of these notes are in shorthand in which he was an adept. It is almost impossible to decipher these notes.

However from some of the notes and from his conversation with me, I have prepared this paper which, I hope, will be useful to those interested in the study of the Hindu Law. It is not for me to say what Sanskrit scholarship has lost by his untimely death. How critically and carefully he studied Hindu Law is evident from his judgment in the well-known Benares Caste case. Well-versed in Arabic, Greek and Latin, he had, in contemplation, to write on the influence of Muhammadanism and Roman Law on Hindu Jurisprudence."

Whatever he has written, bears testimony to his patience, indefatigable labor and deep scholarship. His Ashtadhyayi and Siddhanta Kaumudi are monumental works; but for his translations, these would have remained sealed books to many of the Sanskrit students. In the literary world the loss of such a scholar is a calamity and it is irreparable.

The book under review is a scholarly production. Every one who takes an interest in our Smritis should read this book; to lawyers it is indispensable.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

• SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF M. K. GANDHI.
Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras. Price Re. 1-8. Pp. 296.

We are grateful to our valiant countryman Mr.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi for the manly stand he always takes for defending the rights of Indians, and the usefulness of a collection of his speeches and writings in a handy form cannot be gainsaid. His speeches and writings unlike those of many other prominent Indians always carry conviction with them and as such they deserve to be widely circulated to wake up the comatose Indians. There are many portraits in the volume, chief among them being those of Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi, Tolstoy, G. K. Gokhale, Dadabhai Naoroji, H. S. L. Polak and C. F. Andrews.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF DR. (SIR) S. SUBRAMANIA IYER, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION by D. V. Gundappa. Part I. Published by S. R. Murthy & Co., Triplicane, Madras, S. E. Pp. 424. Price not mentioned.

People all over India are anxious to learn more of the author of this volume who has, by renouncing his titles, shown a courage and a deep sense of self-respect rare in these days of servile timidity. The bold declaration of his faith has amply proved his devotion to and love for the motherland and no Indian should lose this opportunity of acquainting himself with the life-story and achievements of this wonderful man. The book is neatly got up and well printed on good paper. There are three portraits of the author in the volume under notice.

SPEECHES OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, PART I. Edited and Published by R. R. Srivastava from the National Book Depot, Fyzabad. Pp. 194. Price not mentioned.

Lokmanya Tilak has numerous admirers amongst all classes of Indians and there is no doubt his speeches will find ready welcome. The printing and paper are good and there is an excellent portrait of the author.

MAHOMED ALI JINNAH: AN AMBASSADOR OF UNITY. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras. Pp. 324. Price not mentioned.

Neat get up and printing form a regular feature of all publications of Messrs. Ganesh & Co., of Madras, and the present volume under review is no exception to the rule. The speeches and writings of Mahomed Ali Jinnah cover a wide field ranging from addresses delivered at the Moslem and Home Rule Leagues and Bombay Provincial Conference to discussions of subjects which affect the civic and other rights of Indians such as 'Indian Students in England', 'Protest Against Internments', 'The Congress-League Scheme', 'The Anglo-Indian Agitation', 'Elementary Education Bill', 'Indian Defence Force Bill', 'Simultaneous Examinations', etc. A biographical appreciation by Sarojini Naidu and a foreword by the Hon'ble Rajah of Mahmudabad enhance the value of the book. An excellent portrait of the author forms the frontispiece.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. SECOND EDITION. Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co., of Madras. Pp. 1293+184+A—P+xxvii. Cloth Bound. Price Rupees four only.

This bulky volume contains an account of the origin and growth of the Congress, with full text of all the Presidential Addresses, reprint of all the Congress Resolutions, extracts from all the Welcome Addresses, notable utterances on the movement and portraits of all the Congress Presidents. Publicists and public men will find this book useful as a book of reference.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT, by V. Venkatasubbaiya and Jaikunth L. Mehta. Pp. 191, price Re. 5.

This is No. 4 of the series of political pamphlets brought out under the auspices of the Servants of India Society and written by its members. This number fully maintains the high standard of excellence attained by the three previous publications of the Society, and forms a valuable and up-to-date contribution to the co-operative literature of India. The book is divided into two parts: The first part deals with the growth of the co-operative movement in India and in foreign countries; the second part discusses the various forms of co-operative societies and their organisation, finance, and management. The Report of the MacLagan Committee on Co-operation is criticised and the latest developments of the movement and its extension into fields hitherto untapped are fully indicated.

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR FINANCES: A paper read before the Bengal Social Service League on the 18th April, 1918, by Sir Daniel Hamilton.

Sir Daniel Hamilton's robust faith in the benefits of co-operation to an agricultural community like India reminds one forcibly of Sir Horace Plunkett. He finds in it the regeneration not only of Indian agriculture but of the whole social and economic life of the country. After listening to Sir Daniel or reading his addresses one can hardly resist the impression that here is a man of the type of which prophets and great reformers are made, with enthusiasm enough to move a nation and faith enough to carry a cause to victory. The present address, like others delivered by Sir Daniel, is adorned with numerous *bons mots*. Speaking of the efficacy of the Usury Act, he exclaims: "Will the new Usury Act kill the Kabuli? No, the Kabuli bamboo will kill the Act." The *chamar* today "works hard for the Kabuli, and drinks hard for the Government." The Indian *mahajan* also comes in for his due share. "The Collector of the 24-Pargannas is not my friend Mr. W. D. Prentice, I.C.S., but Ramcharan, the *mahajan*." "You may have no dealings with the *mahajan*, but he has many dealings with you, for it is he who keeps so many of you out of employment." "Government must look to the *mahajan* and to increased production, rather than to increased taxation for its revenue." "It is not the Government money that the people want so much as Government's help to take care of its own." Sir D. Hamilton has not much faith in the future of Sir S. P. Sinha's Village Self Government Act, because, he says, "I have not yet met a Bengalee or Scotsman who would tax himself." One would like to see Sir Daniel given a free hand in carrying out his project of a Co-operative Commonwealth for India.

P. C. BANERJI.

A MODERN PHERIX—This play by Gerve Baronti is published by the Cornhill Company, Boston.

It is a protest against the conventional bringing up of children according to the old standards of what is conventionally right and what is conventionally wrong. Lottie, the heroine, is betrayed by Philip who tempts her to go with him and then casts her off. Peter who has loved her all along then marries her and so the play ends. There is a wonderful doctor who comes in, called Dr. Von Blatz, who has discovered the principles of mental therapeutics and says many wise things.

The ideas expressed in the play are excellent, but

the whole structure of the plot appears to have its origin in the author's desire to teach certain principles, rather than in a natural growth of human lives and characters. It is thus didactic through and through, and the artificiality of this comes out most prominently in Dr. Von Blatz's speeches. On the other hand Lottie's character rings true and we feel that she is a real woman.

The play is of interest as showing the confusion that now exists in American life as to the ultimate truths, and the noble struggle that is being made by high minded men and women to rise out of that confusion.

C. F. A.

GUJARATI.

DHARMDESHNA (धर्मदेशना) by Jainacharya Shri Vijayadharm Suri, printed at the Vidyavijaya Printing Press, Bhavnagar, cloth bound, pp. 312. Unpriced. 1918.

Shri Vijayadharm Suri is known as a prolific and facile Jain writer. This is the Second Edition of a book which he wrote several years ago on the precepts of religion. He has embellished the work with apt and popular illustrations, so that the reader can fully appreciate the force of his advice. It is not a sectarian work, that must be said to its credit.

AHINSA (अहिंसा) by Muniraj Shri Vidyavijayaji, printed at the Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. Paper cover, pp. 64. Price Re. 0-8-0. 1918.

The Muniraj has tried to prove by means of several extracts taken from our religious works that the killing of animals, both for the name of religion and for food, is prohibited by our shastras. It is very problematical to say as to what influence one such feeble voice would carry in the stoppage of the daily holocaust being offered up in India and elsewhere.

K. M. J.

URDU.

TARIKH-E-UNAN (HISTORY OF ANCIENT GREECE) by Syed Hashmi Faridabadi: Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu Series No. 22. Pp. 252. 8vo. (8×5½). Rupees two. To be had from the Secretary, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu, Aurangabad (Deccan).

It appears that we are at last beginning to recognise in India that curriculum is no ancestral legacy, but is to be determined by the object education has in view. If we wish to awaken in the rising generations of this country worthy ideals which shall make it impossible for them to accept slave morality and to settle into dead indifference about matters touching their communal and national life, we should reform the curriculum accordingly.

The text books should be inspirational. They should aim at political freedom and social equality and should satisfy all the requirements of free personality. They should retemper the spirit of Indians and give stimulus to national life.

The *Tarikh-e-Unan* (History of Ancient Greece), under review, is such a text-book. Mr. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi seems to realise how a class-room text should help to develop the sense of political freedom among young students and give them ideas of public good and true service of motherland. Like Herbert he knows the psychological relation between history and education. "Bewegliche und lenksame Kräfte, die jedoch unter Umstaenden eine bestimmte,

Form und allmählich einen dauerhaften Charakter gewinnen sind die Voraussetzungen der Pädagogik und der Politik."

History can be made to repeat itself. Its events are the effect of the interplay of human social laws and the natural and other conditions of environment. Korkunow, the great Russian theorist of law, has, in his book, no passage more pregnant with truth than wherein he says "By studying the organization of another people and its political development a given society can bring about the formation of a political ideal like that of such other people." The author knows this and holds up the Greek ideal of liberty before the gaze of students. His narrative at occasions thrills the readers with the spirit that won at Marathon, Salamis and Platae. He has found his model in the author of *Anabasis* himself.

Mr. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi is a sober student of Greek History. He possesses the faculty of Historical reflection to an eminent degree and does not consider history to be a mere record of chance happenings. His method is comparative. When he brings us face to face with great events in the rise and fall of Greece and introduces us to men who made and unmade Athens and Sparta, he is all the time comparing, finding analogies and drawing conclusions.

He has carefully read George Grote, John Mahaffy and other great writers of Hellenic history and has investigated all such other sources as were open to him in a liberal spirit. He has been at great pains in finding out the real names of the Persian kings and satraps, which occur in Greek history. European writers are used to the Greek forms of these names introduced into history by Herodotus, Xenophon

and others. Even Rawlinson, who may have been expected to throw the light of his research upon them, is silent on the subject. Syed Hashmi Faridabadi has looked up all the Persian and Arabic histories of Persia and has gone to Agha Mirza Jehangir Khan Shirazi whose monumental history of Persia has helped him most in his investigations. Thus we find that Arabaces is Kaiqubad, Cyaxares is Siyawash, Cambyses is Jamasp and Darius is Isfandayar.

The writer has a great admiration for Sparta. With one hand he would award the crown of gold to Athens and with the other the crown of iron to its rival state. Living as we do in the "iron age" of modern civilization it is not difficult to sympathise with his appreciation of the Peloponnesian discipline. He has done good service in showing the Greco-Persian wars in their true perspective. In spite of the free use of their imagination by the Hellenists it was after all the mere glory of the war that was of European Greece—the victory was of Asiatic Persia.

The style of the writer is facile and at occasions gravely eloquent. He has both insight and imagination and does not lose himself in generalizations. But his supreme quality is his patriotic ardour which, unless the teacher be a Polonius, is sure to kindle healthy enthusiasm of the desire for true liberty in the breasts of the students. The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu is to be congratulated on the production of this volume and should feel proud of its Secretary Moulvi Abdul Haq Sahib whose magnetic personality has gathered such a band of distinguished men of letters round him.

A. R. S.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Calcutta University Affairs.

In your Note on Calcutta University Affairs, in the August number of the Modern Review, you make certain remarks as to why the resolutions which Sir Ashutosh wanted to move at the meeting of the Senate held on 29th June 1918, were ruled out of order. You say, that the motions were ruled "out of order for no other reason that we can see than they were moved by Sir Ashutosh." Presumably you had not read the full text of the Vice-Chancellor's speeches on that occasion, where the arguments for ruling the motions out of order, are set forth in detail. I quote the following passages from the minutes of the Senate held on 29th June 1918, so that your readers can form their own opinion on the question.

"The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor: The motion in paragraph 7* in my opinion is out of order..... The letter which embodies this motion.....begins in the following terms: 'I hereby give notice that at the next meeting of the Senate, I shall bring forward the following motion.' Members of the Senate are aware that a matter must come up before the Syndicate before it is placed before the Senate. Further looking at paragraphs 13, 14 and 15 of

* This embodies a new regulation.

Chapter IV of the Regulations, it is clear to my mind that the procedure as to proposing a new regulation is as follows. The Syndicate may from time to time recommend to the Senate such regulations as may seem desirable. Paragraph 14 provides 'Any faculty, or any member or number of members of the Senate may make any recommendation to the Syndicate and may propose any Regulation for consideration of the Syndicate.' Therefore the first step is to propose for the consideration of the Syndicate any new regulation. Then it is open to any member of the Senate to move that the Senate approve, revise or modify any decision of the Syndicate in respect thereof or may direct the Syndicate to review it. The letter in question is not a motion to approve, revise or modify a decision of the Syndicate. On the contrary it is a notice that the honourable and learned member will move the new regulation at the next Senate meeting. This is not in order."

"I suggest that the honourable member should place his motion before the Senate at a subsequent meeting after adopting the proper procedure."

"Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee.—Upon the question of order we may take it that for whatever reason it may be, this motion has not as a matter of fact, been considered by the Syndicate."

"The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor: It was put before the Syndicate but having regard to the form in which the motion was made, the Syndicate were of opinion that they could do nothing except to put it on the Agenda paper for the next meeting of the Senate."

The following relates to the other resolution which was also ruled out of order:—

"The Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor: I regret that in my opinion this motion is out of order. If a member of the Senate wishes to move a resolution in connection with the proceedings of the Syndicate, he can do one of three things, namely, either ask the Senate to approve, revise or modify such decision, or a fourth thing, that is, to ask the Senate to direct the Syndicate to review it. This motion is not in accordance with the procedure indicated. On the contrary, it is a motion that the Senate should give certain directions with regard to the granting of certificates. It does not refer to any resolution of the Senate."

"This is not a pure question of form. The members of the Senate are entitled to know beforehand what the resolution of the Syndicate is, in respect of which they are asked by any member of the Senate to vote on the question, that it be approved, revised, modified or sent back to the Syndicate for review."

In connection with the above, the following facts are pertinent:—(1) That the resolutions which Sir Ashutosh wanted to move were based on a resolution of the Syndicate, passed at their meeting on 7th June, 1918.

(2) That the Syndicate's resolution was confirmed at their meeting of the 14th June, 1918.

(3) That the minutes of the Syndicate of the 7th June, after confirmation, were circulated to the members, and those residing in Calcutta received them by the 20th June and mufasil members later.

(4) That the letter of Sir Ashutosh, written from Darjeeling, was dated 11th June, 1918.

It is evident, therefore, that Sir Ashutosh sent his letter long before he received the minutes. He may have received the information of the said resolution through some secret agent. Herein lies his mistake. I might remark that the receipt of the minutes, by the members of the Senate, within 6 days of its confirmation is a thing which was unheard of during the regimes of Sir Ashutosh or Sir Devaprasad and has become possible during the Vice-Chancellorship of Sir Lancelot with the assistance of the present able and energetic Officiating Registrar.

With regard to your remarks on the present Vice-Chancellor I may say that I yield to none in my admiration of Sir Ashutosh but at the same time I would not allow my bias for his exceptional abilities

to get the upper hand of my sense of justice and fairness to others. Opinions may vary as to the comparative merits of Sir Lancelot and Sir Ashutosh as regards their knowledge of law and of the affairs of the University; as also as to their capability of conducting public meetings. It is not impossible that there may be another lawyer and hard-working man like Sir Ashutosh.

Lastly about your query as to why certain individuals who were admitted to the meeting as visitors after obtaining the permission of the Registrar were asked to withdraw. It was because the meeting decided that certain business was to be transacted in private when the press and the public were asked to withdraw,—not an unusual procedure.

D.

Editorial Note.—Our Note on "Calcutta University Affairs" in the last number was based on what had appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee* and remained uncontradicted at the time of our writing;—probably no contradiction has yet (Aug. 19) appeared in those papers. We had no other source of information. From the extracts made from the University Minutes by our correspondent, it would seem that the present Vice-Chancellor's ruling regarding both the motions of Sir Ashutosh Mukherji was correct, and our comments were, therefore, wrong. The comparison made in our Note between Sir Ashutosh and the present Vice-Chancellor was also unfair and uncalled for.

As regards the plea that visitors were excluded because certain business was to be transacted in private, we cannot say whether it is satisfactory unless we know what the business was. There is often great divergence between official and popular opinion as to what ought to be kept secret and what not.

Buffalo Sacrifice and Buffalo Eating.

On page 170 of the *Modern Review* for August 1918 the following lines appeared: 'No Indian, except the Bengali and the Nepalese, sacrifices a buffalo to a goddess and no Indian except the Bengali and Nepalese of certain castes eats its flesh.' This general proposition is too sweeping and obviously wrong. The Rajput clans on the side of the Bombay Presidency do sacrifice buffaloes to the Goddess Kali, their deity, especially on Dashera holidays. If the word Indian includes aboriginal tribes, the Bhils of this Presidency do eat the flesh of sacrificed buffaloes.

Nyayadhish Court
Dengad Baria,
Bombay Presidency.

CHUNILAL C. PAREKH,
B.A., LL.B.

THE MILK-SUPPLY OF CALCUTTA

BY CHUNILAL BOSE, I.S.O., M.B., F.C.S.

CHIEF SOURCES AND QUANTITY.

THE supply of fresh milk for the town of Calcutta may be stated to come from three principal sources. About 300 maunds are daily brought into the City by

the E. B. S. Railway at Sealdah and about 100 maunds jointly by the E. I. and the B. N. Railways at Howrah. About another 300 maunds reach the town from its northern and southern suburban areas

and of these two, the area including Chit-pore, Cossipore and Dum Dum situated in the northern suburbs of Calcutta is the more important. The third source of supply is in the City itself, i.e., in the gowala bustees and in the few dairies and in private houses situated within the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Municipality.

Five years ago, Dr. Pierce, the then Health Officer of Calcutta, estimated that about 2000 maunds of fresh milk formed the average daily consumption of Calcutta. One-third of this was brought into the City by the different railways and carriers by foot, another third was produced in the town itself in the licenced cow-sheds and dairies, and the rest obtained from cows kept in private houses ostensibly for the use of the owners, but sometimes really for sale of milk without coming into the notice of the authorities.

It is very difficult to obtain even approximately accurate figures for the total consumption of milk in Calcutta and the quantity obtainable from each of the above-mentioned sources, but one thing is quite clear that an efficient official control can be kept only on the quantity that reaches the town by railways, and that it is very difficult to check the supply brought into the City by itinerant vendors who come from many directions and by numberless pathways. It is still more difficult to calculate the quantity produced in private houses which roughly constitutes, according to Dr. Pierce, about the third of the whole supply of the town. This shows that a very large quantity of milk is produced and consumed in Calcutta under conditions which are practically outside the control of the Health Department of the City.

Taking the population of Calcutta to be 900,000, the average daily consumption of milk per head in the City roughly comes to about one-twelfth of a seer, i.e., about 2½ ounces which appears to be rather a low estimate. As adults form the bulk of the floating population of Calcutta and as they, except in certain communities, generally use very little milk, partly from habit but mostly from inability to buy such a costly article of food, the consumption of the bulk of the milk is confined to children and invalids, and to one's regret, its quality does not come up to the mark.

MILK : COW'S AND BUFFALO'S.

The milk as we get it in Calcutta is

derived partly from cows and partly from buffaloes. Almost every gowala in the City and in the suburbs keeps a few she-buffaloes along with cows and he sells the milk obtained from this source sometimes as buffalo-milk, but more often, diluted with water and with or without admixture of cow's milk, as cow's milk of pure quality. The average quantity of milk given by a Bengal cow is about a quarter of that obtained from a she-buffalo, and as the fat in the buffalo-milk is nearly double of that in the cow's milk, it admits of considerable dilution with water before it falls below the standard of pure milk ordinarily accepted in this country. Buffalo-milk may indeed be diluted half and half with water and still the minimum limit of fat, viz., 3 per cent. will not be transgressed. Thus the gowala makes a very large profit by selling buffalo-milk considerably diluted with water as pure cow's milk. I shall have to say something about the difference in the composition of the two kinds of milk when I come to discuss the minimum standard values of purity of milk.

PURITY OF THE SUPPLY.

The present milk-supply of Calcutta, to describe it in the mildest terms, is most unsatisfactory. It is not only poor in quality, but it is exposed to so many unfavourable conditions during production and transport that it is an absolutely unsafe article of food for the public unless certain precautions are taken to make it harmless.

According to the social organisation of the Hindus, the gowalas or Ahirs (as they are called in Behar and in the U. P.) form a separate caste which is a complete unit by itself in all its social relations and obligations. They rear cattle and are responsible for the supply of all milk and most, if not all, milk-products to the community. This confinement of different trades to different castes of the community has no doubt undergone some change with the spread of English education in town areas, but in the far off village communities all over India, the state of things prevails almost in its primitive condition. It is, however, not uncommon to find nowadays people of one caste following the occupation of another, and now and then, we meet with educated men of higher castes starting dairies and selling

milk and milk-products as a means of living. The gowalas, however, still hold practically the whole milk-supply of the country under their control.

The trade-honesty of the gowalas has never been of a high order. Some of them openly declare that they would be infringing their caste-rules if they would sell milk without admixture with water, however small the quantity may be. There is a very amusing story told of this class of people which I ask your permission to relate. A certain Indian king wanted to test the honesty of the milkmen living in his capital and issued an order that on a certain night every gowala should supply him with a pitcher of pure milk which he required for some religious ceremony fixed for the next morning. It was so arranged that each milkman bringing his supply would pour it into a pipe leading to a reservoir placed inside a locked room so that nobody could see, touch or pollute it. The night was dark and each gowala brought in his quota and poured it into the reservoir. In the morning when the room was unlocked, the king found that the reservoir contained pure and simple water and no milk in it. It so happened that each gowala thought, with the characteristic mentality of his caste, that as others were sure to obey the order of the king and bring pitchers of pure milk, he would be quite safe if he brought a pitcher of water only and pour it into the common reservoir, and the king would not be able to detect the trick. The story illustrates what class of people we have to depend upon for the supply of one of the vital necessities of life and it will be long before we can expect to see any material change in their psychological condition.

The condition of things in other countries, though not so bad as in India, is nevertheless far from satisfactory. In spite of the advance of education, the vigilance of sanitary authorities, the strict operation of the Food and Drugs Act and the influence of a strong public opinion, much of the milk as supplied in England, is hardly of the desirable quality. This has recently been the subject of enquiry by high sanitary authorities and the result is not very encouraging. It is as much a question of adulteration there as of sanitary purity, and Dr. Savage remarks that "the idea that the average cow-keeper will, of his own accord and

without outside pressure, supply clean milk instead of a manure-laden one, cannot be seriously entertained." The final plea taken by milkmen is the same here as elsewhere, viz., that they produce milk in the same condition as their fathers did and that what was good enough for their fathers is good enough for them also. The sophistication of milk, although it is not such a universal practice compared with India, prevails to a notable extent even in England.

I have had occasion to examine samples of milk supplied to some of the Government hospitals in Calcutta and Howrah and I am glad to say that it has improved during recent years. Whereas the percentage of samples of adulterated milk supplied to some of the hospitals was 83.6 in 1913, the figure for 1916 was 37.6, and in 1917, all the samples analysed were found to be of good quality. This is very satisfactory, as milk forms a most important diet for the sick, but unfortunately the same cannot be said regarding supply of milk for the general population of Calcutta. The figures of analysis made in the laboratory of the Calcutta Corporation will give you a fairly accurate idea of the quality of milk supplied to the public of Calcutta. I am greatly indebted to my friend Dr. S. B. Ghose, Chief Analyst to the Corporation, for his kindly supplying me with the figures I am going to place before you.

TABLE I.

Year.	Number of samples examined.	Percentage of adulterated samples (watered).
1913	593	40.8
1914	496	50.0
1915	490	40.2
1916	403	26.0
1917	436	40.6

The samples were collected by Food Inspectors from the different stalls for the sale of milk in the town as well as from the quantity brought by railways and itinerant vendors. The above table gives you information regarding the number and quality of the samples of milk analysed in the Corporation Laboratory during the last 5 years. It must be stated here that a sample of milk is pronounced to be of good quality when it contains not less than 3 percent of fat. Now, 3

percent of fat, in my opinion, is too low a standard of purity for milk yielded by Indian cows and many adulterated samples would pass as pure if judged by this minimum standard of purity. I shall have occasion to discuss later on this point when I consider the question of standards. During 1905 and 1906, altogether 521 samples were examined in the Municipal Laboratory, and of these, 78 samples, i.e., only 15 percent were found to be free from adulteration. The rest were mixed with water varying from 10 to 80 percent. From the above table, it will, however, be seen that the percentage of adulterated samples examined at the Municipal Laboratory from 1913 to 1917 varied from 26 to 50. This shows an apparent improvement in the milk-supply of the town as compared with some of the previous years. It must, however, be borne in mind that during the last 5 years, some limitation, I am told, had to be placed on the collection of samples; for during this period, the gowalas began to take advantage of the loop-hole in the Municipal Act of Calcutta and disposed of a good many samples declaring them as "watered milk", and consequently, these were not collected. The lower percentage of samples found adulterated does not, therefore, necessarily indicate that there has been in fact an improvement in the quality of the milk sold in Calcutta.

Recently, during a visit of the Chairman of the Corporation to the Jorasanko milk-market, he found that apparently good milk was being sold there at $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers per rupee. This was on the occasion of an important Hindu festival when the price of milk and milk-products always goes up very high. Under his orders, 48 samples of the best milk available were collected from the different milk-stalls in Calcutta (Jorasanko, Baitakhana, Sealdah, New Market and a few other places) and analysed in the Municipal laboratory. It was found that the average percentage of fat in the samples obtained from Jorasanko was 4.9, from the New Market 4.2, and from other places, a little above 5 percent. From the remarks of the Health Officer on the samples thus collected, it appears that good milk could be had at times at Jorasanko even at 8 seers for the rupee, at Baitakhana, six seers and at the New Market, $4\frac{1}{2}$ seers, and that during the time of Hindu festivals, the price goes up

very high, specially at Jorasanko, milk being sometimes sold there at eight annas per seer. It is difficult to believe that pure milk could be had in Calcutta at any time at more than 4 seers per rupee and the price is often higher. It may be that when the supply is much above the demand in these markets, milk, being a perishable article, could be had at cheaper rates occasionally. One might reasonably conclude from the high percentage of fat found in many of these samples (about 5 per cent) that the milk sold in some of these markets is chiefly buffalo milk diluted with water.

BACTERIOLOGICAL EXAMINATION.

A very large number of samples were also bacteriologically examined. In the most favourable circumstances, freshly drawn milk does not show more than 500 bacteria in 1 cubic centimeter. Under ordinary conditions, however, the number of bacteria is much larger but they ought not to exceed 6000 in 1 C.C. The number of bacteria found in 1 C.C. of milk sold in market places in Calcutta varied from 1,000,00 to over 3,000,000 and the bacilli of the Colon group (which indicate contamination with faecal matter) were found to be present even in as small a quantity as $\frac{1}{1000}$ part of 1 C.C. This shows the dangerous character of the milk-supply of Calcutta as a carrier of such infectious diseases as enteric fever, cholera, dysentery, etc. As regards tubercle bacilli, their presence was rarely detected.

PROPERTIES OF MILK.

Milk is the secretion of the breast of female mammals for the nourishment of their offspring. It may be considered as the most "perfect" of all foods, as it contains all the nutritive principles, viz., proteid, fat, carbo-hydrate, salts and water in proper proportions for the growth and sustenance of young animals for a certain period of their existence. It is a white opalescent liquid, sometimes with a tinge of yellow, denser than water with which it is perfectly miscible. The density of pure cow's milk varies from 1.029 to 1.034 (the density of water being taken as 1). It is decreased by being mixed with water and increased by abstracting cream from or by adding sugar to it. All these practices are resorted to by artful gowalas to get adulterated milk pass for pure milk. Its whiteness is due to fat in fine division being

suspended in water. If you examine a drop of milk under the microscope, you will see innumerable small rounded globules of fat of varying sizes covering the whole field. It has got a feeble alkaline reaction and in the case of certain animals, it possesses a faint odour of the particular animal yielding the milk.

When fresh milk is allowed to stand for sometime in a cool place, a thick yellowish layer is found to float on the surface which mostly consists of the fat of the milk mixed with a certain amount of its nitrogenous constituents. This is what is called "cream", and when removed, the milk becomes much poorer in quality, and such milk is known as "separated" or "skimmed" milk. The gowalas take full advantage of this property of milk. They draw the milk generally at 3 o'clock in the morning and allow it to stand for 2 or 3 hours in a cool place and then, after removing the separated cream and adding a little water, sell the milk to their customers as pure milk. The fraud cannot be detected by the Lactometer (an instrument for determining the density of milk) which is the only instrument in the hands of the householder to test the purity of the sample. The removal of cream raises the density of the milk and the addition of a little water brings it down again to normal density. Thus the indication of the Lactometer in such a case is valueless. Skimmed milk, when not watered, cannot strictly be called "adulterated", but it is not genuine milk and the sale of it as pure milk brings the vendor within the penalty of the law.

We shall limit our consideration to cow's and buffalo's milk only in this paper. The following table gives a comparative average composition of the two kinds of milk and shows at a glance the enormous difference in their fat-constituents.

TABLE II.

Kind of Milk.	PERCENTAGE.				
	Water.	Proteid (Casein)	Fat (Butter)	Carbo-hydrate (Milk sugar)	Salts (Mineral matter).
Cow's	86.4	4.0	4.5	4.4	0.70
Buffalo's	81.8	4.52	8.2	4.6	0.88

From the above table, it will be seen that there is about 13.6 per cent. of solid

matter in cow's milk and nearly one-third of it is fat. In buffalo's milk, the solid matter is much larger, being about 18.2 per cent and a little less than half of it is fat. I have already mentioned that much of the milk sold in Calcutta is buffalo-milk diluted with water, and if the purity of milk is judged on the sole consideration of the percentage of fat contained in it, the buffalo-milk may be diluted with more than equal part of water and may still be passed as pure cow's milk. Fortunately, other facts are taken into account to judge of the purity or otherwise of a sample and this enables one to detect the fraud and bring the offender to book.

ADULTERATION: NATURE OF ADULTERANTS.

I. The chief adulterant of milk is water, and if the water so added is from a dirty tank or well, the quality of milk not only deteriorates but it often becomes the carrier of dangerous infectious diseases. This mostly applies to milk brought into the town from outside which constitutes about one-third of the whole supply of Calcutta.

II. Cow's milk is also largely mixed with buffalo's milk, watered, and then sold as cow's milk. This kind of milk forms a very large proportion of the total milk-supply of Calcutta.

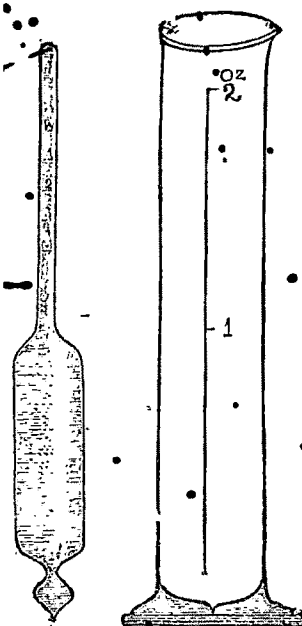
III. Part of the fat in the milk is abstracted in the form of cream, the density of milk thus raised is reduced to normal by addition of requisite quantity of water and the milk then sold as pure milk.

VI. The most common method of adulteration is to water the milk and then raise the lowered density by adding brown sugar to it in the form of sugar-cakes (Batasas). You will see this being practiced by the gowalas in the streets of Calcutta every morning on their way to the houses of the customers. This kind of adulteration baffles detection by Lactometer.

V. It is believed that watered milk is sometimes thickened with some kind of cheap starch or chalk, but such fraud is not often practised.

DETECTION OF ADULTERATION.

Without going into the details of milk-analysis, I propose to briefly mention a few practical tests which would go to help the householder to ascertain roughly the purity or otherwise of the sample supplied to him.



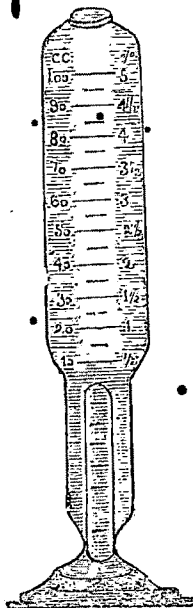
Lactometer.

The instrument most commonly used for testing the quality of milk by the householder is the Lactometer. In the case of pure milk, when the instrument is allowed to float in the fluid, the surface of the milk should be on a line with the lowest mark "M" on the stem of the instrument, or very near it. The higher marks, viz., 3, 2 and 1 (or $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$) roughly indicate 25, 50 and 75 percent respectively of water added to the milk.

A little correction is needed for the temperature of the milk, as the instrument has been standardised at a definite temperature, but it is hardly necessary, for, after all, it is a rough method and the reading gives sufficiently accurate information for all practical purposes. Our gowalas, however, know all about the Lactometer and they adulterate their commodity in such a way that the indication of the instrument becomes perfectly valueless. On removing some cream from the milk, the "M" mark rises above the surface and by adding water until the "M" touches again the surface of the milk, the gowala sells his adulterated commodity as pure milk without fear of detection by the Lactometer. In such a case, however, the milk becomes thinner and any experienced eye would find out the fraud. Then again, if the milk is watered and then some sugar is added to it, the density is raised and such milk would also defy the test by the Lactometer. The fraud, however, could be detected by a simple test for cane-sugar which I shall presently describe.

There is another instrument called the Lactoscope, which gives direct information about the percentage of fat in the milk. The instrument is so graduated that

if you take just sufficient milk to fill up the lower space and then add water until certain black marks on the porcelain stem fixed in the centre become just visible, the percentage of fat in the sample is indicated by the figure against which the surface of the diluted milk rests. This is a very handy instrument, much more reliable than the Lactometer and enables you to detect the watering of the milk or removal of cream from it.



Lactoscope.

For the detection of added cane-sugar in the milk, it may easily be found out by taking a little milk in a test tube, adding a small pinch of Resorcin and a small quantity of strong Hydrochloric acid and heating the test tube over a spirit-lamp when, if cane-sugar is present, the milk would turn deep red. The apparatus required for this test are simple, viz., a test tube and a spirit-lamp only and the few chemicals could be got from any druggist's shop at a very small cost and they would keep for any length of time. The test is quite easy of application and helps to detect the fraud which is commonly practised by the gowalas.

If any kind of starch is added to the milk to thicken it, its presence could at once be detected by putting a drop of milk under the microscope and noticing its peculiar-sized striated granules. Starch can also be detected by boiling the milk and adding to the cooled milk a few drops of tincture of iodine; the development of blue colour would indicate the presence of starch.

Adding powdered chalk to milk to thicken it is a clumsy trick and could easily be detected by adding a few drops of Hydrochloric acid to the milk when it will froth.

Part of a paper read at a meeting of the Social Study Society, Calcutta.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

MATERIAL CONDITIONS.

JUST as the climate of Fiji is exceptionally good for Indians to live in, under normal conditions, so also the material prospects are exceptionally good, when once the abnormal conditions of indenture have been entirely removed. I propose, in this article, to state the facts as fully as I am able.

But since in a quite recent document, published and circulated by the Planters' Associations in Fiji, the indenture period itself has been spoken of as a time of comparative prosperity, it is necessary to explain clearly once more, as we did in our former Report, how this is by no means the case. On the contrary, a deliberate fraud has been practised, for a large number of years, in the contract itself made with the Indian labourers before they embarked. It is all the more necessary to recall this fact, at the present time, because there are some thousands of Indian labourers still under indenture, upon whom this fraud has already been used as a means to induce them to go out. Their lot to-day, during the war, is an exceptionally hard one.

The fraud consisted in this, that while dealing with ignorant and illiterate Indian peasants, the agents of the Fiji Government gave no information whatever about the food prices in Fiji. They used their superior intelligence to exploit the weak, and the Indian Government allowed this. The offer of twelve annas a day, which seemed a fortune to the simple-minded Indian peasant, was a pure fraud, and a cruel fraud at that. I have met many in Fiji who were earning four annas a day before they embarked and found it easier to make two ends meet in India, on that wage, than on their nominally higher wages in Fiji. This fraud when carried out on a large scale in the name of a responsible Government is quite inexcusable.

To make my meaning absolutely clear, let me work out the sum. The villager is told by the recruiter in India, that he will get twelve annas a day in Fiji, and he signs a contract with the Fiji Government before a magistrate to that effect. But the first thing he learns, in Fiji, is that he

will only get the promised wage, of twelve annas, on five and a half days out of the seven, because Sunday and half Saturday are not working days. This at once reduces twelve annas to $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas a day. He next learns that the prices of the necessities of life are some of them four times, some of them three times, and some of them twice as dear as in India. This reduces his $9\frac{1}{2}$ annas to 4 annas or thereabouts. The war time has enormously increased both the hardship and the cost of living in Fiji. Yet during the War itself this deliberate deception,—of offering twelve annas a day in India without any information as to the Fiji prices,—continued to be practised.

When Mr. W. W. Pearson and I reached the Fiji Islands in 1915, this was one of the very first subjects of our enquiry, and we went most carefully into each item of the cost of living. We immediately sent home to India, the news of what was going on. In February 1916, on our return, we reported it to the Viceroy himself and to the Member of Council in charge of emigration. In March, 1916, the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya brought forward the question in the Imperial Council, and a pledge was given by the Government of India that, in future, so long as indenture lasted, the prices of food stuffs in Fiji should be inserted in the contract. This was no slight matter, for it would affect the life-choice of thousands of poor people, who were dependent on the Indian Government for their protection. The pledge, which the Indian Government gave, was quite public and explicit; no one ever dreamt, at the time, of its being broken.

Therefore it was a matter of extreme surprise to find, in March, 1917, that this engagement entered into by the Government of India had not been fulfilled, and that through the year 1916 Indian men and women had been recruited for Fiji on the old fraudulent terms. I do not know who was responsible for this refusal to carry out the Government of India's pledged word; but the consequences of

that refusal I witnessed, with my own eyes, when I landed in Fiji in the year 1917. Those who had recently come out under indenture, instead of getting in Fiji the equivalent of what they could purchase for twelve annas a day in India, (as they expected and had every right to expect, being simple, unlettered people), were living in the coolie 'lines' in an impoverished condition, with the war prices continually rising. One of these, a Madras, had attempted to commit suicide, by hanging himself, and gave evidence in Court that he could not bear to hear his children crying for food and yet have nothing to give them. During the first month, after my arrival in Fiji, I spent a considerable amount of time investigating this question. I went very carefully into the cost of living and checked all figures from independent sources, such as the retail store-keepers' prices. By going in and out among the Indian labourers it was easy to discount any exaggerations and to arrive at the true facts, which were palpable enough. I laid the information I had gathered before His Excellency, the Governor, who told me with some annoyance and surprise that it had not before been brought to his notice. The whole case was also placed before the Planters in the north of the main Island at their Association meetings, and it is a pleasure to record that, in a short time, after consultation with the Colonial Sugar Refining Company's representative, (who was visiting the Islands) an advance of 25% in wages was agreed upon. This undoubtedly saved the Indians, still under indenture, from very great hardship and compensated in some slight degree for the fraud which had been practised on them at the time of their recruitment. But it does not at all excuse the Indian Government for refusing to carry out its pledge.

I wish to add, at this point, that I met again and again, among the Planters, with individual instances of remarkable kindness towards their employees. Assistance was sometimes given them in the keeping of cows: at the cane-cutting season I have seen, on payment day, as much as 18 to 20 shillings a week earned, on piece work, by skilful indentured Indians; and various other privileges were allowed, which ameliorated the hard conditions of life. But these things were by no means universal, and there were not seldom cases of exactly the

opposite description,—such as the refusal to give any compensation for injuries received during work and the cutting of wages on every slight occasion, such as sickness, failure to finish the task, a summons to the court, excessive rain, or other causes. While the extra wages earned on piece work brought up the average, these deductions on the part of hard employers brought it down. Records are given by the Immigration Department, as late as the year 1916 (the last Report received) of whole plantations where the average wage given per working day only amounted to nine pence instead of the standard minimum of one shilling, which was guaranteed to the indentured labourer.

These average wages in pence, per working day, for the whole colony (including all extra earnings as well as all cutting down of wages) may be seen as follows:

	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916
Men	12.24	12.29	12.55	12.52	12.90
Women	6.56	6.54	6.61	6.54	6.56

The rates may appear high at first sight, but all the facts which I have already mentioned must be taken into account with regard to the cost of living in Fiji.

During the time of my second visit, in 1917, the great Australian Strike was in operation for nearly three months and this very greatly increased the price of food-stuffs in Fiji, especially of flour. Extreme distress was experienced in consequence by the indentured labourers. In certain parts of the Island large crowds assembled to make their appeals to the magistrates and to state their grievances and hardships. I fully expected that some further relief would be given to the Indians in the coolie 'lines' in this their hour of greatest need; for this new rise in prices had far more than swallowed up the 25 per cent rise in wages. But in no direction could I see any attempt being made to meet the situation. It was a time, surely, when the enormous war profits which had been obtained by the Sugar Companies and the Planters, (and to a certain extent by the Fiji Government also) should have been shared with the indentured labourers. But nothing whatever was done.

To give some idea of the war-profiteering,—I asked the question point blank at a large Planters' meeting, whether it was true that more than £100,000 extra profits had been put into their pockets

owing to the War. The answer was 'yes,' and I was afterwards told by the highest authority that I had named much too low a figure. To these extra profits of the Planters must be added the far larger profits of such a great Company, as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company with its millions of capital invested. Yet not one fraction of all these immense war-profits had been distributed among the indentured labourers during the whole of the first three years of the War, though, all the while, the cost of living had been rising. Not only had there been no thought on the part of the Planters and the Companies of giving relief of their own accord, but the Fiji Government had been so supine as to acquiesce in this unfairness, although they stood in the position of protectors and guardians of Indian interests, and had themselves entered into a direct contract in India with them, being responsible for bringing them out.

The more carefully and thoroughly I have studied the situation, the more I have been brought to the conclusion that the present Fiji Government, whose financial prosperity is so closely bound up with the material interests of such a monopoly as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, cannot be expected to do full justice in the larger matters of Indian interest where they appear to clash with those of the C. S. R. Company. For this reason, as I shall advocate later, it would seem to me advisable that Fiji should come under Australia or New Zealand at the end of the war. While the Fiji Government does its best to relieve individual cases of hardship, and performs satisfactorily the functions of justice in respect to individuals, it is too weak and too local to hold its own under the pressure of such forces as those exercised by a giant monopoly such as the C. S. R. Co.

It has been with great reluctance, and after much hesitation, that I have felt myself obliged to write the above paragraph, which, I am well aware, is a contradiction of our earlier Report. I would wish it clearly to be understood that I hold as strongly as ever that the Government officials in Fiji are high-minded men, who wish to do justice, but I can no longer speak with the same confidence, as I did in 1915 of their freedom from external pressure with regard to their larger judgments and actions. Examples

will be found, in the course of the present Report, which will help to explain the reason for my changed opinion. I should add, that I am regarding the matter, purely from the social, and not from the political standpoint.

It is necessary to record that I found far greater bitterness among the indentured Indians and greater hatred of the Englishman, as their oppressor, than I did on my former visit. In some districts which I visited, I had the impression that at any time this smouldering discontent might break out into a flame of revolt. I gathered from those who were likely to know best, that discontent among the Fijians was spreading very rapidly also.

An instructive incident happened quite recently in Fiji, which left a deep impression on the indentured Indians' minds, who heard the tale in an exaggerated form; indeed it was the subject of common talk in the coolie 'lines.' A ship-load of Chinese coolies was brought to Fiji, surreptitiously, under indenture, on the North side of the main Island. The wages offered were more than double those given to indentured Indians. But when the Chinese saw the coolie 'lines' and the conditions under which they were expected to live, their anger was so great that they mutinied on the spot.

"I thought," said one of the Company managers to me, "that they would have murdered the lot of us, they looked so ugly and threatening."

The sequel to the story is of great interest. The President of the Chinese National Association in Suva came over in person to the plantations and examined conditions on the spot. He agreed, after inspection, that the terms offered were degrading and made arrangements for the repatriation of his fellow-countrymen. Shortly after this, the Chinese National Association entered into correspondence with the Chinese Government asking the latter to prohibit indentured labour altogether.

Immediately on my arrival in Fiji, in June 1917, I was faced with the question of a direct breach of contract which the Fiji Government had committed on a large scale in relation to those under indenture. This breach of contract was admitted, but it was put down to the exigencies of the War. I received great help from Mr.

Manilal, of Rewa, in dealing with the legal aspects of this case. He pointed out to me that there could probably be no remedy obtained in a Court of Law; but, as a case for equity, some action should immediately be taken,—if possible by the Indian Government,—in order to aim at getting terms more favourable to the interests of the Indian labourers than those now obtaining.

The issue may be explained very briefly as follows:—

The Fiji Government gave a definite undertaking to each Indian labourer before embarkation for Fiji that his passage back to India should be provided for him free of cost. There are now already many thousands whose claims for a free return passage cannot be met on account of the shortage of shipping. The Fiji Government and the Sugar Companies have taken advantage of the labour of the Indians during the War to make immense profits out of the sugar, but they have themselves appropriated that part of the labourers' earnings which was to pay for their return passages. The Indian labourer notes that the great 'Sugar' steamers ply their trade as usual, but not one of these steamers can be spared to repatriate the labourers who have helped to grow the sugar. The funds go on accumulating in the Fiji Government treasury, while the distress is growing among the labourers. Thus the Government engagement with the Indian labourers has been directly and palpably broken, and the profits remain in the hands of the Fiji Administration.

This is the main factor in the breach of contract which has been committed. But there are other circumstances which must be taken into account; for they greatly aggravate the situation. They must be explained, in some detail, in order to make them quite clear:—

(1) *Commutation.* One of the very few privileges, which Indians had obtained in recent years, was the right of buying off a part of their five years' indenture by payment of a sum of money. This was called "commutation," and the right was very highly valued, especially in certain 'hard cases.' But one clause was inserted, in the Planters' interests, which is now being used against the labourers. The Planters had insisted, when the Bill was framed, that no commutation should take place, *until the employers could replace*

the labourer from a new emigrant vessel. But now, as no ships are arriving with new labourers, this commutation law has become a dead letter.

In order to show the extreme tenacity with which the employers are taking advantage of the Indian labourers' helplessness, the following incident is significant: When the Planters insisted that all commutation rights were null and void, I tried to obtain relief from the Fiji Government in the hardest case of all,—the case of a legitimate wife being *forced* to remain on, under indenture, amid the frightful moral evils of the coolie 'lines,' after her husband's indenture had expired. I asked that, in this case, at least, the right of commutation (the husband paying the money due) should be absolute and immediate. There was strong opposition to this among some of the Planters. [One of them actually told me, face to face, that he was against it, as it would increase the disproportion of men to women in his 'lines!'] His Excellency the Governor appointed a Committee on which four leading Government officials (Heads of Departments), seven members of the Fiji Legislative Council, and four Planters' representatives, sat together to consider this and other questions. My own proposal, which was put before them, was rejected, and the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"That, in the opinion of this Committee, commutation of indenture should be allowed (when desired by a female immigrant legally married to an immigrant whose indenture has expired) provided that the husband and wife, if required by the employer, first, *by combined effort, work off the number of days to complete the wife's indenture.*"

[The italics are in the copy given to me by the Colonial Secretary].

Thus according to these gentlemen, including among their number the most responsible members of the Fiji Government, the wife's position of extreme moral danger is to be exploited in order to induce the husband to work off half her time and thus give the employer the advantage of a man's work instead of a woman's. There are certain public actions which speak volumes as to the general level of opinion reached in any small community, and this appears to be one of them.

I am tempted to go still further in the

way of illustration and relate the facts with regard to an Indian child, which came under my own personal observation. The child, a boy of twelve, had been taken from India in charge of some nominal guardian or 'parent.' When he reached Fiji, his 'father' would have nothing more to do with him, and for some months he hung about the coolie 'lines' in a filthy, half-starved condition. At last he went to one of the free Indians and worked in his shop for a small wage; but, for this act of kindness, the free Indian was prosecuted by the Planter, on the charge of "harbouring a deserter", and fined 18£. The child was taken back to the 'lines' and again became half-starved. This time the boy went to the Missionary for protection. The Inspector of immigrants finding no other way out of the difficulty appointed the Missionary as the legal guardian of the child, and when I saw the boy under his new guardian's care he was the picture of health and receiving a good education. But, by the laws of indenture, as soon as the child reached the age of fifteen, he would be forced to go back into the coolie 'lines', to live in a small compartment with two grown-up men (probably steeped in vice) and to go out as an indentured 'coolie' in the field gangs,—and all this would take place, though he had never in all his life signed any indenture agreement. There was one of those 'hard cases' where the right of commutation would make all the difference. I was able personally to commute two such cases on my previous visit, (where the gravest moral danger threatened the young,) but I was told that in this instance the Planter would refuse to commute and that the law could not make him do so. I had to appeal direct to the Governor over the Planter's head. It will be seen from such examples as these, (which might be multiplied from my own personal experience) how vital to the Indian labourers this right of commutation is, which has now been taken away. While there is no actual breach of contract here, as there is concerning the refusal of the return passage, still a very grave new situation has arisen.

(2) *High cost of living.*—Here again there is no actual breach of contract; but, from all that I have said above and need not repeat, it will be seen that there is a clear case for equity.

The war has changed the whole aspect of affairs since the time the contract was made and now in the fourth and fifth years of the war the original contract has become altogether one-sided,—in favour of the employer, who is making enormous profits; and against the employee, whose small daily pittance is becoming ever less and less in value. The mere 25 per cent. rise in wages does not by any means cover the whole difference of expenditure. It has been but a palliative, not a real sharing of profits.

(3) *The immorality in the coolie 'lines'.* By far the strongest ground, in my opinion, for the immediate closing down of the present indentures,—thus making all Indians free,—is the moral one. Here higher considerations of statesmanship come in, rather than legal rights or money payments. It has been proved up to the hilt that the coolie 'lines' of Fiji lead directly to the prostitution of the Indian women, and also that there is no possible remedy while women are forced by law to remain against their will in what are, for all practical purposes, brothels. This condition of things should surely not be allowed to go on. The statement definitely made, in the Fiji Government Medical Report, and published by the Fiji Government itself, that, "one indentured Indian woman has to serve three indentured men as well as various outsiders" is so completely final, coming as it does officially along with the Government of India's own Despatch of October, 1915, that no Administration worthy of the name should tolerate for a moment such a state of things, whatever financial inducements might be held out for their continuance.

This moral argument is further strengthened by the fact, that the Indian community in Fiji, owing to the long years of past indenture, has reached a demoralised condition. The cancellation of the remaining indentures will bring relief, not only to the indentured labourers themselves, but to the Indian community generally, whose recovery of self-respect is the most vital factor to be considered. I have seen with my own eyes the depression which has come to the Indians in Fiji and how they have been despised even by the Fijians themselves on account of their semi-servile status. This outlook of subjection and depression, which is so often apparent in spite of prosperous natural

conditions, would vanish and a new attitude of recovered dignity would supervene, if once it were understood by all in the islands,—Fijians, Europeans and Indians themselves,—that not one single Indian was any longer under the bondage of indenture, but that every Indian in Fiji was free.

The planters on the North Side of the main Island were ready to meet me in order to consider together, as one question, the commutation and the closing down of all indentures. They had already agreed to the advance in wages of 25 per cent. and the moment seemed favourable for settling the larger issue. I put before them the proposition that they should agree to close down the whole system in Fiji at the end of the year 1919 and allow the commutation of all 'hard cases' during the interval. These Planters of the North represented about two-thirds of the whole Sugar industry. After several meetings and discussions they came to an informal agreement among themselves to advocate the above terms, and this was ratified unanimously by an executive committee at which I was invited to be present. It should be understood that I had no official authority and they had a perfect right to change their opinion afterwards if they chose. What did happen was that, for the time being, the Planters on the North Side agreed to the reasonableness of this demand that indenture should close in 1919 instead of in 1921.

The first obstruction to this agreement came from the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Though not directly refusing to participate in these discussions, there was a warning note sounded by them, and it became fairly clear on which side the Company would throw its weight, if the scale began to swing back. Then came the Governor's Committee, in Suva, mentioned above, on which the Planters of the South were strongly represented. The subject was warmly debated. In the end an entirely new Resolution was passed, which served the purpose of blocking all further efforts at negotiation. The Resolution was in the form of a bait to the Indian public, and ran as follows:—

"That this Committee considers that all indentures should be commuted as soon as a new system of free emigration be satisfactorily established, public funds

being employed to meet the cost of commutation." [The italics are mine.]

This resolution was carried,—the hope being, that it might induce the Indian public to allow recruiting for Fiji to be reopened in India. I assured everyone that such a hope was ridiculously vain and futile. But from the time of the meeting of the Governor's Committee and the transference of the seat of discussion to the South of the Island, no further informal progress was possible. Indeed, towards the end of my visit, after I had published a preliminary statement of my findings, as to the state of the coolie 'lines' and the immorality that prevailed there, I could not help but notice a change of attitude even in the North and an unwillingness to discuss things further. This was due in a great measure to the influence of the Planter's Association in the South, which had refused all along to meet me. But it appeared to be due also to the fact, that I had taken what the Northern Planters held to be a far too pessimistic view of the moral conditions.

I would not wish to end the personal narrative of these informal negotiations (which at one time seemed so very nearly successful) without expressing my sincere respect for the Planters on the North Side of the Island, and my appreciation of the genuine efforts they made to consider fairly, and even generously, the Indian labourers' difficulties, when they were placed clearly before them. I have also very warm recollections of personal acts of kindness on their part which touched me deeply. I would add that I met with individual cases of the same kind in the South, though the Planters' Association there was hostile throughout.

There have been certain material improvements in the lot of the indentured labourer in recent years to which I very gladly bear witness. The hours of work have now been so arranged, and the 'tasks' have been so proportioned, that both men and women get back to the 'line' much earlier in the day than before. There has also been a remission of the harsh and unjust penal laws, which compelled the indentured labourers, either to do their appointed task each day, or else be treated as criminals. Certain sanitary improvements have been introduced which have greatly diminished the unhealthiness

of the old coolie 'lines.' All these things have produced a marked improvement on the past.

There used to be, under the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, in the old days, a system in operation called "speeding up" which led to cruelties unpardonable in a civilised community. These have been related to me by the European overseers themselves who were brought up within the system. What happened was, that one overseer was "speeded up" against another and each in turn was compelled, on pain of dismissal, to get his area of work done at a fraction less cost than that of his fellows. In order to achieve these 'speeded up' results, the very last ounce was taken out of the Indian labourer by bullying, threatening and flogging.

It was in these days, that the 'suicides of despair' took place with such frequency. I have talked with many overseers who have witnessed them. They invariably took place, so I am told, between 3 A. M. and 4 A. M. in the morning, soon after the coolie had been awakened from sleep by the loud clanging of the gong. The hated sound would enter into his tired brain: the pulse of life would be beating at its lowest: the misery of year after year of this sweated labour (from which there was no escape) would appear to be unending, and, in consequence one early morning the coolie would be found hanging dead. Those who have seen the bodies after death have described to me one feature,—the feet were drawn up tightly, whereas they could have easily been let down to touch the ground. The 'will to die' was stronger than the 'will to live.'

All these things have passed away. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company now leases out its lands, instead of employing paid official agents; and these responsible employers, managing their own estates, are, on the whole, kindly in their treatment. On the North side of the Island,—where the profits during the war have been so enormous,—the humaner treatment of Indians has become markedly evident.

It now remains, in order to complete the picture, to turn from what happens to the indentured labourers and to give an account of the 'prosperous conditions' of those who have gained their freedom.

Immediately on the expiry of indenture

the wages of even indifferent Indian labourers become doubled and often more than doubled; and there are always a number of employers eager to obtain their services. Those Planters, who have gained a reputation for kindness, have no difficulty in retaining most of their old labourers, on increased wages, even after the indenture is over. But those employers, who are noted among Indians for their harsh treatment, find it very difficult indeed to get any men at all, now that recruiting in India has ceased. There can be no question that this one simple factor of shortage of labour has been more potent than all government regulations to bring about a better state of things.

A very large number of the more enterprising Indians, year by year, refuse to work any longer as hired labourers. They purchase instead some land of their own on a short lease. Many of these become, in time, prosperous farmers. The rich, fertile soil of Fiji, (only a fraction of which has been brought under cultivation), is very extensive in area and very cheap. Cattle grazing is comparatively easy on account of the abundance of grass all the year round. The Colonial Sugar Refining Company and the other companies are ready to buy the sugar cane from Indian growers at fair prices and every year the proportion of Indian-grown sugar-cane is becoming greater. These independent Indians have, of course, shared in the immense war profits, as well as the Europeans. They do not, however, enter into the indenture labour problem at all; for nearly all of them have only very small estates, which they work by themselves, or along with two or three partners, hiring free Indian labour only for the 'cutting' season. I have never yet met a single Indian Planter who has ever employed indentured labour.

In order to show the very remarkable material prosperity among the free Indians, who have long ago finished their indentures and settled down in the Islands, it will be most convenient for readers in India, if I tabulate, in a way that can be easily understood, the statistics presented to Government by the different Sugar Companies and published in the Emigration Department's Report.

It should be borne in mind, in estimating these figures, that the total number of free Indians, in 1916, was roughly 50,000,

of whom 30,000 were males. The proportion of grown up men among this number would be fairly large. The figures do not refer to the indentured population.

The following are the returns, in the different districts, for the sugar cultivation by free Indians.

DISTRICTS OF TAVUA AND BA. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	429 men.
Area under cultivation	5,422 acres.
Number of tons crushed	58,957 tons.
Total amount paid	£38,538
Greatest tonnage of a single Indian	2,852 tons.
Least tonnage of a single Indian	3 tons.
Greatest single amount paid	£1,565 0 0
Least single amount paid	£1 14 0

DISTRICTS OF LAUTOKA AND NADI. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	450 men.
Area under cultivation	7,300 acres.
Number of tons crushed	98,519 tons.
Total amount paid	£58,690

DISTRICT OF MACUATA. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	126 men.
Area under cultivation	850 acres.
Number of tons crushed	7,440 tons.
Total amount paid	£4,106

DISTRICT OF REWA. (C.S.R.Co.)

Number of Indian growers	(not given)
Area under cultivation	5,000 acres.
Number of tons crushed	42,742 tons.
Total amount paid	£22,790

DISTRICT OF NAVUA. (Vancouver S. Co.)

Number of Indian growers	(not given)
Area under cultivation	3,500 acres.
Number of tons crushed	34,637 tons.
Total amount paid	£16,510

DISTRICT OF RA. (Melbourne Trust.)

Number of Indian growers	5
Area under cultivation	325 acres.
Number of tons crushed	3,920 tons.
Total amount paid	£2,314
Greatest single amount paid	£1,347

It will be seen from these certified returns that, in the year 1916, the free Indians received for their sugar crop the sum of £142,948. I have a later return for the year 1917, which shows an increase of £3,000 for the Indian sugar return in the Ba District alone. We should, therefore, be well within the mark if we were to put the whole Indian sugar return for 1917

at over £150,000, say, 23 lakhs of rupees. We must add to these returns the amounts received for cereals and bananas which came roughly to another £25,000, making a total of £175,000 for a community of 50,000 persons. If we reckon in the yearly return for the cattle also, we may put the annual agricultural return at 30 lakhs.

It must not, of course, be imagined that the returns given above are clear profit. By far the greater number of Indian cultivators are still heavily in debt, either to Europeans, or to Fijians. I traced out one large transaction, which may be regarded as fairly typical. A European had bought some new cane land for £1,500. He sold it again almost immediately to an Indian cultivator for £4,000, which sum was to be paid off in 5 instalments of £800 each; if payment were delayed a certain interest was to be charged (I think 8 per cent.), but if any of the payments became overdue by more than a year, then all the land, together with all the money paid, was to be forfeit. Those were, as far as I can remember, the terms. It did not appear to me that such a forfeiture would be allowed in a court of law, but many transactions take place of this kind, and land speculation has become a form of gambling to which many Indians have become addicted.

It may be said roughly, that the very high prices given for sugar and cereals during the war have enriched the free Indians and enabled many to become entirely free from debt, while at the same time they have kept in grinding poverty the indentured Indians. It is when this situation is fully appreciated, that the need of helping the indentured Indians becomes so urgent.

The rapid increase in Indian sugar cultivation during recent years makes the question a practical one, whether the free Indians will not in time take the place of the European planters altogether. I have not the complete figures before me and I found them difficult to obtain, but it is probable that already the Indian sugar returns represent nearly 30 per cent. of the whole crop. If the same rapidity of advance takes place in the future, it is not improbable that, within the next ten years, one half of the whole sugar-cane crop will be Indian-grown. The original European planters, who, after obtaining

immense profits are now faced with shortage of labour, are likely to sell out in order to realise their gains; and every estate, as it falls in, will be cut up into Indian blocks.

I take from my own notes, as they were written on the spot, an account of one of the most pleasant Indian scenes which I witnessed during my two visits to Fiji. It happened in the district of Nadi, where the free settlements of Indians are very numerous and where the climate is most conducive to a vigorous, healthy life. My notes run as follows:—

"There were some two thousand Indians on the lawn, which was the centre of a Fijian settlement, beautifully kept. They were dressed in gay colours, especially the women, and it appeared exactly like an Indian *Mela*. The children looked the very picture of health. For pure enjoyment it would be very hard to beat what I saw that day, even in North India. The arrangement for the Red Cross Day had been made by the Indians themselves. The Europeans were their guests and they were shown every courtesy and hospitality in true Indian fashion. What I was especially glad to see was the good humoured chaff that went on between the two races, and also the kindly freedom and naturalness with which the women of the two races mingled. It was a racial scene quite unthinkable in South Africa, and very rare, I should imagine, in India itself.

"There was a first rate wrestling match in the afternoon. Two champions, of rival districts, were the combatants. But though feeling ran high, there was never any loss of temper, either on the part of the crowd or of the wrestlers themselves. A European Planter was the umpire, and one of his own labourers was the champion of the Nadi District. The match went against him. A very muscular Musalman (the son of a rich Indian Zamindar) won the match after a great struggle. Later on in the day some cattle were sold at auction and the low prices astonished me,—a good milking cow being auctioned for twenty-seven rupees. But I was told that cattle were usually sold at about those rates. At the end of the day it was found that £275 had been collected for the Red Cross.

"The District Magistrate was keenly interested in the whole affair. He is very greatly respected by all the Indians of the

Nadi District. Another popular figure was one of the overseers of the Lautoka Mill, who was asked by the Indians to be their auctioneer. He carried out his work in the most amusing style, to the great enjoyment of the crowd."

A remarkable individual case of prosperity is that of the Hon. Badre Maharaj, who came out to Fiji from the North of India, under indenture, thirty years ago. He has gained a name for uprightness of conduct and steady industrious work all over the Islands. Little by little he has built up a prosperous plantation in connexion with the Mill of the Melbourne Trust. He pays his men, who are free, a reasonable wage and he has started a school of his own for Indian children. Both his sons have gone to New Zealand for their education and have done well there. One boy is still at school: the other hopes to go to Oxford after the war.

Among the European Planters and overseers there are a considerable number who bear an honourable record among Indians for kindly treatment. It would be invidious to single out names from among those who are in the Islands to-day, employing Indian labour on their plantations, but I would wish to state generally that I have had the privilege during my two visits of meeting with those for whom my respect deepened the longer I knew them. I saw them at all hours of the day, while they were engaged in their daily round of duties, and I noticed with great pleasure the frankness of the relations which existed, in their case, between employer and employed. That I saw others of an opposite character goes without saying, human nature being what it is, but I can state with some confidence from personal observation that these were comparatively few as far as those parts of the Islands were concerned which I chiefly visited.

If it is considered that an undue proportion of this section of the Report on the material conditions has been taken up with the needs of the small number of Indians still under indenture, the reason has been that I cannot but regard the present position of these indentured Indians as an unfair one and their grievances as just. It was therefore necessary to state them at length, in the hope that they may be rectified as soon as possible by Indian Government action.

C. F. ANDREWS.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER IX.
BIMANA'S STORY.

13.

FOR a time I was utterly at a loss to think of any way of getting that money. Then, the other day, in the light of intense excitement, suddenly the whole picture stood out clear before me.

Every year my husband makes a reverence-offering of six thousand rupees to my sister-in-law at the time of the Durga Puja. Every year that is deposited in her account at the bank in Calcutta. This year the offering was made as usual but it has not yet been sent to the bank, being kept meanwhile in an iron safe, in a corner of the little dressing room attached to our bedroom.

Every year my husband takes the money to the bank himself. This year he has not yet had an opportunity of going to town. How could I fail to see the hand of Providence in this? The money has been held up because the country wants it,—who could have the power to take it away from her to the bank? And how can I have the power to refuse to take the money? The Goddess revelling in destruction holds out her blood-cup crying: "Give me drink. I am thirsty." I will give her my own heart's blood with that five thousand rupees. "Mother, the loser of that money will scarcely feel the loss, but me you will utterly ruin!"

Many a time, in the old days, have I inwardly called the Senior Rani a thief, for I charged her with wheedling money out of my trusting husband. After her husband's death she often used to make away with things belonging to the estate for her own use. This I used to point out to my husband, but he remained silent. I would get angry and say: "If you feel generous, make gifts by all means, but why allow yourself to be robbed?" Providence must have smiled, then, at these complaints of mine, for to-night I am on the way to rob my husband's safe of my sister-in-law's money.

My husband's custom was to let his keys remain in his pockets when he took off his clothes for the night, leaving them in the dressing room. I picked out the key of the safe and opened it. The slight sound it made seemed to wake the whole world! A sudden chill turned my hands and feet icy cold, and I shivered all over.

There was a drawer inside the safe. On opening this I found the money, not in currency notes, but in gold rolled up in paper. I had no time to count out what I wanted. There were twenty rolls, all of which I took and tied up in a corner of my sari.

What a weight it was. The burden of the theft crushed my heart to the dust. Perhaps notes would have made it seem less like thieving, but this was all gold.

After I had stolen back into my room like a thief, it felt like my own room no longer. All the most precious rights which I had over it vanished at the touch of my theft. I began to mutter to myself, as though telling *mantrams*: *Bande Mataram, Bande Mataram, my Country, my golden Country, all this gold is for you, for none else!*

But in the night the mind is weak. I came back into the bedroom where my husband was asleep, closing my eyes as I passed through, and went off to the open terrace beyond, on which I lay prone, clasping to my breast the end of the sari tied over the gold. And each one of the rolls gave me a shock of pain.

The silent night stood there with forefinger upraised. I could not think of my house as separate from my country: I had robbed my house, I had robbed my country. For this sin my house had ceased to be mine, my country also was estranged from me. Had I died begging for my country, even unsuccessfully, that would have been worship, acceptable to the gods. But theft is never worship,—how then can I offer this gold? Ah me! I am doomed to death myself, must I desecrate my country with my impious touch?

The way to put the money back is

closed to me. I have not the strength to return to the room, take again that key, open once more that safe,—I should swoon on the threshold of my husband's door. The only road left now is the road in front. Neither have I the strength deliberately to sit down and count the coins. Let them remain behind their coverings: I cannot calculate.

There was no mist in the winter sky. The stars were shining brightly. If, thought I to myself, as I lay out there, I had to steal these stars one by one, like golden coins, for my country,—these stars so carefully stored up in the bosom of the darkness,—then the sky would be blinded, the night widowed for ever, and my theft would rob the whole world. But was not also this very thing I had done a robbing of the whole world,—not only of money, but of trust, of righteousness?

I spent the night lying on the terrace. When at last it was morning, and I was sure that my husband had risen and left the room, then only with my shawl pulled over my head, could I retrace my steps towards the bedroom.

The Senior Rani was about, with her brass pot, watering her plants. When she saw me passing in the distance she cried: "Have you heard the news, Junior Rani?"

I stopped in silence, all in a tremor. It seemed to me that the rolls of sovereigns were bulging through the shawl. I feared they would burst and scatter in a ringing shower; exposing to all the servants of the house the thief who had made herself destitute by robbing her own wealth.

"Your band of robbers," she went on, "have sent an anonymous message threatening to loot the treasury."

I remained as silent as a thief.

"I was advising brother Nikhil to seek your protection," she continued banteringly. "Call off your minions, Robber Queen! We shall offer sacrifices to your *Bande Mataram* if you will but save us. What doings there are these days!—but for the Lord's sake, spare our house at least from burglary."

I hastened into my room without reply. I had put my foot on quicksand, and could not now withdraw it. Struggling would only send me down deeper.

If only the time would arrive when I could hand over the money to Sandip!

I could bear it no longer, its weight was breaking through my very ribs.

It was still early when I got word that Sandip was awaiting me. To-day I had no thought of adornment. Wrapped as I was in my shawl, I went off to the outer apartments.

As I entered the sitting room I saw Sandip and Amulya there together. All my dignity, all my honour, seemed to run tingling through my body from head to foot and vanish into the ground. I would have to lay bare a woman's uttermost shame in sight of this boy! Could they have been discussing my deed in their meeting place? Had any vestige of a veil of decency been left for me?

We women shall never understand men. When they are bent on making a road for some achievement, they think nothing of breaking the heart of the world into pieces to pave it for the progress of their chariot. When they are mad with the intoxication of creating, they rejoice in destroying the creation of the Creator. This heart-breaking shame of mine will not attract even a glance from their eyes. They have no feeling for life itself,—all their eagerness is for their object. What am I to them but a meadow flower in the path of a torrent in flood?

What good will this extinction of me be to Sandip? Only five thousand rupees? Was not I good for something more than only five thousand rupees? Yes, indeed! Did I not learn that from Sandip himself, and was I not able in the light of this knowledge to despise all else in my world? I was the giver of light, of life, of *shakti*, of immortality,—in that belief, in that joy, I had burst all my bounds, into the open. Had any one then fulfilled for me that joy, I should have lived in my death; I should have lost nothing in the loss of my all.

Do they want to tell me now that all this was false? The psalm of my praise which was sung so devotedly, did it bring me down from my heaven, not to make heaven of earth, but only to level heaven itself with the dust?

14.

"The money, Queen?" said Sandip with his keen glance full on my face.

Amulya also fixed his gaze on me. Though not my own mother's child, yet the dear lad is brother to me; for mother is mother all the world over. With his

guileless face, his gentle eyes, his innocent youth he looked at me. And I, a woman,—of his mother's sex,—how could I hand him poison, just because he asked for it?

"The money, Queen!" Sandip's insolent demand rang in my ears. For very shame and vexation I felt I wanted to fling that gold at Sandip's head. I could hardly undo the knot of my sari, my fingers trembled so. At last the paper rolls dropped on the table.

Sandip's face grew black. . . . He must have thought that the rolls were of silver. . . . What contempt was in his looks. What utter disgust at incapacity. It was almost as if he could have struck me! He must have suspected that I had come to parley with him, to offer to compound his claim for five thousand rupees with a few hundreds. There was a moment when I thought he would snatch up the rolls and throw them out of the window, declaring that he was no beggar, but a king claiming tribute.

"Is that all?" asked Amulya with such pity welling up in his voice that I wanted to sob out aloud. I kept my heart tightly pressed down, and merely nodded my head.

Sandip was speechless. He neither touched the rolls, nor uttered a sound.

My humiliation went straight to the boy's heart. With a sudden, feigned enthusiasm he exclaimed: "It's plenty. It will do splendidly. You have saved us." With which he tore open the covering of one of the rolls.

The sovereigns shone out. And in a moment a black covering seemed to be lifted from Sandip's countenance also. His delight beamed forth from his features. Unable to control his sudden revulsion of feeling he sprang up from his seat towards me. What he intended, I know not. I flashed a lightning glance towards Amulya, —the colour had left the boy's face as at the stroke of a whip. Then with all my strength I thrust Sandip from me. As he reeled back, his head struck the edge of the marble table and he dropped on the floor. There he lay awhile, motionless. Exhausted with my effort I sank back on my seat.

Amulya's face lightened with a joyful radiance. He did not even turn towards Sandip, but came straight up, took the dust of my feet and then remained there, sitting on the floor in front of me. O my little brother, my child! This reverence

of yours is the last touch of heaven left in my empty world! I could contain myself no longer, and my tears flowed fast. I covered my eyes with the end of my sari, which I pressed to my face with both my hands, and sobbed and sobbed. And every time that I felt on my feet his tender touch, trying to comfort me, my tears broke out afresh.

After a little, when I had recovered myself and taken my hands from my face, I saw Sandip back at the table, gathering up the sovereigns in his handkerchief, as if nothing had happened. Amulya rose to his seat, from his place near my feet, his wet eyes shining.

Sandip coolly looked up at my face as he remarked: "It is six thousand."

"What do we want with so much, Sandip Babu?" cried Amulya. "Three thousand five hundred is all we need for our work."

"Our wants are not for this one place only," Sandip replied. "We shall want all we can get."

"That may be," said Amulya. "But in future I undertake to get you all you want. Out of this, Sandip Babu, please return the extra two thousand five hundred to the Maharani."

Sandip looked inquiringly at me.

"No, no," I exclaimed. "I shall never touch that money again. Do with it as you will."

"Can man ever give as woman can!" said Sandip, looking towards Amulya.

"They are goddesses!" agreed Amulya with enthusiasm.

"We men can at best give of our power," continued Sandip. "But women give themselves. Out of their own life they give birth, out of their own life they give sustenance. Such gifts are the only true gifts." Then turning to me, "Queen!" said he, "if what you have given us had been only money I would not have touched it. But you have given that which is more to you than life itself!"

There must be two different persons inside men. One of these in me can understand that Sandip is trying to delude me; the other is content to be deluded. Sandip has power, but no strength of righteousness. The weapon of his which rouses up life smites it again to death. He has the unfailing quiver of the gods, but the shafts in them are of the demons. Sandip's handkerchief was not large

enough to hold all the coins. "Queen," he asked, "Can you give me another?"

When I gave him mine, he reverently touched with it his forehead, and then suddenly kneeling on the floor he made me an obeisance. "Goddess!" he said, "it was to offer my reverence that I had approached you, but you repulsed me, and rolled me in the dust. Be it so. I accept your repulse as your boon to me, I raise it to my head in salutation!" with which he pointed to the place where he had been hurt.

Had I then misunderstood him? Could it be that his outstretched hands had really been directed towards my feet? Yet, surely, even Amulya had seen the passion that flamed out of his eyes, his face. But Sandip is such an adept in setting music to his chant of praise that I cannot argue. I lose my power of seeing truth; my sight is clouded over like an opium-eater's eyes. And so, after all, he gave me back twice as much in return for the blow I had dealt him,—the wound on his head ended by making me bleed at heart. When I had received Sandip's obeisance my theft seemed to gain a dignity, and the gold glittering on the table to smile away all fear of disgrace, all stings of conscience.

Like me Amulya also was won back. His devotion to Sandip, which had suffered a momentary check, blazed up anew. The flower-vase of his mind filled once more with offerings for the worship of Sandip and me. His simple faith shone out of his eyes, with the pure light of the morning star at dawn.

After I had offered worship and received worship my sin became radiant. And as Amulya looked on my face he raised his folded hands in salutation and cried *Bande Mataram*! I cannot expect to have this adoration surrounding me for ever; and yet this has come to be the only means of keeping alive my self-respect.

I can no longer enter my bedroom. The bedstead seems to thrust out a forbidding hand, the iron safe frowns at me. I want to get away from this continual insult to myself which is rankling within me. I want to keep running to Sandip to hear him sing my praises. There is just this one little altar of worship which has kept its head above the all-pervading depths of my dishonour, and so I want to cleave to it night and day; for on whichever

side I step away from it, there is only emptiness.

Praise, praise, I want unteasing praise. I cannot live if my wine cup be left empty for a single moment. So, as the very price of my life, I want Sandip of all the world, to-day.

15.

When my husband now-a-days comes in for his meals, I feel I cannot sit before him; and yet it is such a shame not to be near him that I feel I cannot do that either. So I seat myself where we cannot look at each other's faces. That was how I was sitting the other day when the Senior Rani came and joined us.

"It is all very well for you, brother," said she, "to laugh away these threatening letters. But they do frighten me so. Have you sent off that money you gave me to the Calcutta bank?"

"No, I have not yet had the time to get away," my husband replied.

"You are so careless brother dear, you had better look out . . ."

"But it is in the iron safe right inside the inner dressing room," said my husband with a reassuring smile.

"What if they get in there? You can never tell!"

"If they go so far, they might as well carry you off too!"

"Don't you fear, no one will come for poor me. The real attraction is in your room! But joking apart, don't run the risk of keeping money in the room like that."

"They will be taking along the government revenue to Calcutta in a few days now, I will send this money to the bank under the same escort."

"Very well. But see you don't forget all about it, you are so absent-minded."

"Even if that money gets lost, while in my room, the loss cannot be yours, Sister Rani."

"Now, now, brother, you will make me very angry if you talk in that way. Was I making any difference between yours and mine? What if your money is lost, does not that hurt me? If providence has thought fit to take away my all, it has not left me insensible to the value of the most devoted brother known since the days of Lakshman.*

* Of the Ramayana. The story of his devotion to his elder brother Rama and his brother's wife Sita, has become a by-word.

"Well, Junior Rani, are you turned into a wooden doll? You have not spoken a word yet. Do you know, brother, our Junior Rani thinks I try to flatter you. If things came to that pass I should not hesitate to do so, but I know my dear old brother does not need it!"

Thus the Senior Rani chattered on, not forgetting now and then to draw her 'brother's' attention to this or that special delicacy amongst the dishes that were being served. My head was all the time in a whirl. The crisis was fast coming. Something must be done about replacing that money. And as I kept asking myself what could be done, and how it was to be done, the unceasing patter of my sister-in-law's words seemed more and more intolerable.

What made it all the more uncomfortable was, that nothing could escape the Senior Rani's keen eyes. Every now and then she was casting side glances towards me. What she could read in my face, I do not know; but to me it seemed that everything was written there only too plainly.

Then I did an infinitely rash thing. Affecting an easy, amused laugh I said: "All the Senior Rani's suspicions, I see, are reserved for me,—her fears of thieves and robbers are only a feint."

The Senior Rani smiled mischievously. "You are right, sister mine. A woman's theft is the most fatal of all thefts. But how can you elude my watchfulness. Am I a man, that you should hoodwink me?"

"If you fear me so," I retorted, "let me keep in your hands all I have, as security. If I cause you loss, you can then repay yourself."

"Just listen to her, our simple little Junior Rani!" she laughed back turning to my husband. "Does she not know that there are losses which no security can make good, either in this world or in the next?"

My husband did not join in our exchange of words. When he had finished, he went off to the outer apartments, for now-a-days he does not take his mid-day rest in our room.

All my more valuable jewels were in deposit in the treasury in charge of the cashier. Still what I kept with me must have been worth thirty or forty thousand. I took my jewel box to the Senior Rani's room and opened it out before her, saying:

"I leave these with you, sister. They will keep you quite safe from all worry."

The Senior Rani made a gesture of mock despair. "You positively astound me, Junior Rani!" she said. "Do you really suppose I spend sleepless nights for fear of being robbed by you?"

"What harm if you did have a wholesome fear of me? Does anybody know anybody else in this world?"

"You want to teach me a lesson by trusting me? No, no! I am bothered enough to know what to do with my own jewels, without keeping watch over yours. Take them away, there's a dear, so many prying servants are about."

I went straight from the Senior Rani's room to the sitting room outside, and sent for Amulya. With him Sandip came along too. I was in a great hurry, and said to Sandip: "If you don't mind, I have a word or two with Amulya. Would you."

Sandip smiled a wry smile. "So Amulya and I are separate in your eyes? If you have set about to wean him from me, I must confess I have no power to retain him."

I made no reply but stood waiting.

"Be it so," Sandip went on, "finish your special talk with Amulya. But then you must give me a special talk all to myself too, or it will mean a defeat for me. I can stand everything, but not defeat. My share must always be the lion's share. This has been my constant quarrel with Providence. I will defeat the Dispenser of my fate, but not take defeat at his hands." With a crashing look at Amulya, Sandip walked out of the room.

"Amulya, my own little brother, you must do one thing for me," I said.

"I will stake my life for whatever duty you may lay on me, Sister."

I brought out my jewel box from the folds of my shawl and placed it before him. "Sell or pawn these," I said, "and get me six thousand rupees as fast as ever you can."

"No, no, Sister," said Amulya touched to the quick. "Let these jewels be. I will get you six thousand all the same."

"Oh don't be silly," I said impatiently. "There is no time for any nonsense. Take this box. Get away to Calcutta by the night train. And bring me the money by the day after tomorrow, positively."

Amulya took a diamond necklace out of

the box, held it up to the light and put it back gloomily.

"I know," I told him, "that you will never get the proper price for these diamonds, so I am giving you jewels worth about thirty thousand. I don't care if they all go, but I must have that six thousand without fail."

"Do you know, Sister," said Amulya, "I have had a quarrel with Sandip Babu over that Rs. 6,000 he took from you? I cannot tell you how ashamed I felt. But Sandip Babu *would* have it that we must give up even our shame for the country. That may be so. But this is somehow different. I do not fear to die for the country, to kill for the country,—that much *shakti* has been given me. But I cannot forget the shame of having taken money from you. There Sandip Babu is ahead of me. He has no regrets or compunctions. He says we must get rid of the idea that the money belongs to the one in whose box it happens to be,—if we cannot, where is the magic of *Bande Mataram*?"

Amulya gathered enthusiasm as he talked on. He always warms up when he has me for a listener. "The *Gita* tells us," he continued, "that no one can kill the soul. Killing is a mere word. So also is the taking away of money. Whose is the money? No one has created it. No one can take it away with him when he departs this life, for it is no part of his soul. To-day it is mine, to-morrow my son's, the next day his creditor's. Since, in fact, money belongs to no one, why should any blame attach to our patriots, if, instead of leaving it for some worthless son, they take it for their own use?"

When I hear Sandip's words uttered by this boy, I tremble all over. Let those who are snake-charmers play with snakes; if harm comes to them, they are prepared for it. But these boys are so innocent, all the world is ready with its blessing to protect them. They play with a snake not knowing its nature and when we see them smilingly, trustfully, putting their hands within reach of its fangs, then we understand how terribly dangerous the snake is. Sandip is right when he suspects that though I, for myself, may be ready to die at his hands, this boy I shall wean from him and save.

"So the money is wanted for the use of your patriots, I suppose," I asked with a smile.

"Of course it is!" said Amulya, proudly. "Are they not our kings? Poverty takes away from their regal power. Do you know, we always insist on Sandip Babu travelling First Class? He never shirks kingly honours,—he accepts them not for himself, but for the glory of us all. The greatest weapon of those who rule the world, Sandip Babu has told us, is the hypnotism of their display. To take the vow of poverty would be for them not merely a penance,—it would mean suicide."

At this point Sandip noiselessly entered the room. I threw my shawl over the jewel case with a rapid movement.

"The special-talk business not yet over?" he asked with a sneer in his tone.

"Yes, we've quite finished," said Amulya apologetically. "It was nothing much."

"No, Amulya," I said, "we have not quite finished."

"So, *exit* Sandip, for the second time, I suppose" said Sandip.

"If you please."

"And as to Sandip's re-entry . . ."

"Not to-day. I have no time."

"I see!" said Sandip as his eyes flashed. "No time to waste, only for special talks!"

Jealousy! Where the strong man shows weakness, there the weaker sex cannot help beating her drums of victory. So I repeated, firmly: "I really have no time."

Sandip went away looking black. Amulya was greatly perturbed. "Sister Rani," he pleaded, "Sandip Babu is annoyed."

"He has neither cause nor right to be annoyed," I said with some vehemence. "Let me caution you about one thing, Amulya. Say nothing to Sandip Babu about the sale of my jewels,—on your life."

"No, I will not."

"Then you had better not delay any more. You must get away by to-night's train."

Amulya and I left the room together. As we came out on the verandah Sandip was standing there. I could see he was waiting to waylay Amulya. To prevent that I had to engage him. "What is it you wanted to tell me, Sandip Babu?" I asked.

"I have nothing special to say—mere

small talk. And since you have not the time . . ."

"I can give you just a little."

By this time Amulya had left. As we entered the room Sandip asked: "What was that box Amulya carried away?"

The box had not escaped his eyes. I remained firm. "If I could have told you, it would have been made over to him in your presence."

"So you think Amulya will not tell me?"

"No, he will not."

Sandip could not conceal his anger any longer. "You think you will gain the mastery over me?" he blazed out. "That shall never be. Amulya, there, would die a happy death if I deigned to trample him under foot. I will never, so long as I live, allow you to bring him to your feet!"

Oh, the weak! the weak! At last Sandip has realised that he is weak before me! That is why there is this sudden outburst of anger. He has understood that he cannot meet the power that I wield, with mere strength. With a glance I can crumble his strongest fortifications. So he must needs resort to bluster. I simply smiled, in contemptuous silence. At last have I come to a level above him. I must never lose this vantage ground; never descend low again. Amidst all my degradation this bit of dignity must remain to me!

"I know," said Sandip, after a pause, "it was your jewel case."

"You may guess as you please," said I, "but you will get nothing out from me."

"So you trust Amulya more than you trust me? Do you know that the boy is the shadow of my shadow, the echo of my echo,—that he is nothing if I am not at his side?"

"Where he is not your echo, he is himself, Amulya. And that is where I trust him more than I can trust your echo!"

"You must not forget that you are under a promise to render up all your ornaments to me for the worship of the Divine Mother. In fact your offering has already been made."

"Whatever ornaments the gods leave to me will be offered up to the gods. But how can I offer those which have been stolen away from me?"

"Look here, it is no use your trying to give me the slip in that fashion. Now is the time for grim work. Let that work be finished, then you can make a display

of your woman's wiles to your heart's content,—and I will help you in your game."

The moment I had stolen my husband's money and paid it to Sandip, the music that was in our relations stopped. Not only did I destroy all my own value by making myself cheap, but Sandip's powers, too, lost scope for their full play. You cannot employ your marksmanship against a thing which is right in your grasp. So Sandip has lost his aspect of the hero, a tone of low quarrelsomeness has come into his words.

Sandip kept his brilliant eyes fixed full on my face till they seemed to blaze with all the thirst of the midday sky. Once or twice he fidgeted with his feet, as though to leave his seat, as if to spring right on me. My whole body seemed to swim, my veins throbbed, the hot blood surged up to my ears; I felt that if I remained there, I should never get up at all. With a supreme effort I tore myself off the chair, and hastened towards the door.

From Sandip's dry throat there came a muffled cry: "Whither would you flee, Queen?" The next moment he left. His seat with a bound to seize hold of me. At the sound of footsteps outside the door, however, he rapidly retreated and fell back into his chair. I checked my steps near the bookshelf, where I stood staring at the names of the books.

As my husband entered the room, Sandip exclaimed: "I say, Nikhil, don't you keep Browning among your books here? I was just telling Queen Bee of our college club. Do you remember that contest of ours over the translation of those lines from Browning? You don't?"

She should never have looked at me,
If she meant I should not love her
There are plenty . . . men you call such,
I suppose . . . she may discover
All her soul to, if she pleases,
And yet leave much as she found them:
But I'm not so, and she knew it
When she fixed me, glancing round them.

"I managed to get together the words to render it into Bengali, somehow, but the result was hardly likely to be a 'joy forever' to the people of Bengal. I really did think at one time that I was on the verge of becoming a poet, but providence was kind enough to save me from that disaster. Do you remember old Dakshina? If he had not become a Salt Inspector, he

would have been a poet. I remember his rendering to this day. . . .

"No, Queen Bee, it is no use rummaging those bookshelves. Nikhil has ceased to read poetry after his marriage,—perhaps he has no further need for it. But I suppose 'the fever fit of poesy', as the Sanskrit has it, is about to attack me again."

"I have come to give you a warning, Sandip," said my husband.

"About the fever fit of poesy?"

My husband took no notice of this attempt at humour. "For some time," he continued, "Mahomedan preachers have been about stirring up the local Mussulmans. They are all wild with you, and may attack you any moment."

"Are you come to advise flight?"

"I have come to give you information, not to offer advice."

"Had these estates been mine, such a warning would have been necessary for the preachers, not for me. If, instead of trying to frighten me, you give them a taste of your intimidation, that would be worthier both of you and me. Do you know that your weakness is weakening your neighbouring zamindars also?"

"I did not offer you my advice, Sandip."

"I wish you, too, would refrain from giving me yours. Besides it is useless. And there is another thing I want to tell you. You and your followers have been secretly worrying and oppressing my tenantry. I cannot allow that any longer. So I must ask you to leave my territory."

"For fear of the Mussulmans, or is there any other fear you have to threaten me with?"

"There are fears the want of which is cowardice. In the name of those fears, I tell you, Sandip, you must go. In five days' time I shall be starting for Calcutta. I want you to accompany me. You may of course stay in my house there,—to that there is no objection."

"All right, I have still five days' time, then. Meanwhile, Queen Bee, let me hum to you my song of parting from your honey-hive. Ah! you poet of modern Bengal! Throw open your doors and let me plunder your words. The theft is really yours, for it is my song which you have made your own—let the name be yours by

all means, but the song is mine." With this Sandip struck up in a deep, husky voice, which threatened to be out of tune, a song in the *Bhairavi* mode :

In the spring time of your kingdom, my Queen,
Meetings and partings chase each other in their endless hide and seek,
And flowers blossom in the wake of those that droop
and die in the shade.

In the spring time of your kingdom, my Queen,
My meeting with you had its own songs,
But has not also my leave-taking any gift to offer
you?

That gift is my secret hope, which I keep hidden in
the shadows of your flower garden
That the rains of July may sweetly temper your
fiery June.

His boldness was immense,—boldness which had no veil, but was naked as fire. One finds no time to stop it: it is like trying to resist a thunderbolt: the lightning flashes: it laughs at all resistance.

I left the room. As I was passing along the verandah towards the inner apartments, Amulya suddenly made his appearance and came and stood before me.

"Fear nothing, Sister Rani," he said. "I am off to-night and shall not return unsuccessful."

"Amulya," said I, looking straight into his earnest, youthful face, "I fear nothing for myself, but may I never cease to fear for you."

Amulya turned to go, but before he was out of sight I called him back and asked: "Have you a mother, Amulya?"

"I have."

"A sister?"

"No, I am the only child of my mother. My father died when I was quite little."

"Then go back to your mother, Amulya."

"But Sister Rani, I have now both mother and sister."

"Then, Amulya, before you leave to-night, come and have your dinner here."

"There won't be time for that. Let me take some food for the journey, consecrated with your touch."

"What do you specially like, Amulya?"

"If I had been with my mother I should have had lots of *Poush* cakes. Make some for me with your own hands, Sister Rani!"

(To be continued)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Tendency and Possibilities of English Poetry.

The review of the character of English poetry is continued in *Arya* for July. Coming, as it does, from Aurobindo Ghose, himself a poet and scholar of a very high order, having an amount of insight into English and classical literature which is rare amongst Indians, it deserves the serious consideration of all true lovers of literature.

The progress that English poetry has made is due to "a series of bold experiments less shackled by the past than in countries which have a stronger sense of cultural tradition." Mr. Ghose goes on to say

Form is a great power, but sureness of form is not everything. A strong tradition of form gives a sure ground upon which genius can work in safety and be protected from its own wanderings; but it limits and stands in the way of daring individual adventure. The spirit of adventure, if its path is strewn with accidents, stumblings or fatal casualties, brings, when it does succeed, new revelations which are worth all the price paid for them. English poetry is full of such new revelations. Its richness, its constant freshness, its lavish expenditure of genius exulting in freedom, delivered from all meticulous caution, its fire and force of imagination, its lambent energy of poetic speech, its constant self-liberation into intensest beauty of self-expression are the rewards of its courage and its liberty. These things are of the greatest value in poetry.

We have to accept one constant tendency of the spirit of English poetry, which loves to dwell with all its weight upon the presentation of life and action, of feeling and passion, to give that its full force and to make it the basis and the source and, not only the point of reference, but the utility of all else. A strong hold upon this life, the earth-life, is the characteristic of the English mind, and it is natural that it should take possession of its poetry. The pure Celtic genius leans towards the opposite extreme, seems to care little for the earth-life for its own sake, has little hold on it or only a light and ethereal hold, accepts it as a starting-point for the expression of other-life, is attracted by all that is hidden and secret. The Latin mind insists on the presentation of life, but for the purposes of thought; its eye is on the universal truths and realities of which it is the visible expression,—not the remoter, the spiritual or soul-truths, but those which present themselves to the clarities of the intelligence. But the English mind looks at life and loves it for its own sake, in all its externalities, its play of outer individualities, its immediate subjective idiosyncracies. Even when it is strongly attracted by other motives, the intellectual, the aesthetic or the spiri-

tual, it seldom follows these with a completely disinterested fidelity, but comes back with them on the external life and tries to subject them to its mould. This turn is not universal,—Blake escapes from it,—nor the single dominant power,—Keats and Shelley and Wordsworth have their hearts elsewhere; but it is a constant power.

English poetry is much more powerfully and consciously personal and individual than that of any other language, and aims much less directly at the impersonal and universal.

Three general characteristics emerge. The first is a constant reference and return of the higher poetical motives to the forms of external life, as if the enriching of that life were its principal artistic aim. The second is a great force of subjective individuality and personal temperament as a leading power of the poetic creation. The third is a great intensity of speech and ordinarily of a certain kind of direct vision.

In following out the possible lines of the future the defect of the English mind is its inability to follow the higher motives disinterestedly to their deepest and largest creative results, but this is being remedied by new influences. The entrance of the pure Celtic temperament into English poetry through the Irish revival is likely to do much; the contribution of the Indian mind in work like Tagore's, may act in the same direction.

The high intensity of speech which English poetry has brought to bear upon all its material, its power of giving the fullest and richest value to the word and the image, is needed for the expression of the values of the spiritual, which will be one of the aims of a higher intuitive utterance. If the pursuit of the higher godheads into their own sphere will be one of its endeavours, their return upon the earth-life to transform our vision of it will be its other side.

Exploitation or Education?

Under the above significant heading, a teacher points out the thoughtless selection of text books in our schools and the wrong method of instruction pursued therein, in the pages of *Everyman's Review* for August. Says he:

One of Ruskin's prose-pieces published at a cheap cost was chosen for the first form; this had been once set for the matriculation examination. The working term began and the class-teacher found this a very hard nut to crack for himself, much worse was the experience of boys in the first lesson. So after a two days' trial the selection was given up to give place to another. Similar was the fate of two historical readers which were placed in the hands of two sister classes. The host of allusions to European History baffled even the professor of History—much more the poor matriculate teacher in charge.

Naturally I was very much touched by such instances of gross mal-selection. Questions like the

following occurred to my mind. Is our system of education planned nobly and conscientiously? What is the good of enforcing English publications full of English scenes upon young Indian minds when what is at home is totally lost sight of? Is the doctrine of 'from the near to the remote' only meant in theory? Are we not blindly grinding at the mill of text-books?

From the standpoint of cost the system of fresh books every year imposes a heavy strain upon the parents' purses. Educational experimenting annually, to please the whim of this or that officer, should be condemned. No harm can result from the introduction of one set of good books used from year to year, say, for a period of five years. With regard to English readers especially a uniform plan is very important and this should be followed closely to give good results.

We have not shown any initiative in dealing with the education of our boys and youths. The question of what is worth knowing and how to impart the knowledge worth having has not engaged our attention. Our boys do not get the best culture and utility is not the characteristic of a good part of our educational curriculum.

Abridged editions hold the field. It is no matter for surprise that we come across boys to whom the 'Deserted Village' and the 'Elegy in a Country Church-yard' are as well known as Chinese or Japanese.

I said abridged authors rule the day. These, in their turn, are boiled down in handy summaries which are a favourite with boys. The living teacher, in spite of his work howsoever excellent, sinks into insignificance by the side of the clever annotator and summary-maker.

• The Revolution in Education.

The upbringing and education of the little ones are engaging the serious attention of people in all civilised countries. The old idea of shutting up children within the four walls of a room and stuffing their brains with knowledge which is too heavy for them, is being given up gradually and children are taken out of the cramping atmosphere of the school room and reared in the open air and allowed to take their lessons by themselves from Nature's open book. This is as it should be.

Margaret Macmillan writing in the *Mysore Economic Journal* for June tells us of the wonderful work of the camp-school.

"The problem of the slum has been solved, once and for all, by the camp-school," says she. We are told, the cost of the school averages only £9 per annum for every child (inclusive). The capital expenditure in building is a little over £3 per head. Our educationists please note.

Says the writer :

The human infant is, as a rule, born healthy, and he needs only the things that will keep him so. That is natural food or the best substitute that can be found for it, also a clean, warm cradle, fresh air,

space, and freedom in safe places. All kinds of pleasant things, food and grassy places, also sweet voices and words, kind glances, smiles, and objects, he will take hold of in his own way, and that very thoroughly. He will learn any language, however difficult, or even two. He will touch, taste, and handle freely, and he will make such rapid progress, and learn so thoroughly that nothing in later years can even compare with the progress of the first three years. And there is here no question of hurry, over-pressure, for babies do not learn like older children. They do not tax their brains, or wrinkle their brows. By the great highway of the sympathetic nerve, and mainly within the boundaries of the sympathetic system with its great terminus (the solar plexus) impressions travel.

Starved (in mind as well as in more obvious ways) anæmic, crooked, half-blind, with defective teeth, the children of to-day stand before us in a great multitude. Leaving their mentality out of account for the moment, the important thing one notes in a Health Centre, is, not that a vast number of children have bad teeth, or ear and eye ailments, but that the level of general health and muscular development for all children is a low one.

The new educational part is not new. It is an old long covered trail—a trail that tends to be overgrown by every new and hastening civilisation. These civilisations tend to abbreviate and condense not only life processes but all its provisions and arrangements, and in the midst of this whirlwind of 'progress' the modes of life and growth peculiar to the very young are forgotten. Their physical need to learn, and enjoy, and take hold of the world by experiences and work that involves the activity of all the organs of the sympathetic system, (that "motor tramway" of the whole body) is ignored, or regarded very little, and the young are confronted with a life that cannot be lived in its fullness. They learn the abbreviations that are for them often mere catchwords. They cease to experience deep emotion, or feeling in learning. They learn superficially. The extent of the injury that has been done to them is indicated in the calm dictum "secondary" education is for the minority, and higher education for the few. The fact is that the average child is of high promise at birth. If the majority turn out flippant, or superficial thinkers, if their sympathies are narrow or shallow, and their interests few, that is because they did not live in the first years and learn as they might have lived and learned.

This is how the school is worked.

Theoretically we should have started our new order of nursery and school with the babies. But we had to start with the children between seven and fourteen. A sleeping pavilion, and very simple bath house and work shed were put up in a cleared space behind the crowded street, at a cost of about £200. This is the home, practically, of fifty to sixty boys and girls (the girls have their own night camp of course) in summer and winter, and by night and day. Their parents and homes are close. They go home to dinner every day, but they have the other meals in camp. They bathe daily, and wash often. They dance, and play cricket; they learn to make cups and vessels from clay, to build a shelter, to plant, and dig, to cook a simple meal, and to draw on canvas. Also they attack the three R's with their whole body in the open, instead of taking them with aching head and tense forefingers at a desk. They are expected to learn, and do learn at a good swinging pace, but not

• before they have lived and have had an emotional life of some depth and reality. They learn in small classes of fifteen to twenty-five. They draw maps on the earth and floor, and they have rambles, and outings and also friends who write to them and send them post-cards, and who paint to them in words the charm of other lands and countries. They hear tales in the lighted pavilion after dusk. The night wind, and the dawn, the hail, the rain, and the rainbow are their friends, also the night sky, and the quiet companies of the stars. In winter they sleep and live outdoors as in summer, and their best health records were taken in January.

The *Educational Review* for July has an important article from the pen of K. B. Ramanathan entitled

The Development of Literary Kinds

from which we are glad to present a few extracts to our readers.

Each literature is regarded, as a distinct entity, the language in which it is embodied sufficiently differentiating it from others. We have not yet arrived at the stage when we can regard all literatures as the manifestation of the human spirit, as having a unity and as capable of a treatment in the large way that is possible with regard to history and philosophy. "When we speak of the study of philosophy, what we have in mind is not the reading of Greek philosophic writers by persons interested in Greek studies, and the reading of German philosophers by persons interested in German studies, and the like: apart from all this we recognise that there is the thing philosophy, with an independent interest and history of its own, the whole being something quite different from the sum of the parts." Similarly Tacitus and Livy, Xenophon and Thucydides, Gibbon and Macaulay are not Latin or Greek authors or English authors so much as historians and there is a unity of history. But in the case of literature we have not come to such a unified conception yet.

Literature must be realised as an entity independent of the languages it uses, independent of authors functioning it. The study of literature with its development and critical principles, independent of languages embodying it, independent of questions affecting the performance of particular authors, has been pompously called *literatology*. If literature is recognised as a social phenomenon, as Mme. De Staël suggested it was, long ago, the new science will rank as a sociological, anthropological or human science. Such a line of study is taken up by writers like Messrs. H. M. Posnett, A. S. Mackenzie and Moulton.

The evolutionary idea should be applied to the various activities of man: among other things, to literature.

Literature appears as one of the arts, one of the fine arts, though it is difficult to extrude the useful side of arts in the larger sense. Just as spoken language

in its present form may be shown to have risen from all but inarticulate cries or exclamations of the savage, as all forms of written language, of painting and sculpture have their origin in the rude drawings on skins and cavern walls by which savages celebrated the notable achievements of their chiefs, so out of the dances of the savage combining rhythm in speech, rhythm in sound, and rhythm in motion, the arts of poetry, music and dancing have developed.

M. F. Bruetiere was among men of letters the one who made the most striking application of the evolutionary principle to the study of French literature. *The development of literary kinds* means according to him five things: 1. The existence of *genres*. These are then merely convenient categories, imagined by the critic for his own delectation, conceptions to co-ordinate and unify characteristics infinitely diverse and confusing otherwise. Are they existing independently in nature and in history? Suppose they exist. How do they disengage themselves from their earlier stage of primitive indeterminateness? It is plainly analogous to our trying to know how in natural history from one primordial homogeneous substance the individuals detach themselves in their particular forms and become thus the stock of varieties, races and species. 3. Again as in nature when circumstances favour such a thing the species are not incapable of permanence and fixity. These are periods when particular kinds of literature spring up and flourish and decay. Then the kinds get modified. 4. Lastly there is the transformation of one into another kind because of such modification. The French tragedy is an illustrious literary kind. Every thing needful is known of its birth, growth, culmination and decline and fall. In the pulpit eloquence of the 17th century France we have an example of a literary transformation into the later lyrical poetry of Lamartine, d'Hugo and de Musset. In the history of the French romance we have an example of a *genre* fashioned out of the debris of many others.

"Certain works of literature have a general resemblance and are loosely classed together (for the sake of convenience) as lyric, comedy, tragedy, epic, pastoral and the like; the classicists made of each of these divisions a fixed norm governed by inviolable laws. The separation of *genres* was a consequence of this law of classicism: comedy should not be mingled with tragedy, nor epic with lyric. But no sooner was the law enunciated than it was broken by an artist impatient or ignorant of its restraints, and the critics have been obliged to explain away these violations of their laws, or gradually to change the laws themselves. But if art is organic expression, and every work is to be interrogated with the question, 'what has it expressed, and how completely?' there is no place for the question whether it has conformed to some convenient classification of critics or to some law derived from this classification. The lyric, the pastoral, the epic, are abstractions without concrete reality in the world of art. Poets do not write epics, pastorals, lyrics; they express themselves, and this expression is their only form. There are not, therefore, only three or ten or a hundred literary kinds; there are as many kinds as there are individual poets."

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Decadent Movement in Literature.

Arthur Symons, in the course of a brilliant critical review contributed to the *London Quarterly Review*, speaks of the Decadent, Symbolist and Impressionist schools of literature, and introduces us to their main apostles. Lovers and writers of Bengali poetry, especially those belonging to the Tagore cult, will be interested to read the paragraph dealing with *le vers libre*, as we all know of the unique success achieved by Rabindranath Tagore in his very recent attempts at *vers libre*. Says Mr. Symons:

The most representative literature of the day—the writing which appeals to, which has done so much to form, the younger generation—is certainly not Classic, nor has it any relation with that old antithesis of the Classic, the Romantic. After a fashion it is no doubt a decadence; it has all the qualities that mark the end of great periods, the quantities that we find in the Greek, the Latin, decadence: an intense self-consciousness, restless curiosity in research, an over-subtilizing refinement upon refinement, a spiritual and moral perversity. If what we call the classic is indeed the supreme art—those qualities of perfect simplicity, perfect sanity, perfect proportion, the supreme qualities—then this representative literature of today, interesting, beautiful, novel as it is, is really a new and beautiful and interesting disease. Healthy we cannot call it, and healthy it does not wish to be considered. For its very disease of form, this literature is certainly typical of a civilisation grown over-luxurious, over-inquiring, too languid for the relief of action, too uncertain for any emphasis in opinion or in conduct. It reflects all the moods, all the manners, of a sophisticated society; its very artificiality is a way of being true to nature; simplicity, sanity, proportion—the classic qualities—how much do we possess them in our life, our surroundings, that we should look to find them in our literature—so evidently the literature of a decadence?

Impressionist and Symbolist have more in common than either supposes; both are really working on the same hypothesis, applied in different directions. What both seek is not general truth merely, but *la verité vraie*, the very essence of truth—the truth of appearances to the senses, of the visible world to the eyes that see it; and the truth of spiritual things to the spiritual vision. The Impressionist, in literature as in painting, would flash upon you in a new, sudden way so exact an image of what you have just seen, just as you have seen it, that you may say, as a young American sculptor, a pupil of Rodin, said to me on seeing for the first time a picture of Whistler's, "Whistler seems to think his picture upon canvas—and there it is!" Or you may find, with Sainte-Beuve, writing of Goncourt, the "soul of the landscapes—the soul of whatever corner of the visible world was to be realized. The Symbolist, in this new,

sudden way, would flash upon you the "soul" of that which can be apprehended only by the soul—the finer sense of things evident. And, naturally, necessarily, this endeavour after a perfect truth to one's impression, to one's intuition—perhaps an impossible endeavour—has brought with it, in its revolt from ready-made impressions and conclusions, a revolt from the ready-made language, from the bondage of traditional form, of a form become rigid. In France, where this movement began and has mainly flourished, it is Goncourt who was the first to invent a style in prose really new, impressionistic, a style which was itself almost sensation. It is Verlaine who has invented such another new style in verse.

What the Goncourts have done is to specialize vision, so to speak, and to subtilize language to the point of rendering every detail in just the form and color of the actual impression. Edmond de Goncourt once said to me—varying, if I remember rightly, an expression he had put into the *Journal*—"My brother and I invented an opera glass: the young people nowadays are taking it out of our hands."

An opera glass—a special, unique way of seeing things—that is what the Goncourts have brought to bear upon the common things about us; and it is here that they have done the "something new," here more than anywhere. They have never sought "to see life steadily and see it whole"; their vision has always been somewhat feverish, with the diseased sharpness of over-excited nerves. "We do not hide from ourselves that we have been passionate, nervous creatures, unhealthily impressionable," confesses the *Journal*. But it is this morbid intensity in seeing and seizing things that has helped to form that marvelous style—"a style perhaps too ambitious of impossibilities," as they admit—a style which inherits some of its color from Gautier, some of its fine outline from Flaubert, but which has brought light and shadow into the color, which has softened outline in the magic of atmosphere. With them words are not merely color and sound, they live. That search after *l'image peinte l'épithète rare*, is not (as with Flaubert) a search after harmony of phrase for its own sake; it is a desperate endeavor to give sensation, to flash the impression of the moment, to preserve the very heat and motion of life. And so, in analysis as in description, they have found out a way of noting the fine shades; they have broken the outline of the conventional novel in chapters, with its continuous story, in order to indicate—sometimes in a chapter of half a page—this and that revealing moment, this or that significant attitude or accident or sensation. For the placid traditions of French prose they have had but little respect.

What Goncourt has done in prose, inventing absolutely a new way of saying things, to correspond with that new way of seeing things, which he has found—Verlaine has done in verse.

Music first of all and before all, he insists; and then, not color, but *la nuance*, the last fine shade. Poetry is to be something vague, intangible, evanescent, a winged soul in flight "toward other skies and other loves." To express the inexpressible he speaks of beautiful eyes behind a veil, of the palpi-

tating sunlight of noon, of the blue swarm of clear stars in a cool autumn sky: and the verse in which he makes this confession of faith has the exquisite troubled beauty—"sans rien en lui qui pese ou qui pose"—which he commends as the essential quality of verse. In a later poem of poetical counsel he tells us that art should, first of all, be absolutely clear, absolutely sincere.

To fix the last fine shade, the quintessence of things; to fix it fleetingly; to be a disembodied voice, and yet the voice of a human soul: that is the ideal of Decadence, and it is what Paul Verlaine has achieved. And certainly, so far as achievement goes, no other poet of the actual group in France can be named beside him or near him. In Stephane Mallarme, with his supreme pose as the supreme poet, and his two or three pieces of exquisite verse and delicately artificial prose to show by way of result, we have the prophet and pontiff of the movement, the mystical and theoretical leader of the great emancipation. No one has ever dreamed such beautiful, impossible dreams as Mallarme: no one has ever so possessed his soul in the contemplation of masterpieces to come. All his life he has been haunted by the desire to create, not so much something new in literature, as a literature which should itself be a new art. He has dreamed of a work into which all the arts should enter, and achieve themselves by a mutual interdependence—a harmonizing of all the arts into one supreme art—and he has theorized with infinite subtlety over the possibilities of doing the impossible. An aristocrat of letters, Mallarme has always looked with intense disdain on the indiscriminate accident of universal suffrage. He has wished neither to be read nor to be understood by the bourgeois intelligence, and it is with some deliberateness of intention that he has made both issues impossible. Catulle Mendes defines him admirably as "a difficult author," and in his latest period he has succeeded in becoming absolutely unintelligible. The latest poems (in which punctuation is sometimes entirely suppressed, for our further bewilderment) consist merely of a sequence of symbols, in which every word must be taken in a sense with which its ordinary significance has nothing to do. Mallarme's contortion of the French language, so far as mere style is concerned, is curiously similar to the kind of depravation which was undergone by the Latin language in its decadence. It is, indeed, in part a reversion to Latin phraseology, to the Latin construction, and it has made, of the color and flowing French language, something irregular, unquiet, expressive, with sudden surprising felicities, with nervous starts and lapses, with new capacities for the exact noting of sensation. Alike to the ordinary and to the scholarly reader it is painful, intolerable; a jargon, a massacre. Supremely self-confident, and backed, certainly, by an ardent following of the younger generation, Mallarme goes on his way, experimenting more and more audaciously, having achieved by this time, at all events, a style wholly his own.

Probably it is as a voice, an influence, that Mallarme will be remembered. His personal magnetism has had a great deal to do with the making of the very newest French literature; few literary beginners in Paris have been able to escape the rewards and punishments of his contact, his suggestion. In regard to the construction of verse, Mallarme has always remained faithful to the traditional syllabic measurement; but the freak of the discovery of *le vers libre* is certainly the natural

consequence of his experiments upon the elasticity of rhythm, upon the power of resistance of the caesura. *Le vers libre* in the hands of most of the experimenters becomes merely rhymeless, irregular prose. I never really understood the charm that may be found in this apparently structureless rhythm until I heard Dujardin read aloud the as yet unpublished conclusion of a dramatic poem in several parts. It was rhymed, but rhymes with some irregularity, and the rhythm was purely and simply a vocal effect. The rhythm came and went as the spirit moved. You might deny that it was rhythm at all; and yet, read, as I heard it read, in a sort of slow chant, it produced on me the effect of really beautiful verse. But *vers libres* in the hands of a sciolist are the most intolerable and easy and annoying of poetical exercises.

Joris Karl Huysmans demands a prominent place in any record of the Decadent movement. His work, like that of the Goncourts, is largely determined by the *maladie fin de siecle*—the diseased nerves that, in his case, have given a curious personal quality of pessimism to his outlook on the world, his view of life. Part of his work—*Marthe*, *Les Soeurs Vatard*, *En Menage A Vau-Peau*—is a minute and searching study of the minor discomforts, the commonplace miseries of life, as seen by a peevishly disordered vision, delighting, for its own self-torture, in the insistent contemplation of human stupidity, of the sordid in existence. Yet these books do but lead up to the unique masterpiece, the astonishing caprice of *A Rebours*, in which he has concentrated all that is delicately depraved, all that is beautifully, curiously poisonous, in modern art. *A Rebours* is the history of a typical Decadent—a study, indeed, after a real man, but a study which seizes the type rather than the personality.

It is on that one exceptional achievement, *A Rebours*, that his fame will rest; it is there he has expressed not merely himself, but an epoch. And he has done so in a style which carries the modern experiments upon language to their furthest development. Formed upon Goncourt and Flaubert, it has sought for novelty, *l'image peinte*, the exactitude of color, the forcible precision of epithet, wherever words, images or epithets are to be found. Barbaric in its profusion, violent in its emphasis, wearying in its splendour, it is—especially in regard to things seen—extraordinarily expressive, with all the shades of a painter's palette. Elaborately and deliberately perverse, it is in its very perversity that Huysman's work—so fascinating, so repellant, so instinctively artificial—comes to represent, as the work of no other writer can be said to do, the main tendencies, the chief results, of the Decadent movement in literature.

Hope in Bad Times.

Whatever calamity the war may bring upon civilization and the human race, however monstrous man's misdeeds have been, the qualities of kindness, pity, honor and devotion to noble ideas are bound to endure. Thus asserts a writer in the *Nation*.

If the depth of sorrow is the memory of past happiness, some alleviation may be gained by remembering unhappier things. In times of extreme adversity and suspense, it is safest to grant the worst at once. Let it be granted, then, that much of man's history is a record of brutality.

Let it be granted that the present slaughter, the present anguish of suspense, and the present fear for all that a free and self-reliant people has most valued, come to us only in natural succession to the Persians' attempts to exterminate Greece, to Sparta's destruction of Athenian individualism, and to the desolation brought by earlier barbarians upon the civilized world. Still we need not assume that man's belief in violence as advantageous, and in bloodshed as medicinal, are permanently characteristic of his nature. We have all his religion, much of his poetry, a fair amount of his philosophy, and some of his history, which assume and even prove the contrary. The daily lives of millions—the true average of living—are a testimony against it. Even the contemplation of those ancient disasters reveals a real change, which, for want of a stronger word, we call progress or improvement. Horrors are perpetrated, as in all wars from the beginning; but, beyond a certain limit, their perpetration raises a protest even in the nation guilty of them—a slight protest, but stronger than any we read in the Book of Joshua or even in the history of Greece, except as coming from a few unusual minds.

The New Provincialism.

The war has put limitations on the freedom of movement and choice of people engaged in the war. Pre-war conditions have all been upset giving place to economy with regard to food, clothing, fuel and even the social amenities of life. The rich and poor have suddenly been brought to the same level not only in the field of battle but away from it, in their homes, in the matter of cutting down all superfluities and in the want of leisure, which was up till now the special privilege of people possessing money. Now-a-days money is no concern. One good effect has been that the more or less artificial life of the rich and professional men has ceased to exist and they have been brought face to face with the realities of life. A writer talks of all these things in the pages of *The Spectator*: • He says:

It is not easy, no doubt, to say what provincialism means. It has no longer any exclusively local suggestion. It suggests limits rather than locality, and all limitations are narrowing whether they are imposed upon us by the circumstances of our peaceful village environment or by the world catastrophe of a great war.

Already the professional man and woman feel a new sympathy for the poor—not a new pity, but a new understanding of the limitations imposed by lack of leisure, especially the lack of society.

The women and children at home not to speak of the young men at the front, have moved nearer to one another, and must, we think, henceforth regard life more nearly from the same point of view, a more matter-of-fact and primitive one, a more limited and realistic one, than—so far as educated women are concerned—they have ever done before. Is this regrettable? We

suppose not; but it is idle to say that many of us will not regret it. It was wrong, no doubt, of the better-off folk to take the ease of life for granted, to forget the endless toil which made of the great towns one huge shop where everything had its price and nothing that could be desired could not be seen and where an artificial life seemed the only natural one. If we live another ten or twenty years, we shall many of us look back to it and tell young people about it, as a time of great happiness. It produced a type which has been very suddenly broken. The stamp of the war broke it.

John Redmond.

An informative impression of John Redmond, the great Irish leader, appears in the *Contemporary Review* from the pen of Harold Spender. The following extracts from the article under notice will be found interesting.

John Redmond understood Ireland. He was Irish from head to foot in every thought and feeling, in every affection and pursuit.

Being Irish he was not in the least degree a revolutionary. On the contrary, he was in general politics a Conservative. It is only stupid people who imagine that because the Irish Nationalists want Home Rule they are therefore in any sense revolutionary or even Radical. No race in the past has shown less sympathy with the democratic revolutionary movements of Europe. It was solely a matter of high politics that he should work and vote with the British Liberal Party. He did it because he had made up his mind that it was the only way to get Home Rule for Ireland. Having once made up his mind he never changed it. He pursued his course with extraordinary persistence.

In most ways, John Redmond was just a Tory of the Center. He was not even a Tory Democrat. He was, indeed, a conventional Catholic in regard to all matters of education. He was a small squire and he was all against land nationalization. His ideas of land reform stopped, like those of most Irishmen, at the point of desiring peasant proprietorship. There his feeling for his race was reinforced by a strong belief that peasant proprietorship would give ballast and weight to the new Irish social fabric whenever Home Rule was once established.

Redmond's whole heart went out to Nationalism of that old-fashioned type which now in this country is tending to fade before the new class warfare.

His passion for the war against Germany was absolutely sincere. It was partly the passion of a Catholic who saw a Catholic country being ravaged and Catholics being slaughtered by a great Protestant Power. It was partly the sympathy of a chivalric man for a little nation. In any case, no one who knew him could doubt that it was fiercely honest and passionate—so passionate that for the moment he was carried off his feet and taken out of that calm, cautious mood which had hitherto made him infinitely calculating in all his dealings with Englishmen. For once he let himself go. He trusted England. He showed what all his friends knew, that at heart he was a simple-minded man. But complete, as his confidence was in British sympathy at that high moment, absolute as was his trust, just so deep and so wrathful was his passion of resent-

resent when England failed to respond. In October, 1916, some time after the Irish Rebellion, I spent a long morning with him at his flat, and heard from his mouth, in the form of a criticism of the War Office in its dealings with Ireland since 1914, one of the most scathing indictments of our rule in Ireland that, I suppose, he has ever uttered.

Personally, John Redmond was one of the simplest of men. In Ireland he lived, in a shooting box that once belonged to Parnell, the life of the Irish squire—hunting, riding and fishing—always with the keenest enjoyment of that happy, open-air life of his own land. In London he resided in a small, very simply furnished flat in Wynnstay Gardens, Kensington. He went little into London society. He generally dined with his wife in the Harcourt Room. Of her I will only say that no politician could have wished for a more devoted partner of his labors. She stood and worked by his side through all the hardest and most critical years of his stormy career.

Family affection was with him, as with most Irishmen, a very profound passion. The devotion he showed to his wife was reflected in all his other family relationships. The fact that his brother Willie and he had married sisters doubtless drew them together by closer ties. But "Willie" always held his heart.

When his brother was killed on the field of battle John Redmond was a stricken man. Willie's death went to the heart of John Redmond, and from that moment he was not the same man. It so happened that shortly before he had lost a daughter in America. Owing to the war he had been unable to go to her. Of that distant death in exile he spoke to me with breaking voice and tears in his eyes.

He was one of the world's few great orators. I have heard him countless times in the House of Commons—I have listened to him on public platforms

above all, in Ireland, among his own people. Everywhere he struck the same high note. He was never small. He was among those speakers who lift you instantly from the valleys to the splendid heights. There he walked with ease, dignity and a certain majesty which awed his listeners. He used few notes, often none. He was always studiously temperate, and with this end in view he prepared his speeches with great care.

Like Parnell, he was not a great reader, except of newspapers. He knew the use and value of the Press, and in this delicate relationship he was always easy of access and frank of view.

He felt very deeply the breakdown of the Home Rule negotiations in 1916. He laid the blame on British statesmanship. He always held that pledges had been given to him which made it a necessity of honor that the British Coalition of the moment—Mr. Asquith's Coalition—ought to have resigned unless they carried the settlement through. He had nothing but praise for Sir Edward Carson's share in those transactions. Ireland was the center of his stage—the apple of his heart's desire. To him—and may he not possibly have been right?—it was the test issue of the war. By her treatment of Ireland all England's high professions were to be judged. "It is vain to talk morality to Germany," he would say, "as long as Ireland is ruled as she is. It is vain to hope for the best efforts from America—it is also vain to hope for the best from the Dominions. It is vital—it is a world issue!"

Like most Irishmen, Redmond was inclined to be an Imperialist. It is partly that they like the pomp of Empire; partly because they are very closely associated with the Dominions. The Australian wives of the Redmonds linked the Brothers closely with the Empire. But in that they were only typical of many Irish families.

THE ETHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF ART

BY WILFRED WELLOCK.

UPON few subjects has so much philosophical moonshine been shed as upon that of aesthetics. Owing to the disquisitions of philosophers, the question of beauty has been shrouded in such impenetrable mystery that the ordinary layman shrinks from expressing himself upon the subject. Art we take for granted, but beauty, which is the quality of art and the subject-matter of aesthetics, we scarcely dare venture an opinion upon, lest we should bring down the anathemas of a whole host of critics and philosophers. Yet just because so much has been said concerning beauty, its meaning and value,—so much that is confusing, contradictory and mysterious,—by the metaphysicians,

one feels the need of the layman's interpretation, of a clear and practical statement upon the subject. Right down to modern times, almost every thinker and philosopher who has worked out a theory of life has dealt with the question of beauty, aesthetics. To some, beauty is a Divine Essence incapable of analysis. To others it is an illusion. To a very large number it is a purely subjective judgment, being absolutely devoid of objectivity, and thus of ethical significance. While to a few it is an objective reality, and is governed by the moral law. That great confusion exists in the minds of men and women as to the meaning and significance of beauty, one may soon prove by asking

one's friends to define it. Yet it is important that we should have sound and clear ideas on this subject in order that art may be made a more conscious and effective force, and play more fruitful.

For good or ill beauty exercises a tremendous influence upon most people's lives, determines their conduct to a far greater extent than they themselves realise; consequently we ought to know what beauty is, what is its function, what it is capable of doing. If beauty is a helpful force then we ought to make good use of it; but if a capricious, then we ought to know why, that we may be on our guard. Because beauty is a powerful factor in experience;—common-sense says that it must have some meaning for that experience. Consequently it will be our aim in the present article to show what that meaning is, the part beauty ought to play in the attainment of the Good of life.

With the view that beauty has and can have no universal standard, but is a purely subjective judgment, and exists solely to give pleasure, I am in entire disagreement. I cannot believe that such a powerful and universal force as beauty is devoid of objectivity, of all ethical significance, and thus of life-value. Nature does not work at random; for all her great creations are purposive, and serve in some way the great ends of life. It is not the object of beauty simply to give pleasure; for the simple reason that it always does so very much more. It is the nature of beauty to please,—which is why it attracts,—but beauty is a spiritual force and points to a deeper life beyond, for which reason, if we saw truly, we really love it. In the last article I assumed that art was a moral force which led to the good; in the present article I wish to prove that assumption, to show that art has its foundations in ethics, in spiritual need, and thus that every work of art is a judgment of value, an interpretation of life, a force for good or evil.

The question which naturally arises at this juncture, therefore, is this: is man a unity? or, in other words, is the instinct for beauty at one with the instinct for life? Is beauty a factor which man can use for the attainment of his purposes, for the realisation of life? or is it something apart, a means of harmless diversion, a sort of foil with which to relieve the ten-

sion caused by work, the monotony of life?

Perhaps the best way to answer these questions will be to study the things we call beautiful, to see if we can discover what it is causes us to pass such a judgment upon them. If we can find a universal cause we shall have proved that man is indeed a unity, that beauty is purposive and in no sense a capricious and incalculable force.

In the first place let us consider beauty with respect to the human body. Now what is it that determines our judgments of beauty in regard to the human body? Is there some standard from which we all judge? And if so, what is that standard? If we think a little I think we shall find that there is such a standard, and that it is health, strength, fitness to do all that it may be called upon to do. If we consider Greek statuary, which is universally acknowledged to be among the most beautiful in the world, we find that its models are of their heroes and heroines, their strong men and virtuous women, their warriors and athletes, men who were renowned for their strength, bravery and courage, and women for their noble-mindedness. To the Greeks strength and beauty always went together as parts of the same thing, and in all their statuary two things are manifest: (1) the subservience of the body to the mind, and (2) the identification of beauty with health and physical fitness; that body being counted beautiful which best enabled its owner to fulfil his purposes and attain his ends.

And the Greek idea is implicit in all abiding art. For who could or dare say that a statue of a human form, shaped altogether disadvantageously for the life and work of man, were beautiful? No one would ever dream of saying that a short leg or a hunched back was beautiful, or that a green complexion was beautiful. For the former are an indication of unfitness, while a green complexion is a sign of disease; and nothing that denotes ill-health can by any conceivable means be called beautiful. The woman who uses the rouge pot is the idle and unhealthy society dame who seeks to produce by artificial means what she has failed to produce by natural means. A complexion that has become blotchy or sallow, like a body that has become flabby

and useless, through idleness or over-eating, etc., could never be called beautiful by any sane person. The innumerable beauty-concoctions whose virtues are so bewitchingly described in all our newspapers, what are they but artificial devices for producing what immorality, bad habits, unnatural living, etc., have made naturally impossible? An unnatural life encourages and compels unnaturalness and falsehood all along the line, and gives rise either to a false standard of beauty, that must eventually prove fatal, or a false and disastrous method of producing it. In the end, and if progress and life are to continue, that body must be the criterion of beauty which is in strict subjection to the mind, and which gives evidence of health, freedom, and great energy, ability to carry out worthy objects, heroic purposes. Because the human body is subject to the laws of health, such laws must determine our ideas of its beauty. To aspire after physical beauty therefore is to aspire after health; in fact beauty is the quality which lures us to the ways and habits of health.

That the idea of utility is the source of our conception of architectural beauty is proved by the existence of laws of construction. Were an architect to build a temple according to the dictates of a roving fancy, with spans, arches and colonnades stuck in anywhere, who would have the impertinence to call it beautiful? That colonnades and arches are beautiful scarcely anyone will deny, but who dare say they are beautiful when placed where they are not needed, where they serve no useful function? Pillars in a temple, which blocked the view and yet served no useful purpose could only be counted ugly. Buildings have to be supported somehow, and the pillar is one of the best means of doing this, and it is precisely because of this noble function that the pillar and the arch have become the objects of such profound admiration. The beautiful curves to be found in Roman and Gothic arches are not the fabrications of a roaming fancy, but are lines of strength, pure lines; and it is the consciousness of their strength, of their utility, that is, causes us to pronounce them beautiful.

So also in regard to sound and colour, it is a belief in utility that is the cause of all our judgments of beauty. With respect to simple sounds we call those beautiful which express joy and gladness, and which

are the sign of a free, hearty, cheerful disposition, and those horrible which reveal a want of good feeling, express anger, hatred, thoughtlessness, etc. In music that is accorded beautiful which expresses aspiration, enthusiasm, sympathy, victory, and that horrible which expresses tawdry sentiment, pessimism, a love of dissipation, etc. The Greeks were very careful about the kind of music they permitted their children to hear, lest their characters should be weakened. And is it not the case that in the army only heroic and spirited music is allowed? Moreover it is significant that most teachers of singing now insist on their pupils cultivating a cheerful disposition, in order that they may be able to produce joyous and inspiring music. The narrow-minded, ill-tempered, cantankerous person simply cannot produce the round open tones that are needed in all the best music. Art is to gladden, to elevate men, but how can a singer do that if he has not a cheerful and buoyant disposition? A surly temperament is a vice around the throat, which hardens the tone and thus prevents the production of good or elevating music.

As regards colour it is now being discovered that there is a close connection between temperament and colour, that colours act on the mind in much the same that sounds do. And it is a well-recognised fact that certain colours, if made too prominent, will have a depressing effect upon the mind. Experiments have shown that to live in a room lined with purple and lit up by a purple light, will bring on madness in a very short time. Red has a similar but less powerful effect. That is why these colours ought to be used in moderation. White is always suggestive of purity, innocence and hope, thus it is used at Christenings and marriages, to adorn women and children, and in the East to adorn the bodies of the departed. Black is sombre and depressing, and helps to create a gloomy state of mind; for which reason it is always used sparingly, except for mourning. When we say that a person is beautifully dressed we mean that the colour effect is pleasant, elevating. An adorned person is an inspiration, but a human being in gorgeous colours is a nightmare.

It is also the case that a sense of utility lies behind our love of Nature, causes us to see beauty in Nature. There is no man a

sense of kinship with Nature, and also of the mystery of Nature. And mystery is always attractive to man, in that it acts as a challenge to him, fills him with a desire to fathom it. It is because man feels his kinship with, and desires to probe and learn of, Nature that is the cause of his love of Nature. Primitive man made of Nature a religion; which was his way of interpreting and conquering Nature. And as man came to see Will, or law, and purpose in Nature he came to recognise her beauty, and thus to study her in detail. Accordingly the Greeks were drawn to the study of astronomy through their sense of the beautiful, the perception of the rhythmic harmony of the starry host; while the Hebrew love of Nature was the outcome of their strong religious sense, of the belief that Nature was part of God's glorious handiwork. But whether the attraction of Nature be the outcome of poetic or religious feeling, it leads to inquiry into the why and wherefore of its being, out of which springs both material and spiritual advantage, poetry and the sciences.

The same conclusion is also reached if we study the likes and dislikes of children. If we observe closely we shall find that a child's ideas of beauty and ugliness are founded on the idea of utility. To the child ugliness and evil are the same thing, just as are goodness and beauty, and no child would ever dream of separating them. In its ignorance a child will often show affection for things that are offensive and dangerous; but as soon as it learns their real nature it begins to regard them as horrible and ugly. And is it not the case that most people look upon certain things as ugly, which the majority of people think beautiful, just because of an unpleasant childhood experience? To the child what is injurious or brutal is ugly.

And so it is all the way round: the final and irrevocable standard of beauty is utility, or a belief in utility. A man's ideas of beauty may change considerably from time to time, but the cause of such change is enlightenment, new knowledge in regard to the purpose of a thing or things. A girl of seventeen just awakening to the reality of love may feel that the sentimental opera, with its exaggerated love interest, is the very perfection of art; but she will not think so when her horizon has broadened and she

has begun to realise the wider and larger issues of life. The scenes of revelry and dissipation which sometimes delight the young and thoughtless are regarded with horror when the years of thought and discretion have appeared.

Our ideas of beauty being founded on a belief in utility, it follows that to seek beauty is to seek life. It also follows that beauty is an objective reality, and is not, what so many have thought it, a merely subjective and thus a capricious judgment. Where ideas of beauty differ, it is because of ignorance as to the nature and value of the things considered. And indeed this must be so seeing that man is a unity, an ego who naturally seeks his highest good. The power to perceive beauty is a faculty of the soul, a part of the ego which is ever seeking to realise itself. Just because man is a unity, a self, beauty must have a definite meaning for him.

It is only in a purposeless, idle society that the idea takes root that beauty is a purely subjective judgment, and that its sole object is to give pleasure. But we need not be surprised at this, for how can true ideas about anything spring from a life that is false and unnatural? The workless life is torn by a thousand hankerings, which, under the circumstances, cannot possibly find satisfaction. Work is ballast to life, the means of developing insight, of creating spiritual need and the means whereby such need may be satisfied.

To deny utility to beauty, ultimate spiritual value to art, is to divorce beauty and art from morality, from the soul's ultimate good, and to justify every impulse and desire for pleasure. And it only needs to be shown that many things and acts which appear beautiful, and seem to promise pleasure and life, are really evil, physically and spiritually harmful, to reveal the absurdity of calling them beautiful. It is ignorance that is the cause of false notions of beauty, and without thought there can be no guarantee that our judgments of beauty are valid. Selfhood implies purpose, and purpose implies morality and thought; for without purpose there could be no moral values, no good and evil, no better and worse, no progress: every event would be a mere happening. Purpose is the great unifying principle in human experience that which gives character, charm, vitality, savour to life.

Now a judgment of Beauty is a judgment of the sane mind which works towards ends, seeks a certain good, and endeavours to realise life in a thousand activities and experiences. From which it follows that a judgment of beauty must, as an act of the self, be made with reference to and in consistency with the purpose which, consciously or unconsciously, is at the root of every life. Even the things we do instinctively, without ever thinking about them, are, when we come to examine them, in accordance with the fundamental purpose of our life. It is true that the subconscious mind is wrapped in mystery, but the more we know of it the more we find that it is the servant of conscious mind, and quite at one with it. The subconscious mind is not an arbitrary and capricious agent, but a veritable part of the self, and works, as Kant and Hegel have shown, with marvellous precision in accordance with principles. Every experience, every emotion leaves an impression upon, and gives a bias to, the mind, according to its value or supposed value; and these are the factors which govern the subconscious mind. And in regard to new objects and experiences which we are inclined to call beautiful, it is a force of attraction, which is really a promise of good, leads us to make such judgment. Probably this force of attraction is the result of an analogy with some other object or experience with which we are familiar and which we know to be good. But this feeling of attraction is the cause of our denominating such things beautiful; and at root it is the promise of well-being.

That our judgments of beauty are determined by our purposes, is proved by the modification which takes place in such judgments after we have changed our general outlook upon life. A man of the world who suddenly turned Roman Catholic, or a Salvationist who became Latitudinarian, would find the whole world changed, both in appearance and significance—in appearance because in significance. Old things would have passed away and all things become new. New truth leaps into the mind like a flash, as if it had been thrown there by a god, and floods everything with its effulgence creating for man a new heaven and a new earth. Conversions are the result of a deeper thinking, and are sudden illuminations of truth which transform all things,

and raise one to a higher level of experience. In the new world thus created everything will have a different value, in consequence of which all one's loves, interests and pursuits will naturally and inevitably have to be reconstituted.

Then, too, most people can point to the time when they first began to appreciate truth and beauty with respect to certain things. They can tell exactly when they began to appreciate Nature; when certain forms of music, or literature, first appealed to them; when human character began to have interest for them. Yet nature has been much the same throughout the ages. The explanation is that man only comes into the inheritance of beauty when his intelligence has developed sufficiently for him to perceive spiritual values. The external world changes little from age to age; but to men it changes wonderfully. As the aspiring soul develops, the mind begins to look farther afield for the means of self-advancement and self-realisation, with the result that one begins to see beauty and meaning in things that formerly were devoid of significance.

Thus beauty is a judgment of value founded on experience. Beauty is not a quality which exists in things apart from a judging mind, something that stands out in objects so that all are compelled to see it; yet it is not an arbitrary judgment, being in accordance with the nature of things, and thus as universal as mind. It only requires that the nature and value of a certain reality or experience shall be known in order to qualify it as beautiful or ugly; so that the growth of a knowledge of truth is sure to lead to universal standards of beauty.

The reason beauty is so often thought to be an arbitrary judgment is that it originates insensibility, being an expression of the harmony of the feelings. But what is the harmony of the feelings but a sign of truth, a recognition that a certain experience is at one with all our ideas and ideals? As a matter of fact a judgment of the feelings with respect to beauty is as logical and as trustworthy as a judgment of reason with respect to truth, as both are expressions of the harmony of the soul. In fact the domain of sensibility is broader than the domain of reason. A man's conscious life is never as wide as his subconscious life, just as his life is always broader than his creed, his philosophy.

Consequently there is no reason why feeling, if deliberately appealed to, should not give as true and trustworthy a decision as reason. A national judgment on life may be very logical and yet, on account of false first principles, be untrue. Feeling is as integral as thought, and is, if fully and deliberately regarded, able to guide man to the Good. The Good is the object of the whole self, sentient as well as rational, and is as jealously sought after by the one as by the other. Reason attains truth through logic, or the harmony of ideas, the sentient self through beauty, or the harmony of the feelings. In the former case truth is demonstrated, in the latter case it is felt. Strictly speaking, therefore, aesthetics is a part of ethics, being the presentation of truth at a stage further back than ethics, at the feeling or tentative stage, rather than at the logical or demonstrative stage.

Life is moral through and through, and nothing that a man does can strictly speaking, be called non-moral. Every act of a man's life affects his well-being, either creates or destroys life. In the same way every work of art is a judgment upon life, and is, whether we know it or not, either harmful or beneficial, the outcome and embodiment of a true or a false interpretation of life. Art is not a mere copy of external events, but an interpretation of experience in terms of value. And all valuation implies a standard from which to judge, a theory of values. No matter how simple the experience be which art attempts to portray, it exhibits the artist's estimate of its value, what it means to him, what he "sees" in it.

We hear a great deal in these days about realistic art, as if it were possible to depict the cold, bare facts of nature, of human conduct, etc., without imparting to them any personal touch—without, that is, interpreting them. Even if it were possible—which it is not—art would be robbed of all its spiritual and idealistic force, while the finest artist would be he who combined the finest executive power with the completest ignorance. The personal element will and must always enter into art, or it will be meaningless, dead. The man who paints even fields and buildings without any soul in them does so because he himself is without soul. Whatever a man describes his object is and must be to convey a certain meaning something that

he feels; otherwise he could not paint any thing. The very fact of painting proves that something has attracted him; and the cause of such attraction is the meaning which the artist tries to convey, consciously or unconsciously.

To describe by means of art is to give meaning to things, to value experience; it is to put life in colour, and thus to make it attractive or repulsive according as we estimate it. To describe an experience in attractive colours is to say that it is good, has a certain life-value. Thus to describe a harmful experience in attractive colours would be to lie, and to lead many astray. Consequently, to represent an experience by means of art, without taking into consideration ultimate as well as immediate effects, is to become a danger to society. An unthinking artist is a snare, for art comes to close grips with life and vitally affects conduct through its influence upon the imagination. False art is that which makes evil attractive, and says, in effect, that evil is good. Thus the artist who describes scenes of revelry and self-indulgence, and stops his narrative just where the intoxication of pleasure reaches its height, may be a clever and powerful artist, but he is an evil teacher, a corrupt social force. The full and real effect of the experience he describes not being given, hence he is a deceiver, a liar.

Art reflects life, it is true; but not in the same way that water reflects the sky, for it interprets, imparts meaning and value to things. Art throws out from the gallery of the imagination scenes and pictures of life done up in the heart's own colours according to its estimate of their value. Thus art does not so much tell us what a thing is as what the heart feels about it. What the physical eye sees is the skeleton, so to speak, which the heart clothes and converts into a living thing. In other words, art is a beautiful teacher, being the revealer of the soul of things.

Such being the case art ought always to be the product of thought, a means of expressing such truth as the artist has garnered. The true artist is he who feels the deep harmonies of earth and heaven surging within his soul, which harmonies are the fruit of a wide and profitable experience. Every work of art deals with a section of experience, a portion of life separated from the whole, to which is im-

parted the truth of the whole. In the artist's mind the details of life stand out significant, as parts of an illuminated whole, the truth and significance of which they embody. In art, life is spread out in colour, as it were, each part being interpreted according to the artist's estimate of its value. To the ordinary mind life is a medley of duties whose meaning is not understood, a conglomeration of activities

which have their origin in custom and physical necessity; whereas to the artist life is a whole of truth which he endeavours to portray in its appropriate light and shade. It follows, therefore, that every artist ought to be something of a philosopher. For man, as an aspiring soul, needs teachers, artists to interpret life, to point the way to the fountain whose waters are life.

NOTES

A Contemporary Writer on Ram Mohun Roy.

Eighty-five years ago Raja Ram Mohun Roy breathed his last at Bristol. As he died on the 27th of September, meetings are held every year on that day in most provinces of India in honour of his memory, and a temporary interest is created in his personality and career. In view of the approaching anniversary it may be interesting to read what a contemporary English writer wrote about him. There is a book called *Considerations on the State of British India* by Lieutenant A. White, "of the Bengal Native Infantry." It was published in 1822. The following passages are taken from that book:—

"When we look back to the profound abyss in which the human mind was sunk in Europe, from the third to the fourteenth century, and recollect what the discovery of the art of printing did in raising humanity from this depression, is it too much to expect that the same beneficial influence will result from its application to Indian literature? This alone may effect a moral change in the vast continent of Asia. Already the dawn of improvement has manifested itself; the celebrated Brahmin Rammohun Rae having demonstrated, from the Vedas, that the unity of the Supreme Being is inculcated in these works, and that he alone is the object of worship. He regards the worship of inferior deities, the institution of castes, the restrictions with regard to food, and numerous observances of this faith, as aids required by the imperfections of the human faculties, and which may be discarded by those who have attained to the knowledge of this truth. He has established a small sect in Calcutta, the worship of which approaches nearly to that of a philosophical deism. It is encumbered with no dogmas or ceremonies; it consists principally of hymns expressing the unity of the Supreme Being, the love which human creatures owe to the benevolent author of their existence, and the beauty and grandeur visible in his works. I write from recollection of a translation of one of these hymns

which appeared in a Calcutta newspaper, and may be in error as to the character which I have ascribed to their worship; but such is the present impression upon my mind. It is a mistake to suppose that the lower orders of the Hindoos are ignorant of the existence of the Supreme Being; at least, they are familiar with the name, independent of the Hindoo trinity, Brahma, Vishnoo, and Shiva; but what is remarkable, no separate worship is paid to the Creator. In this respect, they are precisely on the same footing with the Catholics, with whom the intellectual idea of the Deity is effaced, by the more powerful impression which is made upon the senses by the visible representations of the virgin or the saints. This enlightened Hindoo Rammohun, has rendered a signal service to his countrymen in exposing the cruelty and injustice of the practice which condemns a widow to sacrifice herself on the funeral pile of her husband; he has endeavoured to prove, by extracts from the Vedas, that this duty is unsanctioned by Scripture. This naturally produced a defence of this doctrine, with numerous texts from the sacred writings in support of it. This controversy has excited a powerful interest amongst the intellectual few: as might be expected, the force of numbers seems to be with the established opinion; but at least it is consolatory to reflect that his reasoning have had a fair hearing, which affords every hope that the cause of humanity will ultimately triumph. Nothing can be inferred from the quotations from the Vedas which have been exhibited by either party. Like the sacred books of other religions, they afford texts which support each side of the question. Of late, the attention of this benevolent man has been directed to the laudable purpose of introducing the pure morality of the gospel among his countrymen.

"Although unconverted to Christianity, he has published a compilation of the moral precepts of Jesus, entitled, *The Guide to Peace and Happiness*. The peculiar doctrines on which the salvation of the Christian rests, are omitted, on the principle that historical and some other passages are liable to the doubts and disputes of freethinkers and Anti-Christians, especially miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently would be apt at least to carry little weight with them." Such are the sentiments expressed in his preface; which are further illustrated in a note to this passage, which

places the Christian miracles on the same footing with those of the Hindoo mythology. See the above extract of his sentiments in a review of his work, in an interesting missionary publication, *The Friend of India*, for September 1820. It is to be regretted that Rammohun had not expressed himself in a more becoming manner on this important subject; it would have been better if he had clearly stated the grounds on which he rejected the evidence of the Christian miracles." (Pp. 59-62.)

Elsewhere in his book the same writer says in the course of a discussion on the subject of the press:—

"Beyond the suburbs the [English] language is unknown. The example of Rammohun, and one or two individuals, may be cited as instances of individuals who have attained some notions of civil liberty; but he, like Bacon or Galileo, has outstripped the genius of his age." (P. 100.) (The italics are ours.)

The comparison with Bacon and Galileo shows how powerfully Ram Mohun had impressed an intelligent contemporary belonging to a conquering race and professing a different religion.

Mr. Hasan Imam's Presidential Address.

Mr. Hasan Imam's presidential address delivered at the special session of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay is not an "extremist" pronouncement. Even some well-known "moderates" have gone much further than he both in criticism of the Reform Scheme and in constructive proposals, of which there are not very many in his speech.

Appreciation and Compliments.

In speaking of the authors of the report, whom throughout his speech he calls "*illustrious*," he is not niggardly in appreciation and compliments, as the following extract will show:—

Our task is burdensome, for we have to discuss the proposed constitutional reforms as emanating from a Secretary of State and a Viceroy who, at least in their declarations, have not been wanting in a spirit of sympathy towards Indian demands. Their frank acknowledgment of the justice of our claim to equal civic rights with the rest of the British Empire lends to their proposals a sincerity; which it is difficult to question. But in a matter so grave as the laying of the foundation of our constitutional structure, the duty of analysing and sifting the proposals outweighs all considerations of mere courtness or thanksgiving. While acknowledging the high purpose of the British Cabinet in directing an investigation into the present Indian situation and in desiring to find a solution thereof and while rendering the fullest tribute of praise to Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford for the single-mindedness with which they have collaborated in formulating their proposals, we, as the persons most affected, yet have to examine the proposals on their merits. Reading their joint Report it will

strike any observer that in the first portion of it, which I regard as a historical survey of events leading to the present situation—the illustrious authors have by their declarations, furnished strength to our demand for that charter of liberty for which we have been fighting for the third of a century through the Congress, in spite of much discouragement, at times attended with unseemly and indecent ridicule.

The proposals and the cause of their Deficiencies.

Even when speaking of the defects of the proposals, the speaker is charitable enough not to blame the authors. He says:—

The Report is full of generous acknowledgments of our claim and if acknowledgments alone could not merely gratify but satisfy us, the need for us to meet in this Congress would not exist. It is when we come to the proposals themselves that disappointment meets us. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy, it has to be admitted, have made their proposals with a genuine desire to ultimately secure for us the right of governing ourselves and determining our own future, but the proposals in themselves seem to be afraid of themselves and do not comprise any such real measure of reform as we had a right to expect. We realize the difficulty of their delicate task, placed as they have been between conflicting bureaucratic and Indian interests. The deficiencies of the proposals appear to me to be due not to any intention on their part to withhold from us what we should have, but to a spirit of compromise to secure the support of the bureaucrats. It, therefore, behoves us to consider the proposals in a spirit of sympathy and not of mere carping criticism.

It will therefore be conceded that Mr. Hasan Imam has not been guilty of the heinous and unpardonable crime of being "irreconcilable." Our opinion is that to be irreconcilable to whatever does not make for India's full freedom is a rare virtue.

Rejection and Acceptance.

That his attitude or position is that of a peace-maker and unifier will appear from his views on the question of rejection or acceptance of the proposals embodied in the report.

Now our criterion is the Congress-League Scheme and, if the proposals lack the essentials of that, we should with all the emphasis that we can command, make our protest; but we must guard against a hasty rejection of the proposals. Opinion in the country is more or less divided on the subject of the acceptance or the rejection of the proposals. There is a small section of political thinkers that advocates a rejection of the proposals. I treat their views with respect, for their attitude of mind is based upon the political sagacity of not allowing a consent decree to be passed against them and upon the political philosophy that national rights have to be won and not merely to be received as gifts. Underlying their principle of rejection is the desire to continue the struggle for freedom and every one will admit that

the severer the struggle the greater the vigor of the race. On the other hand there is another class of our political thinkers that stands for the acceptance of the proposals with the proviso that we must go on asking for more. The country, however, is agreed that the proposals, as they stand, certainly do not embody the essentials of our demand and are not calculated to satisfy our just aspirations. If you will permit me to point out, there seems to me no material difference between those that advocate rejection and those that advise acceptance, for the common feature of both is to continue the struggle till our rights are won. In politics as in war, not combat but victory is the object to be pursued and where ground is yielded, not to take it would be to abandon what you have won. The Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their Report have earnestly exhorted us to put our heads together in constructive statesmanship and I have no doubt that at this crucial juncture in our political history we shall preserve that deliberative calm which is necessary for the building of a great project.

He has clearly and unequivocally expressed the opinion that "the proposals have placed us under a great disappointment, for though the essentials of our demand are acknowledged in theory, they have not been conceded in substance." He observes incidentally, and, we think, rightly: "*We know no extremists and we know no moderates, names that have been devised by 'our enemies' to divide us.*"

The Legislative Assembly and the Council of State.

Mr. Hasan Imam rightly observes that though "the Legislative Assembly is to have an elected majority of two-thirds of its total strength," it "is to have no power and must remain content with exercising that shadowy stuff, 'Influence.' To render that ineffectual a Council of State has been designed." He points out the mischief of the proposal to constitute a Council of State, in the following passage:—

Apart from the objection that the people's representatives in the Legislative Assembly will be over-ridden by a body of men not representative of the people the mischief of the proposal is accentuated by according to the members of the Council of State the status of a class by themselves. I see in that the danger of a division of our people, the formation of a new caste. This will no doubt further strengthen the already existing arbitrary powers of the Government of India and, considering that it is proposed that British control over the Government of India should be relaxed, the danger of reckless irresponsibility in the Central Government will be enhanced. Our demand is for the amenability of Provincial and Central Governments alike to the people's wishes, but instead we are being given a Central Government more autocratic than ever. The joint Report admits that the bureaucratic system that has

prevailed hitherto is no more suited to our needs, but the second Chamber that is proposed and which is to have the decisive voice is to consist of bureaucrats and their nominees with a powerless minority of elected members. It would be, to my mind, the perpetuation of the bureaucratic rule that we have been striving to remove. We cannot give our willing assent to a packed second Chamber created to render inoperative what the people's representatives decide. The proposal is reactionary in its character and by no manner of means can it be described as a reform intended to increase popular control. The creation of such a Second Chamber is a confession of the distrust of the people—a distrust that is visible in the proposals as a whole.

In his opinion the legislative procedure described in the report makes the nervousness of the authors manifest.

The Central Government must be Saved from Popular Tyranny!

There is quiet humour, perhaps unconscious, in the sentence in which Mr. Hasan Imam says that, "reading the proposals contained in Chapter IX of the Report dealing with the so-called reforms in the Government of India, the impression is left on the mind of the reader, that the Central Government had been in the past the object of much tyranny and oppression by the people and special measures were needed to protect that Government." He goes on to observe: "It is difficult to estimate the political reasons that have induced the illustrious authors of the Report to treat the Government of India and the people of India as two combatants constantly pulling in opposite directions—the Government of India being always right and the people of India always wrong."

The popular ideal has been correctly stated.

The ideal that we have always set before us is that the Government of India should be so constituted that that Government should be the Government of the people. So long as these extraordinary safeguards are devised and exist, it would be but natural for us to feel that those that carry on the Government are removed from us and as human beings, subject to human failings, will subordinate the people's interest to theirs. No one can conceal the facts that the interests of the bureaucrat, whatever his services may have been, have been widely different from the interests of the people and if the same bureaucrat is to shape the destinies of India, even at this juncture, the reason for the special safeguard is obvious. The cardinal principle of our demand is that Indian interests are not any more to be subservient to the interests of others and if the proposed reforms are intended to restore to us what we have lost then the reformation of the Government of India should not be and must not be on the lines of the proposals but on those that would secure to the people at least an effective voice in the governance of the country. The Congress-League Scheme has been discarded as un-

workable in practice. It may not be artistic in its features, it may have the defects of inexperience of actual administration, it may even appear to be crude in form. But we do not attach ourselves to the externals of the scheme but to the true spirit of it. We insist on the essentials being left untouched, we demand their incorporation in the reforms that may hereafter be ultimately decided on.

The Council of State and the Ruling Princes.

The speaker has voiced a not unfounded fear that the proposed association of the ruling princes with the council of state bodes no good.

The proposal that in the Council of State the Ruling Princes should be associated with the Government of India for the purpose of deliberation on matters of what have been vaguely described 'common concern,' is neither happy for us nor happy for them. By the very nature of their relations with the Suzrain Power the Princes are in a state of subordination to the Governor-General as representing the King-Emperor. Their task in their own principalities is difficult enough and it will only add to their burden to be invited to take part in the Council of State in British India. Then again there may be complications hereafter if the pledge of full responsible Government to us comes to be fulfilled, as we hope and trust it will be in the near future. The Council of State with its present proposed constitution spells to me the dread that the Government of India will at no time entertain a popular Assembly whose voice will be listened to, for if that were to be so the introduction of the Princes into the Council of State would be incompatible with their sovereign rights. Supposing that at a future date the Council of State becomes a representative body of British Indians, would it suit the Princes to descend from their high estate to seats in a people's assembly and would it suit us to have them in our midst? What is the special need of the presence of the Princes in the Council of State? Is not that Council, if established, strong enough, even without them, to protect the Government of India against the people?

The Executive Council.

The president of the special congress holds that "the distrust of the people is further made manifest when the introduction of the Indian element into the Executive Council of the Governor-General is limited to but two. Our demand has been that at least half the number of the Executive Councillors should be Indians." Reasons for this demand are given.

Our claim to a larger increase in the Indian element of the Executive Council is based not merely on our just rights but also on the efficient and loyal performance by the Indian Members of their duties. I appreciate that the numerical strength of the Executive Council under the new constitution has not been disclosed and it may be that the existing number may, with changed conditions, be reduced, in which event the two Indian members, as proposed, will constitute a much larger proportion of the Indian element in the Executive Council than is the one

Indian member in a Council of eight as at present. Judged by comparison even an illiberal increase of the Indian element in the Executive Council will mark a stage in India's political development. But is that enough? We want a declaration of the proportion and that proportion to be half, as that will give us in some degree an assurance of the intentions of the Government regarding the establishment of responsible Government in this country. We are now no more content with promises. The illustrious authors of the Report themselves remark that "there is a belief abroad that assurances given in public pronouncements of policy are sometimes not fulfilled." I would say, not "sometimes" but "seldom" fulfilled.

Fine Phrases and Promises.

The speaker is under no delusion as to the value of fine phrases and promises.

The Morley-Minto Reforms were hailed by the whole country as ushering in a new era of political progress, but when they were brought into actual operation the bureaucratic framers of the rules and regulations succeeded in nullifying the liberal policy of Lords Morley and Minto. After our sad experience of the Reforms of 1909 our faith in promises and pledges stands much shaken to-day. Just as we are told to realize that India's political future is not to be won merely by fine phrases, so we ought to make it clear to Government that a whole fifth of the human race cannot be kept loyal to foreign rule by mere promises. The days of fine phrases and hollow promises have equally passed and if we are to be kept within the great British Empire, our confidence must be won, our affection must be secured. To the Secretary of State and the Viceroy we are grateful for the genuine desire their Report demonstrates for the political progress of our country, but to be perfectly frank, we are not without just apprehensions that in much of their work their good intention will be frustrated by those to whom the carrying out of the policy will be entrusted in this country and it is for this reason that our demand for the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council must be insistent on being half of the total strength.

The Grand Committee.

Coming to the consideration of the provincial governments, Mr. Hasan Imam observes that "the procedure laid down for the passage of a certified Bill is through the Grand Committee, and it seems to me that the Legislative Council has but a nominal place in it. Here again is the same spirit of distrust of the people as in the constitution of the Central government, though it has to be acknowledged that it is not so manifest."

"Journey to Provincial Self-government Sure."

In spite of all that he has said against the bureaucracy, Mr. Hasan Imam is sanguine enough to say: "I am alive to this that in the provincial administration a considerable advance upon the existing system is proposed, and I believe that if

the proposals are carried into effect the journey to self-government in provincial matters will be sure, though long." He seems to forget that the proposals give power to the Government of India not merely to transfer subjects from the reserved to the transferred list, but also "to retransfer subjects from the transferred to the reserved list, or to place restrictions for the future on the minister's powers in respect of certain transferred subjects." (Para 260 of the Report.) Similar powers have been given to the periodic parliamentary commissions. Mr. Hasan Imam, like many other public men, has taken no notice of this power of retransfer. There is a tendency among some persons to take it for granted that these powers are meant to remain, or will in effect remain, a dead letter. But when so definite a prophecy is ventured that the journey to provincial self-government will be sure, a cautious and wise statesman ought at least to explain why he ignores the existence of the frustrative powers referred to above;—particularly when it is remembered that bureaucracies are generally very tenacious of power and privilege, being loth to part with them, and that the bureaucracy in India in particular have abused the provisions of the press acts and the Defence of India Act. They have often taken upon themselves powers which the law, rightly interpreted, has not given them; and it is therefore unwarranted to take it for granted that they will not make use of powers which it is proposed that the law should give them. Our opinion is, and we have given expression to it in our last number, that the journey to self-government in provincial matters will be sure, though long, *only* "if the proposals are carried into effect" *in a thoroughly just and liberal spirit.*

The passage upon which we have commented above is followed a few lines below by a passage in which Mr. Hasan Imam himself gives expression to the apprehension that in the scheme there are *weapons which a "strong man" may use "for the destruction of the reforms themselves."* Says he:

After all, our past does not justify so many safeguards in the reforms. These same safeguards in the hands of a "strong man" may be turned into effective weapons for the destruction of the reforms themselves. It is true that periodic Commissions are suggested for the purpose of re-surveying the political situation in India and of readjusting the machinery

to the new requirements from time to time and no doubt would be within the province of the Commission to investigate into the course of constitutional development in the country and a "strong man" will have the fear of his acts being examined and judgment passed thereon by a Commission that would derive its authority from Parliament itself. But it has to be borne in mind that these Commissions will be at distant intervals and however much credit one may be disposed to give to them for their anxiety to make a thorough investigation, the lapses of the "strong man" are bound to escape scrutiny when time has dulled the directness of perception. Without referring to any particular "strong man," we naturally get apprehensive when we find an administrator of a province indulging in wholesale denunciation of the politically-minded Indians, as men engaged in sowing distrust and in propagating vile propaganda. The latest pronouncement of one such "strong man" is that such of us, as ask why these restrictions, reservations, safeguards, this machinery for saving the authority of the Government and why this distrust, are those that spend their time in spreading sinister influence over the people and he explains that it is not the mistrust of the people but the distrust of the sinister influence of those whom he calls the extremists that renders it necessary to include in the new constitution safeguards, restrictions and reservations. Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford may well piteously cry: "Save us from our friends." Throughout the Report on the reforms no such suggestion for the distrust has been expressed by its illustrious authors and whatever distrust that is noticeable could be ascribed to cautious steps being warranted by the want of experience of the Indian people in matters administrative; but this commentator on the Report, if his exposition be correct, rouses us to a just resentment. This same "strong man" talks of an unbridled and defamatory press when he of all persons ought to know that the press legislation in India, of all measures, has been the most destructive of legitimate public criticism and has secured for the "strong man," as also even for the milder bureaucrat, an unimpeded passage to the fulfilment of his arbitrary will. It is such "strong men"—and this unfortunate land has many of this breed—against whom we, the people, require special measures of protection.

This lends force to our criticism.

Reserved and Transferred Subjects.

This address does not contain any criticism of the principle upon which the division of the functions of government into reserved and transferred subjects is founded and justified in paragraph 238 of the Report. This is a defect, for the principle is open to serious objection. As we have commented in our last number upon this division and upon the principle on which it has been sought to be justified, we need not say why we consider this omission a defect. The speaker says with obvious satisfaction and calm contentment that "The subjects proposed to be transferred to popular control are as

numerous as those of the Reserved class. I believe that the transferred subjects will afford to us sufficient opportunities of administrative training in the first few years to enable us to qualify ourselves for the transference of all the subjects to popular control." He speaks simply of the numbers of the reserved and the transferred subjects. But do the numbers alone matter? The relative importance of the subjects in the two groups ought rather to receive the greatest and most serious consideration. Then again, it cannot be accepted that administrative training in any subject makes one fit to have charge of any other subject. If a man were placed in charge of ferries, pounds, and village drains, would the experience gained in such work qualify him, e.g., for the maintenance of law and order? In fact, the division of the functions of government proceeds upon the assumption in general terms that the people are unfit at present to have charge of any of the functions connected with the maintenance of peace and order, and with good government (including sound financial administration). We do not think that it can be safely assumed that administrative training in functions which have nothing to do with "peace, order and good government" can qualify a man to undertake those functions. In fact, Mr. Hasan Imam appears himself to admit this when he says:

"Whatever the underlying policy of two compartments of the Government may be and whatever its justification, I am decidedly of the view that a total unconcern of the Ministers in the Reserved subjects is not desirable, for the objective being the ultimate realisation of responsible government, the association of Ministers in some form or other with the administration of the Reserved subjects will better prepare them for the ultimate devolution of power on the people. If expediency does not permit that they should have an effective voice in the Executive Council they should at least be given a place therein of more or less advisory character, as additional members. The constitution proposed is open to the very serious objection that until actual transference takes place the people's representatives will have but little touch with subjects of the Reserved class; while at some future date, and let us hope not a distant date, it is they that will be asked to assume charge of the administration of those subjects."

Though nowhere in his address does the speaker take any notice of the power of retransferring subjects from the transferred to the reserved list proposed to be given to the Government of India and the periodic parliamentary commissions, he

makes mention of a serious objection to the system of dual government.

The objection to the scheme, as a whole, lies, however, in the proposal that at the end of a period of five years the Reserved Subjects are not to come automatically under popular control but it will be open to the Central Government to hear applications from either the Provincial Government or the Provincial Council for the modification of the Reserved and the Transferred subject lists of the province, and it will be upon the recommendation of the Central Government that the Secretary of State is to approve the transfer of further subjects. While this method of devolution of power has the merit of providing the incentive to the peoples' representatives for earnest and statesman-like discharge of their duties, it has the demerit of withdrawing the stimulus that they would have, if they were now assured that at the end of five years the responsibility of the entire provincial administration would devolve upon them. In the language of the Report itself, advance can only come through previous failures and exercise of responsibility calls forth the capacity for it.

Supplies for the two groups of Subjects.

The address makes some very pertinent and outspoken comments upon the financial arrangement provided for effecting the administration of the two branches of provincial governments. From the revenues raised in the provinces, the demands of the Government of India are first to be met, the reserved subjects are then to be provided for, and the residue will be available to the Ministers for the purposes of the transferred subjects. If this be insufficient, as it is sure to be, if the Ministers are to discharge their duties adequately, fresh taxation must be resorted to.

The question of any fresh taxation will be decided by the Governor and the Ministers and the Executive Government as a whole will not bear the responsibility for the proposal. Considering that the Governor is not expected to refuse, ordinarily, assent to the proposals of the Ministers, it is apparent that the responsibility of a fresh taxation will in effect rest upon the Ministers. It is admitted that the new developments which are to be anticipated will necessitate fresh taxation. Thus it comes to this that the odium, which is inseparable from a new levy, is to be borne by the Ministers alone, the sequel to which may be the engendering of a repugnance in the people against popular Government. The responsibility for administering Transferred Subjects will be the Minister's, while the power of deciding what part of the revenue shall be allotted for the discharge of that responsibility will be retained in official hands!

The proposed arrangement, it strikes me, is unfair. It is giving to the popular side of the Government an unsatisfactory start. The collective responsibility of the Executive Government in matters of fresh taxation is necessary for the success of the reforms. The obvious defects of the system proposed

are so many that I think it is our duty to insist upon modifications that may insure to the Transferred Subjects a fairer and a more equitable treatment. It is worthy of note here that of the departments proposed to be transferred to popular control several are of vital importance to the progress of the country and they have been the most starved under official regime. The duty of constructing them and developing them will devolve upon the people's representatives but without sufficient provision for them. The subjects of Education and Sanitation, involving as they do the building up of healthy mind and healthy body in the people, are of supreme importance as upon them will rest the creation of healthy electorates. If the franchise, on which responsible Government is to be based, is to be broad and extensive, due provision has to be made from now to secure its expansiveness as time grows, and towards that end it will not do to treat those two subjects with stint.

Members of the Executive Council.

Mr. Hasan Imam's remarks on the selection of Indian members of the Executive Councils give evidence of his statesmanship.

Our proposal that Indian members of the Executive Government should be elected by the Council has been based on our experience that Government have in the past chosen men not because they were sound but because they were, according to bureaucratic view, safe. The election of Ministers is disapproved but no injunction is laid that the nominations should be of persons who had the confidence of the Legislative Council. The justification for our proposal of election lay in our apprehension arising out of bureaucratic methods. If we can be assured that really capable men will be chosen for appointment as colleagues of the Governor our scheme of elected members of the Executive will not require to be pressed, for our demand is for capable men only. Our objection however to the irremovability of ministers stands. It has been stated that it is not contemplated that from the outset the Governor should occupy the position of a purely constitutional Governor bound to accept the decisions of his Ministers. That may be so, but in that proposal I do not see any justification to give to the Ministers a place above the will of the representatives of the people. What we have to guard against is a too ready submission on the part of the Ministers to the wishes of the Governor. Under the constitution proposed the Governor will occupy a predominant position, and at any time he chooses to disapprove of a measure he should be made to take responsibility of refusing his assent instead of securing by methods of powerful suasion the acquiescence of Ministers. The scheme if carried into effect will be demoralizing for the Ministers themselves. Some method should be devised whereby the responsibility of the Ministers to the representatives of the people should not be diminished while their harmonious co-operation with the Governor may be maintained. I suggest that it be made incumbent upon every Minister on his appointment to seek re-election, failing which his appointment will automatically cease to operate. A further condition of his office should be that he should continue to enjoy the confidence of the House. Should the House, as a body, express its want of confidence in him he must resign his office as

a matter of course. This suggestion that I make does not in any way reduce the position of the Governor, nor his powers under the proposed constitution.

The only comment which we think it necessary to make on the above extract is that our demand is *not* for capable men only, but for men who are also in genuine sympathy with popular aspirations and therefore enjoy the confidence of the public.

The Ministers.

Mr. Hasan Imam's statesmanlike observations on the proposed total unconcern of the Ministers with the Reserved subjects have been quoted before. It is not that he does not see the dangers of their inclusion in the Executive Council.

I realise that the inclusion of the Ministers in the Executive Council is not free from danger to popular aspirations as such inclusion is more likely, than not, to create a natural bias in the mind of the Governor to choose a safe man as his Minister, but I would sooner take that risk and have the Ministers within the Executive Council than out of it.

He would make the emoluments of the Ministers equal to those members of the Executive Council. The dignity of both sets of officers should be the same.

I am not one to advocate expensive machinery of administration but when it comes to a distinction arising between Ministers of the people and Ministers *not* of the people I would sink all considerations of financial economy and insist on the Ministers enjoying the same salary as Members of the Executive Council. I consider it as affecting their dignity but if economy has to be effected it must be effected by reducing of the salary of the Members of the Executive Council to the level of the salary that may be proposed for Ministers.

Indian Executive Councillors.

The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme has not acceded to the popular demand that the Indian executive councillors should be elected by the legislative bodies. Mr. Hasan Imam defends the popular proposal.

Our proposal for the election of Indian Executive Councillors is no doubt open to certain objections but in the existing state of things if the Indian people are to be assured that the Indian element in the Executive Council will be truly Indian in aspiration there seems to be no other method but that of election whereby such an assurance can be given. It may be said that an Indian Executive Councillor holding his office by election may not work as harmoniously with his colleagues as one who holds his office by nomination. As we have not suggested that the elected Indian member should be removable at the will of the Legislative Council and his appointment being permanent for five years there is no reason to apprehend that he will indulge in unwarranted friction with his colleagues. What we want is that the Indian mem-

ber in the Provincial Executive Council should be one to possess courage to present the Indian view of a question faithfully. If the nominations, in the past, in the Provincial Executive Councils had been as satisfactory as, happily, the nominations have been in the Governor-General's Executive Council, our apprehension regarding the search for a safe man would never have come to exist.

Fiscal Policy.

We are in agreement with what has been said as regards fiscal policy. A protective tariff has been advocated.

Much of the political situation in India is due to economic forces that have been silently but surely working. It has often been said that foreign capital, which means British capital, has done much for the development of Indian resources. That is true if the development of resources as an abstract idea, detached from actual benefit, were regarded as a title of the British capitalist to the gratitude of the Indian people. The question is has the kind of development, that we have had, brought to the Indian the prosperity that he wants. The Indian has merely been the producer of raw materials for the benefit of British manufacturers who have purchased the materials from him at low prices and sold the manufactured articles to him at high prices. Industrially we have been left so utterly untrained that we have not been able to free ourselves from the importation of foreign manufactures, while the export of raw materials has continued on an ascending scale. Frankly stated our conviction has been that our industrial backwardness has been positively encouraged in the interest of British manufacturers. This conviction is not based upon a mere prejudice that one race may have against another, but it is based upon facts of history dating from the time when the commercial development of the country was fostered by the Company as a matter of business. The traditions of the Company inherited by the Government under the Crown, we believe, have not been departed from, and British commercial interests have had the same fostering care as in the days of the Company. The maintenance of the duty on cotton goods manufactured in the country has been unquestionably in the interest of Lancashire.

The Public Services.

Mr. Hasan Imam seems tacitly to take it for granted that the proposals relating to the public services really amount to "the removal of all racial bars." That is not our view, as our remarks on the subject in our last issue will show.

We also dissent to the unqualified statement that "the Indian Empire of to-day is a production of Great Britain." As if the people of India, under their great religious, social, educational, political and industrial leaders, and inspired by their poets and other authors, have not contributed very largely to the making of modern India!

As regards the achievements of the Indian Civil Service, and as to whether they are entitled to our gratitude or not, Mr. Hasan Imam rightly observes:—

No one minimises the record of the Indian Civil Service. From its inception that Service has comprised earnest and ardent workers of Great Britain and the Indian Empire of to-day is a production of Great Britain in which they have had a considerable, if not the main part. Judged from our point of view their labours have not been altruistic, but incidentally, while they have worked for their own country, they have helped us to ideas of freedom and liberty, of nationhood and political rights, which I treat as acquisitions of the greatest value for the upbuilding of that India which is our dream to-day and we hope will be our realization to-morrow. No question of gratitude arises in this as we have paid heavily for what we have received. It would be unjust to construe our demand for a larger share in the Services as denoting any hostility towards the members of the Services.

The Army.

The brief paragraph which the address devotes to the army is unsatisfactory. The promise of King's commissions to Indians is good as a promise. But considering the vast numbers of the Indian population and the strength of the Indian army, actual and prospective, the number of commissions proposed to be given is insignificant; and the conditions, too, with which the "concession" is hedged round, make it almost an apology for a concession.

"Hypocrisies."

The penultimate paragraph of the address contains an extract from Macaulay.

Macaulay has said: "Of all forms of tyranny I believe that the worst is that of a nation over a nation" and "the heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger." That is as true now as in the days of Macaulay and his observation applies as much to India as to any other country. To deny that India feels the yoke of the stranger is to shut one's eyes to fundamental facts.

What the apologists of British rule in India say are characterised as "hypocrisies."

The apologists of British rule in India have asserted that the presence of the British in this land has been due to humane motives; that British object has been to save the people from themselves, to raise their moral standard, to bring them material prosperity, to confer on them the civilising influences of Europe, and so forth and so on. These are hypocrisies common to most apologists. The fact is that the East India Company was not conceived for the benefit of India but to take away her wealth for the benefit of Britain. The greed of wealth that characterised its doings was accompanied by greed for territorial possession and when the transference of rule from the Company to the Crown took place, the greed of wealth and lust of power abated not one jot in the inheritors, the only difference being that tyranny became systematised and plunder became scientific. The people know it, they feel it, and they are asking for a reparation for the incidents of the past.

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Some Modifications Proposed by the National Liberal League.

We have said above that many "moderates" have gone much further than Mr. Hasan Imam in their discussion of the Reform Scheme. In support of our remark we will quote some of the modifications in the scheme proposed by the National Liberal League of Bengal.

4. There should be no further increase in the pay, pension and allowance of the civil, or any higher grades of any other public, service in India.

5. The department of police should always be placed in charge of the Indian member of the executive council.

6. Additional official members, without portfolios or votes, should not be appointed in any executive council as members of the government as provided for in para. 220 of the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms.

7. Such persons should only be appointed ministers in the provincial governments as enjoy the confidence of the legislative councils.

9. The Committee, which will discuss and make recommendations on the division of Indian from provincial subjects and on the subjects to be "transferred" and "reserved," in every provincial government, should be directed to put into the category of "transferred" subjects as "many" subjects and services as the progress of each province may require and as "few" as may be considered absolutely necessary to be placed under "reserved" heads.

10. The elected element in the provincial legislatures should be four-fifths of the total strength of the councils, at least in the more advanced provinces.

11. Where the necessity of a province demands, there should be two instead of one co-opted Indian member in the Electorates Committee to be appointed for the purposes described in para 225 of the Report.

12. In view of the fact that the administration of law, justice and police are likely to be "reserved" subjects in all provincial governments for some time, a complete separation of judicial and executive functions in all district officers should be made at once, and the judiciary placed everywhere under the jurisdiction of the highest court of the province.

13. Instead of 33 per cent., of the superior posts of the Indian Civil Service being recruited for in India as suggested in the Report, the recruitment into this service should be made at the rate of 50 per cent. of the total number of appointments made every year.

* If only 33 per cent. of the recruitment to the I. C. S. is made in India from now, then it will take nearly 25 years before 33 per cent. of the total strength of this Service come to be held by Indians.

14. A certain number of members, say a fourth of the total number of members in every council, should be allowed opportunity to ask for the adjournment of the house for the purpose of discussing questions of urgent public importance.

15. No more than three months should intervene between the closing of one session of a council and the opening of another.

16. The cost of the India Office should be placed on the British Estimates.

17. Some provision should be made for the

appointment or co-opting of qualified Indians on the periodic Indian Commissions.

18. Subject to the limitations that may be imposed on the tariffs of different parts of the Empire as the result of the decisions of the imperial post-war Conference on the subject, the Government of India, acting under the control of the Indian Legislature, should be accorded full power to regulate the Indian tariffs.

With regard to item 6 of the above proposals, it is necessary to tell the reader that Mr. Hasan Imam says in his address that he sees no objection to the appointment of additional official members without portfolios or votes to the provincial executive councils. He is also satisfied with the proportion of 33 per cent. of the superior posts in the Indian civil service proposed to be recruited for in India. But the National Liberal League wants a larger proportion, and that, too, of the *total number of appointments made every year*; vide item 13 above. As regards reserved and transferred subjects, he is content merely with saying that the transferred subjects will be as numerous as the reserved ones, and that the administrative training to be obtained by having charge of the former for five years will be sufficient to fit our Ministers to have charge of all subjects at the end of that period. He has nothing to say as to whether reserved subjects should be fewer than the officials would want them to be, nor as to whether any subject, such as the police, which the officials would place in the reserved group, should be under the charge of the Indian Minister or Indian Member of the Executive Council. The reader will see that the National Liberal League makes detailed suggestions on these points. Some of the other important suggestions of the League are on matters on which the president of the special congress has made no constructive proposals whatsoever. We do not mean to say that he ought to have suggested definite modifications on all or any matters dealt with in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report; that is clearly the work of the Congress, the president's main duty being to discuss principles and offer criticisms on the Reform Scheme. What we mean to say is that if "extremism" and "moderatism" are to be measured by the character of the criticism offered and the suggestions made by persons, then the National Liberal League's Pronouncement as published in the *Bengalee* is in some respects characterised by greater "extre-

mism and less "moderatism" than the address of the president of the special session of the Congress held at Bombay. In fact, so far at least as the Reform Scheme is concerned, there is no clearly marked line of demarcation between "extremists" and "moderates," and there is nothing to show that those joining the special congress are more extreme in their views than the seceders. The distinction between "extremists" and "moderates" is more or less fictitious and artificial.

A Bishop on Jute Profits.

The Bishop of Chota Nagpur writes thus in the *Chota Nagpur Diocesan Paper* for August on the subject of the enormous profits made by the Jute Mills, and the duty of the shareholders of the Mills to share their gains with the jute cultivators whom the war has hit hard :

Owing to the war certain industries in India have enjoyed unparalleled prosperity, and for some reason the Government has not thought well to impose an excess profits tax. I am not wise enough to understand why, for on the face of it it seems a course of simple justice. But in the case of the jute trade which has profited perhaps more than others, the situation is made worse by the fact that the excess profits of the shareholders have been enhanced by the low price of the raw material due to the stoppage of its export. In other words the war has lowered the price of the raw article to half the pre-war rate, bringing thereby acute distress upon the cultivator while it has increased the price of that part of the manufactured article which is sold in the open market to the enhancement of manufacturing profits. Both factors have added to the profits of the trade.

Now it is easy to say that the price of the raw jute has been fixed by the ordinary law of supply and demand, but that is in this case untrue, for the war has stepped in to interfere with the operation of this ordinary law. Could the jute have been exported there would doubtless have been a rise rather than a fall in price. Surely the Government whose restrictions, taken in the interests of the Empire as a whole, have brought distress upon one section of the people, while enriching another, should take some steps to ensure a more equitable distribution of profits. Bring the situation to the test of our Lord's judgment and can there be any doubt as to what He would say. His moral indignation would be poured forth on those who claim to be fighting the cause of the oppressed and the weak and yet are enriching themselves at the expense of their poorer brethren. I know it is easier to point out evils than to cure them, but the first step to their cure is to realise them. And there may be others like myself who had not realised the position. I have not the experience or knowledge to suggest the remedy but there must be those, experienced in business and versed in economics, who are able to solve the difficult problem; but meanwhile I would urge that share-holders seek ways by which they may share their gains with those whom the war has hit so hard.

These sentiments are quite worthy of

the Bishop. Would that they fell on willing ears!

The Cotton Mills are also making enormous profits. These should also devote part of their gains to alleviate the distress caused by the high price of cloth.

Cloth Distress in Bengal.

Of the religious bodies in Bengal two have been making efforts to alleviate the distress caused by the high price of cloth and the consequent inability of the poor to buy cloth. They are the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, and the Rama Krishna Mission. Those who wish to help these bodies to carry on their urgent philanthropic work should send their contributions to : (1) Dr. Pran Krishna Acharji, Secretary Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta; and (2) Secretary, Rama Krishna Mission, 1, Mukerjee Lane, Calcutta, or (3) President, Rama Krishna Mission, Math, Belur, Howrah.

The few contributions received by the treasurer and the secretary of the Bankura Sammilani for the alleviation of cloth distress in Bankura will be acknowledged in our next number.

A Righteous Gift.

A righteous and kind-hearted English gentleman has sent the editor of this Review Rs. 1,000 for providing clothing for those in the jute districts who have been distressed by the low price of jute, with the following letter :—

Dear Sir,

I own a few shares in the Jute Mills which have been making enormous profits, and I understand that this is in part due to the very low price of the raw jute owing to the stoppage of export. I further understand that this low price of jute has caused very severe distress to the cultivators. I do not wish to profit by this. I learn that you are administering a fund for the relief of distress among these cultivators and I have pleasure in sending you my cheque for Rs. 1000 which I hope you will use for me in providing clothing for those in the Jute districts which are thus distressed. I should take this as a real favour.

Yours very truly,

The amount sent by this noble donor has been placed at the disposal of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj.

Good News from Fiji.

One of the Sugar Companies in Fiji, called the "Melbourne Trust," the smallest of them, has taken the initiative and of its own accord appointed a very highly qualified Nurse (one of those who had volun-

teered to Mr. C. F. Andrews to come) to go and act as a Lady Doctor in the Company's District and Hospital. She will have an official position as Matron of the Hospital and will be paid for entirely by the Company. As this Company has taken the lead, it is most likely that the others will now have to follow suit, and this may be an immense uplifting to the Indian community in Fiji.

It is evident that the pressure of the Australian ladies interested in the welfare of the Indians in Fiji has begun to bear fruit.

Our Frontispiece.

It is always difficult to name a picture. The name given to the frontispiece in this number is ours. What the artist wishes to typify by this picture may be understood from what a friend of his wrote to us at his request, and which is given below in a somewhat modified form.

The picture represents the condition in which some of our leaders are about the performance of their duties towards our nation and our country. The picture, if observed with a little care, seems to be symmetrical, and some parts of it seem to be quite artificial, as, for instance, the pose of the figure and the lamp borne on its head, and to an ordinary eye the figure looks like a statue or it appears that it has assumed that artificial posture under pressure of external conditions, there being an absence of naturalness in it. The figure in the picture represents some of those men who aspire to be our leaders and are actuated by the mere desire for popularity. They wish that people should gather round them as moths gather round a flame. But as they do not possess the natural gifts and virtues to attract men, they feign those qualities to attract people. This has been represented by a lamp over the head of the figure. The lamp is naturally capable of attracting moths towards it. But these self-styled leaders think that the moths, that is to say, the people, have gathered round them on account of their own light. It is their assumed qualities, not their real characters, which make people gather round them. The eyes of the figure are covered by the veil of selfishness, symbolising the fact that the self-styled leaders are blind to the actual situation and real needs of the country. The figure is that of a woman to

denote the effeminacy of these aspirants to leadership.

Lord Ronaldshay's Speech at Mymensingh.

It is usual for rulers to receive addresses from the people of the districts and towns visited and to reply to them. Lord Ronaldshay recently visited some towns in Bengal, and received addresses there and replied to them. In several addresses he was told that many innocent men had been unjustly dealt with under the Defence of India Act. The Governor, however, nowhere admitted that any innocent man has anywhere been harshly dealt with even by mistake. This assumption of universal official infallibility and universal popular fallibility is not inexplicable, but it is incredible that the people of whole towns or districts should all be mistaken and the Governor, who is only a man like the rest of us, should be right in every instance. It is also noteworthy that even the speeches of Lord Carmichael, whose assumption of official infallibility was not as patent as that of the present governor, could not convince the people that the enforcement of the Defence of India Act had not been attended with injustice.

We intend to notice some points in the speech of His Excellency the Governor in reply to the address of the Mymensingh People's Association. That address contained the following passage:—

"We shall be wanting in our duty, if we allow this opportunity to slip without bringing to Your Excellency's notice the widespread discontent which prevails throughout the country on account of the great harassments caused by the indiscriminate house searches, arrests and internments of young men and boys without any trial and often putting them into solitary cells under the Defence of India Act. We can not, in adequate terms, describe the great and heart-rending miseries of the mothers and other relatives of the detenus who have thus been taken away from them and whose prospects in life have thus been blasted. The belief is gaining ground that on mere suspicion many innocent men are being unjustly dealt with under the said Act and we earnestly hope that Your Excellency will not be slow in devising means for removing this extremely undesirable state of things and we can confidently assure Your Excellency that nothing is more likely to restore peace to the country and remove this discontent than a general amnesty to all such persons, dealt with under the Defence of India Act."

Let us now consider some of the passages in the Governor's reply.

The addresses of the People's Association speak of indiscriminate house searches, arrests and internments of young men and boys. I have personally

made an examination of the number of house searches, arrests and internments in this district, and I am satisfied that these are not the smallest grounds for your statement that they have been made indiscriminately. On the contrary, I am satisfied that they have been made only after the circumstances leading up to them have been most carefully weighed and sifted.

We have read in the papers of numerous house searches which did not lead to the discovery of anything incriminating, or to the arrest of anybody; sometimes they lead to the arrest of some persons who were soon after released. Though it cannot be admitted that every one arrested after a house-search and kept deprived of liberty without a trial, is guilty, it can be safely assumed that the persons in whose house nothing incriminating is found and who are not arrested after the search, or who, if arrested, are released soon after, are innocent. If our memory does not play us false, there have been such fruitless and needless house searches in Mymensingh. Now, the people, who are the sufferers, consider these fruitless and useless house searches indiscriminate and harassing. The officials, on the other hand, think they were not indiscriminate, and that there were reasons for them. Unless the people know these reasons, how can they take it for granted that the officials are right? The *Sanjibani* office in Calcutta was searched three or four times quite unsuccessfully from the police point of view, and needlessly from the popular point of view. The *Bengalee* office was once similarly searched. It is certain there were similar unsuccessful and needless searches in Mymensingh.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* has published the following :—

The local paper "Charu Mihir" has the following in reply to His Lordship's statement :—

"Thirty or forty houses were searched in the town of Mymensingh in one morning. The bustle and activity of the Police led the people to believe that numerous revolvers, pistols, ammunitions and revolutionary pamphlets would be found. But nothing of the kind was discovered in any place. May we ask His Excellency if he enquired as to whether the Police had got anything incriminating in the houses of Babu Atul Chandra Chakravarty, Babu Harihar Chakravarty, Rai Shama Charan Rai Bahadur, Babu Anath Bandhu Guha and others after they had been searched? The general public are under the impression that these searches are only the prelude to arrest suspects. We think the authorities are aware of the views of the public with regard to the generality of the arrests made by the C. I. D. Then again, in many cases, the authorities had to release persons after their arrest. Under such circumstances, how can these searches, arrests and internments may be.

called "discriminate." And we cannot understand how His Excellency could be satisfied on this point after making enquiries into such cases. His Excellency is certainly aware of the result of the searches which were made in Calcutta in the "Bengalee" office of the Hon'ble Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee and the "Sanjibani" office of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter."

The Mymensingh paper then publishes an old account which appeared in some Calcutta paper describing the situation in Mymensingh at the time on account of the activities of the C.I.D. It runs as follows :—

"At present Mymensingh is again under Police Rule pure and simple. Only about a month ago the whole town was put into turmoil by indiscriminate house-searches and arrests—a number of houses of respectable men were searched but not a single incriminating article was recovered from a single house. God alone knows what the materials are upon which these search-warrants were issued. About 33 arrests were made then but final order has not been yet passed on any to the knowledge of the public, but only this much is known that some had to be discharged on the ground that they had been arrested under mistaken identity."

Two years have elapsed since the account appeared and no one has contradicted it.

Here are certain facts for the information of His Lordship. Not only were some persons released afterwards for want of identification but a large number were let off after they were kept in confinement.

There may be excellent official reasons why innocent people should be subjected to worry and insult by having their houses searched in this fashion. But the people who suffer do not know them and cannot in consequence appreciate their beauty. That is also why they cannot derive any consolation from the Governor's assurance that the searches were not indiscriminate.

Then as to the nature of the internment, except for the period during which the enquiry is being prosecuted where it is necessary to prevent those whose conduct is being enquired into from communicating with their associates, persons dealt with under the Defence of India Act are not kept in cells of any kind. They are interned in villages where all can see how they live and are treated, and where they are visited by non-official visitors. You spoke of their injured prospects. It is doubtless true that a man cannot play with fire without burning his fingers, but then the remedy is for the young men to give up playing with fire. The remedy lies not with Government but with the young men themselves.

It is well-known, and the Governor admits, that detenus are kept in solitary cells during the period of the enquiry. Descriptions of these cells and the conditions of life of the detenus there have appeared in the papers, leading to the impression in the public mind that those to whom no offence has been brought home after public trial ought not to be subjected to such treatment even for a month. There are also reasons to believe that the

cases of insanity, suicide, death from preventable disease, and cases of such diseases as phthisis, are to a large extent due to confinement in cells under insanitary conditions.

As for internment in villages, if detenus had nowhere felt it to be a great hardship, they would not have broken the internment rules to get imprisoned. The judgment in the Kutubdia detenus' case contains the following sentence: "In a case of this nature, we should have been inclined to hold ordinarily that a sentence of simple imprisonment would have been a sufficient punishment; but unfortunately, it appears that these misguided youths prefer the easy life of the gaol to the semi-freedom of internment; so simple imprisonment would be no deterrent." The kind of life *really* led by detenus in some villages can be guessed from this illuminating sentence. We would ask all to buy a copy of the "Report of the Trial of Kutubdia Detenus Case" published by the Bengal Civil Rights Committee, 10, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta. (Price Re. 1-8.) It is as interesting as a romance and gives a vivid idea of the life of detenus in solitary cells and villages.

Regarding non-official visitors, Lord Ronaldshay no doubt does not require reminding that they were appointed as a result of agitation in and outside his Council Chamber—agitation which he would ascribe to sympathy with anarchists and revolutionaries. Hundreds of men have been released soon after arrest, or some time after confinement in jail or compulsory domicile in villages. These are some of the "many innocent men" who have been spoken of in the Mymensingh address as "being unjustly dealt with under the said Act." People are justified in holding that those who have been thus released are innocent, and that there are many more such innocent men who are still kept in a state of semi-freedom without trial. So far as we can understand the drift of the address, it prays for a general amnesty to all such innocent persons only—not to all detenus and suspects. We, too, think that all detenus and state prisoners who have been deprived of liberty for political reasons alone and against whom there is no proof or suspicion of complicity in dacoities, murders, or similar offences against property, life and limb, should be set free under proper safe-

guards, and the rest tried *in camera*, being given an opportunity to defend themselves with the aid of lawyers.

It is certainly true that if in playing with fire a man gets his fingers burned, it is he who is to blame. But we believe many of the men released never played with fire. At any rate, Government has released them only after being convinced that they would not again play with fire. All the same, some of them who were students cannot get admission into colleges, and some who had some remunerative employment before can get no work, the employers being afraid of the police putting them to trouble. Whether the remedy here lies with the Government or not, it is for Government to judge, but it certainly does not lie with the men themselves. We would in this connection draw the attention of our readers to the following passage from "The Small and the Great" by Sir Rabindranath Tagore printed in the *Modern Review* for December, 1917, page 601:

"Just as no one cares to eat a snake-bitten fruit, so none dare to hold commerce with a police-tainted person. Even that most desperate of creatures, the Bengali father with an unmarried daughter to get rid of,—to whom neither ugliness nor vice, nor age nor disease is a bar,—even he refrains from sending the match-maker to him. If the one-time police-suspect tries to do business, the business fails. If he begs for charity, he may rouse our pity, but cannot overcome our dread. If he joins any good work, that good work is doomed."

Lord Ronaldshay gave an account of revolutionary crimes in Mymensingh during the ten years from 1907 to the end of 1916, "when systematic action was first taken under the Act."

During the period there were in this district alone 26 revolutionary outrages in the course of which 12 persons were violently done to death, 27 persons were injured, and property to the value of Rs. 1,92,090 was looted. The year 1917 was the first year for five years during which your district was free of political crime.

Then the Governor said: "You, of course, abhorred those outrages just as much as did the Government; but were you able to do anything to bring them to an end?" In "The Small and the Great" Sir Rabindranath Tagore tells of the reply that he gave to an Englishman whom he met in a railway train and who referred indirectly to the demand of Home Rule by the people in spite of their inability to prevent Hindu-Muslim riots. Sir Rabindranath's reply to his fellow-passenger was:

"These Hindu-Mahomedan riots have not occurred under our Home Rule. . . . this is the first time that I hear of a division of labour where one is to have the weapons and another to do the fighting!" Lord Ronaldshay's question reminded us of this reply. The weapons with which revolutionary propaganda and revolutionary outrages can be successfully fought, are both material and non-material. The material weapons are fire-arms and other arms, which Government and the dacoits and assassins have got, but which the people, for the most part, have not got. How can the latter, therefore, be expected to fight? Is it reasonable to ask them to fight? In spite of their want of proper weapons the villagers have in some places fought dacoits, some getting killed in the encounter. The non-material weapons consist in the power to change the political, economic, educational, and similar social conditions in which revolutionary ideas and crimes have originated. But the people possess very little of this power; Government possesses most of it. We think, therefore, that Lord Ronaldshay's question was not reasonable. It was like expecting people to make the proverbial bricks without straw.

It is implied in his answer, that the diminution in revolutionary outrages is due solely to the systematic action taken under the Defence of India Act. But are there not other factors? There has been an addition to the strength of the police and improvement in their training and personnel; public opinion as expressed in the press and on the platform has discouraged such crimes; in the villages the feeling of helplessness in the presence of organised gangs has been gradually giving place to a manlier attitude; the spirit of adventure of youth has found legitimate scope in the Bengal Ambulance Corps, the Bengali Regiment, and other forms of service abroad; and political despondency has given place to the expectation of political improvement. It is not statesman-like to ignore all these factors, and give all the credit to repressive methods.

Nor should statesmen forget that peace and order may be purchased at too heavy a price. Personal and civic liberty and a fearless spirit ought not to be sacrificed at the altar of "Peace and Order." Peace and order ought to be secured mainly by measures which heal political and econo-

mic injuries and produce normal and progressive political and economic conditions. We are certainly in favour of temporary special methods and special laws, if necessary, to punish actual criminals; but we are entirely against methods which have the effect of terrorising the whole population of a country. National greatness, power and progressiveness can neither be attained nor preserved, without running some risks. A high spirit always goes with national greatness, power and progressiveness. But this same high spirit is disliked by a foreign bureaucracy. No methods of repressing crime ought to be adopted which has the effect of preventing the growth of this high spirit where it does not exist and of crushing it where it does. And in our anxiety to be protected we ought not to acquiesce in any methods and laws which have this tendency. If all persons were kept handcuffed and fettered every day from 6 in the evening till 7 in the morning, "peace and order" could be safeguarded to a far greater extent than by the enforcement of the Defence of India Act and Regulation III of 1818. But we would not agree to be deprived of liberty for 13 hours every day even for the sake of peace and order.

Lord Ronaldshay gave an extract from the Rowlatt Committee's Report to show why a general amnesty cannot be given. As we have said before, we have understood the Mymensingh People's Association's suggestion regarding an amnesty to mean that they wanted the release of the "many innocent men" who have been unjustly dealt with under the Defence of India Act, not of *all* the men interned under that measure. Let us, however, give His Excellency's quotation.

In the meantime permit me to call your particular attention to the opinions which are unanimously expressed by the Commission upon the question of a general amnesty. If you turn to paragraph 196 of the Report you will find that, speaking on this aspect of the case, they say: "There are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities, which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some, if not most of these persons, are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of four murders and has been concerned in eighteen dacoities, of which five involved further murders. There are others like him both in custody or at large."

The extract made by His Excellency

conveys a wrong impression of what the Rowlatt Committee have said. It conveys the impression that they speak of *all* the men who have been deprived of liberty as having been parties to murders and dacoities. But they have said nothing of the kind. They speak of only "*a limited class of persons*" as of this description. In order to show that Lord Ronaldshay's quotation is misleading, we shall have to make a longer extract from the Rowlatt Committee's Report and italicise some portions. We shall begin to quote from about the middle of paragraph 195.

"These revolutionaries vary widely in character: Some merely require to be kept from evil associations and to be brought under the closer influence of sensible friends or relations. At the other extreme are some desperadoes at present irreconcilable to the point of frenzy. [So in the Committee's opinion only some are desperadoes. Ed., M. R.] Some are ready to quit the movement if only it can be made easy for them. More may be brought to this frame of mind in time. It is obvious that extremely elastic measures are needed both for those whose liberty is merely restricted and those from whom it is at least temporarily taken away. As regards the former, the prospects of the individual in point of health and a livelihood in any particular area should be considered along with the associations which he may be likely to form. For the latter there should be provided an institution or institutions for their reformation as well as confinement. It is to be borne in mind that while some already possess a good deal of education they all lack habits of occupation and, in a measure, reason.

"196. The scheme above set forth is, as has already been pointed out, designed for emergencies regarded as contingent. The powers involved are therefore to be dormant till the event occurs.

"There are, however, a limited class of persons, namely, those who have been involved in the troubles which have been described who constitute a danger not contingent but actual. Special and immediate provision is required for their case.

"In the first place, there are a number of persons still at large, such as Rash Behari Basu of the Benares conspiracy case, who, if tried at all, ought to be tried, even if arrested after the Defence of India Act expires, under special provisions. Moreover, further offences may be committed before that time to the authors of which similar considerations apply. On the other hand, it would not be proper to proclaim a province under our scheme merely for the purpose of such particular trials.

"Secondly there are the persons as to whom it can be said without any reasonable doubt that they have been parties to the murders and dacoities which have been narrated in the preceding pages. Many of these are temporarily in custody or under restriction. Some absconding are still at large.

"Some, if not most of these persons, are such desperate characters that it is impossible to contemplate their automatic release on the expiry of six months from the close of the War. One man recently arrested is undoubtedly guilty of 4 murders and has been concerned in 18 dacoities, of which five involve further murders. There are others like

him both in custody and at large. Such men are the leaders and organizers of the movement. They are now detained or their arrest is intended under Regulation III of 1818. We do not discuss that measure. It is applicable to many cases not within the scope of our inquiry.

"Assuming, however, that it is not desired to continue to deal with these men under the Regulation, we ought to suggest an alternative.

"Lastly, it may be that a few of those now merely interned and some of the convicts who will be released may require some control. At any rate, it is to be deprecated that the persons interned should have the assurance that on the expiry of the Defence of India Act they will at once and all at the same moment be immune from all restriction. They should be liberated gradually."

In the light of the longer extract given above, let the reader judge whether Lord Ronaldshay's quotation conveyed a correct impression of the opinion and suggestions of the Committee.

We do not know how the Committee came to such a positive conclusion about the undoubted guilt of some internees solely on the untested and *ex parte* evidence placed before them by the police; nor why, if the guilt of these men is so undoubted, they have not been brought to trial.

In order to convince the people that the opinion of the Committee is entirely trustworthy, Lord Ronaldshay said:

"Remember these are not words spoken by the Government. They are words written by an absolutely impartial Commission, two of whose members were Indian gentlemen whom no one will accuse of being subservient to the Government.

There are several implications in these two sentences. One is that the Government, including pre-eminently Lord Ronaldshay, may not be absolutely impartial. The second is that the Rowlatt Committee were "absolutely impartial." The third is either that Indian gentlemen as a whole are not subservient to the Government, or that Indian gentlemen nominated by Government for a particular purpose are not subservient, or that only the two Indian gentlemen who sat on the Committee were not subservient. Let the public judge of the correctness of these implications.

In civic and political matters, Englishmen are far more experienced than ourselves. Let us, therefore, see who in the opinion of Englishmen in their own country are considered impartial and who prejudiced. We would in the first place ask our readers to draw their conclusions from what took place during

the debate in the House of Commons, on May 9, which followed the publication of General Maurice's letter on some statements made by Mr. Lloyd George about the army. Mr. Asquith said:

The Government had admitted that there was a case for enquiry. He regarded the proposal that two judges of experience should hold such an enquiry in such circumstances as unsatisfactory. Such a tribunal would be impotent unless it had statutory powers, and he suggested a non-party committee of five members of the House of Commons, who could probably reach a decision which would be respected by the House and the country in two or three days.

He proceeded:

Any Government statement of facts would be *ex parte* and made in the absence of those who had impugned the accuracy of previous statements. Mr. Asquith urged that it was in the honour and interest of the Government, the House, the Army, the nation and the Allies and the unhampered prosecution of the war, to establish a tribunal of enquiry which from its constitution and powers would be able to give a prompt decisive and authoritative judgment. He hoped regarding some of these matters that there had been honest misunderstanding, but the clearer the case the Ministers had for proving the accuracy of the impugned statements the more cogent was the argument in favour of an enquiry under conditions which nobody could suspect of partiality or prejudice. (Laughter, in which Mr. Bonar Law joined).

Mr. Asquith, turning to Mr. Bonar Law, asked whether Mr. Bonar Law thought that a Select Committee of the House was not an unsuspected tribunal.

Mr. Bonar Law replied that every member of the House of Commons was either friendly or unfriendly to the Government, and therefore prejudiced.

Mr. Asquith retorted, "I am very sorry to hear the leader of the House suggest that there cannot be five members of the House of Commons who are not so steeped in party prejudice that they cannot be trusted to judge a pure issue of fact. I leave it there."

The reader is to bear in mind that here the freedom from prejudice of Englishmen who were either His Majesty's Judges or Members of Parliament was the subject under consideration, and some of the men who were pronouncing opinion on it were men of Cabinet rank.

The Rowlatt Committee was presided over by a judge of the High Court of England and had an Indian and a European judge of two Indian High Courts among its members. Regarding the omniscience and infallibility of judges, the *Indian Daily News* recently quoted the following paragraphs from the well-known British newspaper the *New Witness*:

"The method of investigation proposed by the Government is far from satisfactory. They propose to submit the whole quarrel to the secret investigation and arbitrary decision of two judges; and we

suggest that the public keep a very sharp eye on those two judges; on who they are and on what they do. We have never seen the sense of keeping up the superstition that every judge is a premature day of judgment; awful as omnipotence and impartial as omniscience. There are good judges, and there are decidedly bad judges. But the commonest method of selecting and appointing judges makes them, with certain highly honourable exceptions, men quite peculiarly ill-fitted to decide boldly and fairly about a charge against politicians. They are themselves not only the nominees of such parliamentarians, but have earned such notice, as a rule, by long service, if not servility, in parliamentarism.

"An ambitious lawyer stands for Parliament on the secret party Fund; votes, speaks and is silent to order, moves convenient amendments (like the celebrated Buckmaster amendment) and is given a certain sort of wig and gown as a reward by the statesmen he has served. And then he, and another with the same history, may be locked up in a private room with a bundle of papers, to decide at their solitary and despotic pleasure whether the man who has rewarded them is to be ruined or expelled from public life! We can see that there is a case for the enquiry not being in the ordinary sense public; since it involves military designs and details. But there is no case for it not being in the ordinary sense representative; and it should specially represent the real critics of the Government."

We will give one more extract from Lord Ronaldshay's speech, in which he laid down the duty of newspapers and public men.

"You may ask me, perhaps, whether there is any way in which you can help in bringing about this desirable state of affairs. I reply most emphatically that there is. You can do more than anyone else can simply by desisting from encouraging in the minds of these people the belief that you are in sympathy with them. I am sure that you do not realise how much harm you do even by giving publicity to views like those which you have embodied in your address to me today. Perhaps I can bring it home to you by giving you a concrete example by way of illustration. The question of releasing a certain political prisoner from jail was recently under consideration, but before a decision could be come to it was necessary to find out whether he had repented of his former deeds. He was accordingly interviewed by a person who was related to him, and this is what he said: 'I regret that I have ever made any disclosures to the police. I made this mistake simply because I was not till then sure of the sympathy of my countrymen. Recent publications in the newspapers have cleared up my vision and I now see that my countrymen have fully appreciated the work done by us. This is why newspapers and leaders in Congresses, Conferences and Leagues have been fighting tooth and nail for our cause and are moving heaven and earth to turn the Defence of India Act into a dead letter.' Let those words sink deeply into your minds. There you have the case of a man who was inclined to repent of his former ways but was suddenly persuaded to return to them by the writings of a certain section of the press and by the thoughtless utterances of certain public men. I would that both the press and the public would weigh carefully the awful responsibility which, unknowingly perhaps, they are laying at their own doors.

Lord Ronaldshay thinks that the *detenus* are under the impression that a certain section of the press and some public men are in sympathy with them. By way of proof, he brings forward what a certain political prisoner is said to have told a relative of his. Let us take it for granted that the prisoner's words have been correctly reported to His Excellency. The Rowlatt Committee's Report, which according to the Governor ought to be implicitly relied upon, says of the *detenus*, "*they all lack habits of occupation and, in a measure, reason.*" On the strength of what *one* out of about a thousand men, all of whom, in a measure, lack reason, is reported to have said, the Governor asks us to believe that the *detenus* all think that many newspapers and public men are in sympathy with them! And His Excellency, too, appears to think that a section of the press and of public men are sympathetic.

His Excellency did not himself interview the prisoner, nor was he present at the interview. The interview was reported to him. Hence, there may be some reasonable doubt regarding the correctness of the report. In order to judge of its value, the public should know whether the interviewer himself reported the words of the prisoner to the Governor or they filtered through the medium of the police; whether at the interview any third person was present to bear witness to the truth of the report and the actual occurrence of the interview; whether the interviewer is himself a police officer, Government servant, informer or agent of the police; whether he is in hopes of getting a Government appointment or a title: what is the degree of his relationship with the prisoner; and whether there is any family quarrel between the two relatives or between the branches of the family to which they belong. Ties of blood would naturally make a relative anxious for the release of a prisoner with whom he was related. In this case, as he overcame this natural desire, he must have done so either from motives of righteousness and public duty, or from selfish motives. If he has done so from good motives, he would be obviously known to his neighbors generally as a righteous and public-spirited man; the report of the interview under discussion cannot be the only proof of his righteousness and public spirit. But as he

has not been named, the public curiosity about him and the prisoner cannot be satisfied.

A word or two about sympathy may not be amiss. We do not think any section of newspapers or of public men can be in sympathy with those who commit murders and dacoities. Race hatred *does* blind men to moral considerations, as the present war has shown in a most flagrant manner. It could have been supposed, however unjustly, by Europeans, therefore, that Indian publicists sympathised with murderers and dacoits, if the victims of their crimes were all or mostly Europeans. But that is not so. A similar suspicion might have been entertained, however unjustly, if the victims of the murderers and dacoits had been all European or Indian policemen. But the fact is otherwise. We have not come across any of these wicked perpetrators of evil deeds and have not learnt from them what the object of their crimes is. The official version is that their object is political. Taking it for granted that it is so, we repeat what we have said before, that the end does not justify the means, even if the means adopted were calculated to attain the end. But murders and dacoities as means to make India free and independent are not only wicked; they are also foolish and not at all calculated to bring about the political regeneration of India. Wherein then does sympathy come in? Not one of the state prisoners and *detenus* has been convicted of crime after a public trial. There is, therefore, a reasonable and justifiable doubt in the public mind that many of them may be innocent. Public agitation has for one of its objects the obtaining of justice for them in the shape of either release or conviction, after trial. If they cannot be brought to trial, there is a reasonable presumption in the public mind that at least many of them are quite innocent and ought to be released. This cannot be construed as sympathy with revolutionary outrages. Reports have reached the public from time to time that many *detenus* and state prisoners have been harshly, even cruelly, treated. The insanity, suicide and death of several of them have lent force to these reports. Public agitation has, therefore, had a second object, namely, that these men should receive humane treatment. This also cannot be

construed as sympathy with revolutionary outrages. In all civilised countries, efforts have been made to mitigate the severity of punishments and to improve jail methods and conditions. These have had for their object the securing of humane treatment for men convicted after open trial; but can penal law reformers and jail reformers be therefore accused of sympathy with criminals as criminals? How then can some editors and public men be suspected of sympathy with crime simply because they agitate for the humane treatment of mere suspects?

It is true that the *officially-alleged* object of these outrages is the liberation and independence of India, and it may be the real object of some of the men; and Indian newspapers and public men, for the most part, want the political enfranchisement of India within the British Empire. But for this reason it cannot be affirmed that the authors of these outrages and constitutional agitators are in sympathy with one another, though the word "freedom" loosely covers the objects of both groups of men. The announcement of August 20, 1917, and the Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms published on July 8, 1918, have for their object the political enfranchisement of India within the British Empire; and this object, too, may be conveyed by the expression "freedom of India." But would it be reasonable for this reason to say that the British Cabinet and the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy were in sympathy with revolutionaries? Of course, political animosity and self-interest sometimes make men behave like lunatics. *The Pioneer* was, therefore, once observed trying to establish a nexus between "moderate" constitutional agitators like the late Mr. Gokhale and the bomb-throwers,—the group of "extremist" constitutional agitators standing between those two groups. And recently some British and Anglo-Indian agitators and British public men of the Sydenham type have tried to create prejudice against both the British Government and Indian aspirants to self-government by saying that the British Government has been playing into the hands of Indian Bolsheviks! But no sane and responsible person, official or non-official, attaches any importance to these mad ravings.

"Present Reforms not impelled by the War."

A Reuter's telegram dated London, August 18, says that

Mr. Montagu interviewed emphasised that the Indian Reforms were based on British ideals of justice and liberty; not on German methods of repression. Mr. Montagu denied that the present reforms were impelled by the war. On the contrary the British administrators had always recognised the progressive character of British rule in India. As long as hundred and twenty years ago Sir Thomas Munro announced that he looked forward to the time when the population of India would be sufficiently enlightened to frame and conduct Government for themselves.

If British statesmen want to do a good and just thing in connection with India, their efforts deserve praise. But let them not say that the British Government in India and British officials had always before them the ideal of Indian self-rule towards which they had been continually and persistently working. For that is not the fact. Isolated officers like Sir Thomas Munro may have looked forward to a time when India would be self-ruling; the Marquis of Hastings even thought that India would be independent. But Sir Thomas Munro was not the Governor-General of India, and before August 20, 1917, neither he nor any other British statesman ever declared in his official capacity as Governor-General that to make India autonomous was the object of British rule in India towards which goal all officers had been enjoined to work and were working. On the contrary, "Lord Morley emphatically repudiated the idea" that the Morley-Minto reforms "were in any sense a step towards parliamentary government." And when Lord Hardinge declared the goal of provincial autonomy, his words were explained away by Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India. These all go against the claim now put forward on behalf of British rule in India by Mr. Montagu. The present intentions of the rulers may be all that they are claimed to be. We are not interested in disputing that claim. But it is not historically correct to say that these had always been the avowed or tacit aims of the British Indian Government to which its practice always or for the most part conformed.

In the Montagu-Chelmsford Report itself are to be found sentences contradicting what Mr. Montagu is reported to have said to the interviewer. In paragraph 7

of the report, it is said that the words of the announcement of August 20, 1917, "pledge the British Government in the clearest terms to the adoption of a new policy towards three hundred millions of people." In the same paragraph it is said: "Hitherto, as we shall show, we have ruled India by a system of absolute government,....."

"Mr. Montagu denied that the present reforms were impelled by the war." It may not be safe to say that they were entirely due to the war, but that they were largely due to it, admits of no reasonable doubt. Even the Montagu-Chelmsford Report gives one that impression; wide paragraphs 20-28 of that report.

The Special Congress at Bombay.

It was the duty of men of all shades of opinion who had hitherto given their adherence to the Congress movement, to attend the special session of the Congress at Bombay, or at least to give it their moral support. A united front was needed at the present juncture of the history of India. But there has been a split instead. So let us be content to take facts as they are. There should, however, be no attempt to give the special session any name which it does not deserve. It is clearly not a Congress consisting of men of all shades of political opinion; nor is it a Congress from which any men of any shade of opinion have been excluded. All have been equally welcome to attend it. It cannot, therefore, be spoken of as an "extremist" Congress. Apart from any general reasoning of the above description, it is clear that it has had the adherence of many prominent men of all parties. Some most influential "moderates" and some most influential "extremists" have attended it. It is not possible to say whether the majority of "moderate" public men have attended it, or whether the majority will attend the proposed "moderate" conference; for there is no definite and authoritative definition of a "public man" and a "moderate public man," nor has there been any census taken of the total number of public men and of moderate public men in the country. Neither is it possible to say whether among the delegates, the "extremists" or the "moderates" were in the majority; for not only is there no accepted definition of "moderate" and "extremist,"—terms invented by "our enemies"—but

no one can say what kind of criticism of the Reform Scheme makes a man a "moderate" and what an "extremist."

It would be noted, however, that the proposed "moderate" conference is meant to be attended only by those who would be invited by the organisers. It would, therefore, include only a section of the public, and shut out all the rest. The special session of the Congress has done nothing of the kind, and is known to have brought together men like Mr. Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Hence the special session of the Congress is certainly more representative of public opinion than the proposed "moderate" conference is likely to be, should all but the invited be excluded from it.

Even after the moderate conference has taken place, it would not be possible to say whether it was more representative of moderate opinion, or the special congress was; for, as we have said before, there is no definition of "moderate public man" nor any census of such men. The presumption, however, would be against the moderate conference; for it proposes to exclude all but a certain type of politicians, and may therefore exclude even many moderates; whereas the special congress has excluded none. It should be mentioned, however, that some moderate and other politicians may not have attended the special session of the Congress out of justifiable or unjustifiable fear of turbulence.

We have tried to describe the relative representative character of both gatherings in as fair a way as we could. Nothing could have given us greater pleasure than if men of all shades of opinion had met together and presented the united demand of India. But as that has not been the case, we shall be glad to find, as we expect to find, the resolutions of both gatherings embodying many common suggestions for the modification of the reform scheme. Already the proposals emanating from opposite camps have been observed to cover common ground. We are really more united in our essential demands than our enemies would like to recognise or even the prejudices or personal dislikes and animosities of many of our public men would enable them to perceive.

The Advisory Committee.

The Express says:—

The Advisory Committee is now sitting to con-

sider the cases of the political detainees and the procedure that is being followed is this: The accused is supplied with a copy of the charges at the Thana in the presence of a police officer and he is required to answer them in writing within a short time as best as he could. He is enjoined not to consult anybody nor to keep any copy of the charges. Now may we ask how is it possible for him to answer satisfactorily the charges which the Police had taken care to formulate against them at a moment's notice in the presence of a police officer without consulting any of his friends, relatives or guardians, much less any legal adviser, and without being apprised of the evidence which have been accumulated against him.

If the *Express* is correctly informed the procedure followed is very unsatisfactory.

The Cloth Problem.

Recently the cloth problem was considered in two public meetings in Calcutta. In the last of these Babu Surendranath Banerjea, who presided, said in the course of his speech:—

They called upon the Government to regulate the price of cloth as it had done in the case of iron and other articles. If the Government could regulate the price of iron why it should not do the same in the case of cloth? But they are thankful to the Government for it had taken some action in the matter and the people welcomed the regulation of prices of cloth that would naturally follow. The Government expressed its willingness to interfere in the case of Indian mills. Why should not the same principle be followed in the case of the imported articles? There ought to be an equality of treatment for mill-owners in India and in Great Britain. But the people had their own duty. They must come forward to alleviate the sufferings of the poorer people. Why should not raise funds and distribute the money to the poor people? The speaker made a personal appeal to the Marwari gentlemen present to come forward with gifts of dhooties and saris for distribution among the poor people. In conclusion the speaker asked the people to abstain from purchasing cloth at present. That was the only means of keeping down the demand and the immediate result would be that prices should go down. Their appeal was not enough. They ought to set an example by subscribing to the fund.

We heartily support the views expressed in the above extract.

Resolutions were passed at the meeting in conformity with the views expressed in the president's speech. Funds should be liberally subscribed for the free distribution and cheap sale of cloth. Cotton cultivation and hand spinning and weaving should be resorted to according to the suggestions of Rai Bahadur Jadunath Mazumdar which have been widely published in many of the English and vernacular papers of Bengal.

The Government has already taken six months to enquire and deliberate, and now their cloth controller is going to

make additional enquiries and to confer with people who have knowledge of the business. We wonder when the enquiry and conference stage will come to an end, and the proposed standard cloth placed in the market.

Communal Representation.

The following is one of the *Madras Mail's* special cables, which are notoriously reliable:—

London, Aug. 18.—Current reports state that Sir John Hewett will be Chairman of one Committee of possibly both. All now realise that the battle for communal representations is as good as won but all other points of attack are strongly defended by Government. Though it is essential to remember that opposition to the innumerable aspects is growing, general acceptance of the principle of the reform means that no one is bound to accept Mr. Montagu's proposals. Papers are now discussing the details. From missionary standpoint the Methodist Recorder strongly champions sixty million outcasts asserting that under the present scheme they are unrepresented and their interests unprotected. Despite official wire pulling which is persistent subtle critics are obtaining everywhere far freer expression for their views. Graphone papers here devoted very wide sympathetic attention to Lord Willingdon's courageous speech in the Bombay War Conference.

The two committees are those for determining the electoral qualifications in different provinces and areas, and for deciding what are to be the reserved and transferred subjects in different provinces. It is possible that there may be a worse chairman of these committees than Sir John Hewett, but he appears to be about the worst.

The case against communal representation has been most ably put by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy in their report. We do not think the enemies of Indian solidarity will be so easily able to dislodge these high authorities from their ground. If these enemies win, it will not do to blame them alone. Primarily, our religious bigotry and caste bigotry are to blame. Whoever may have originally started the game, henceforth men of all sects must make a strenuous attempt to look at all political and civic questions, small and large, from the Indian point of view, as distinguished from the merely sectarian or sectional point of view.

As for caste bigotry, though it exists in all parts of India, lunatic ideas about "untouchability" and the power said to be possessed by certain Panchamas to make the "holy" Brahmans and other "high" caste men "unholy" from a distance of many yards, are more prevalent in the

southern parts of India than in the north. If the curse of communal representation according to castes came upon India as a visitation, the "holy" lunatics of Cochin, Malabar and other similar "untouchability"-ridden regions would be more responsible for it than anybody else; though this does not absolve any of us from responsibility. We must all work for the improvement of the condition of all Indians, remembering Herbert Spencer's observation that no one can be perfectly free until all are free, no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral, and no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy.

The British people are apt to make the mistake of thinking that caste distinctions in India are in all respects worse than the distinction between classes and masses in Great Britain. Each is better and worse than the other in some respects. Castes in India are vertical divisions, containing persons of widely differing economic and educational standings. Thus a Brahman or a Kayastha, or even a Pariah (though far more rarely), may be rich or poor, a professional man or a peasant or a menial, cultured or illiterate. Socially the units of a caste or sub-caste group are equal irrespective of wealth, occupation or education. A poor Brahman family may dine or intermarry with a rich Brahman family. In England the divisions are horizontal. There is generally no social equality and intercourse between the Lords and the peasants, the cultured classes and the uneducated coster-mongers and navvies, and so on. But the ordinary Britisher takes it for granted that a Lord or an Oxonian of the upper middle class can adequately protect the interests of peasants and miners and other working men; the ordinary Britisher forgets that his assumption is repudiated by the Labour Party, whose rise and growth in power would be inexplicable if the assumption were true; the ordinary Britisher, however, cannot believe that an Indian man of one sect or caste can protect the interests of another caste or sect. We think that in India, too, there will be in course of time a Labour Party, when the Indian labourers have received sufficient education, as their brethren in England have. But in the meantime there is no urgent necessity for giving any class special communal representation, just as special communal representation was never given to British

labourers or British Roman Catholics or British Nonconformists. In England there was a time when the door in politics and education was shut against certain sects by law. There were and are class and sectarian riots and dissensions there. Here in India, the law does not exclude anybody from any educational institution or municipal or local body or legislature on the ground of his caste or sect; one has only to possess the requisite educational or property qualification. The case for communal representation was, therefore, stronger in England at one time than it is in India now. But there has never been communal representation in the British Isles; the people there have been all the better for it, and have attained a gradually increasing national solidarity. In India, however, where no caste or sect labours under any legal disability, our British friends like Lord Sydenham and some Christian missionaries insist on giving communal representation to some sects and castes, thus obstructing the growth of national solidarity.

They say Indian Home Rule or anything like it would lead to the establishment of a Brahman oligarchy. In the first place, taking it for granted that there would be such an oligarchy, until quite recently was not British parliamentary government an oligarchy of peers and the middle class gentry, and has it not been gradually replaced by a more representative government? What is there to show that in India the same sort of evolution of government would not take place? In the second place, we deny that there would be such an oligarchy, taking India as a whole. Of the 27 elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council, only seven are Brahmans. Of the 31 nominated members only one seems to be a Brahman. In the provinces, the ascendancy of the Brahmans is greatest in Madras. In the Madras Legislative Council, so far as we can judge from the names, of the 21 elected members nine are Brahmans, and of the 20 nominated members, only one or at the most two are Brahmans. In Bengal, out of the 28 elected members, only 4 or 5 are Brahmans, and out of the 16 nominated members, only two are Brahmans. In the United Provinces, out of 46 members (in the Indian Year Book the elected and nominated members are not shown separately for this province), only seven appear

to be Brahmans. These figures are based on the list of names given in the Indian Year Book for 1918. We need not go through the lists of all provinces. The figures given will go to show that Indian self-rule would not mean the establishment of a Brahman oligarchy; for there is no reason to think that the new electoral rules and qualifications will be more favorable to the Brahmans than the present ones are. There are other considerations too, which lead to the same conclusion. In no province of India do the Brahmans constitute the majority of the population; in no province are they the most numerous caste; in the northern half of India they are certainly not the most prosperous and influential caste; and judging by the percentage of literacy, they are not the most literate caste in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Burma, C. P. and Berar, the Punjab, and the United Provinces. They are the most literate caste in Bombay and Madras. The State has only to make education free and compulsory, and in a decade the non-Brahman castes would show as high a percentage of literacy as the Brahmans even in the two provinces where the Brahmans are the most literate caste.

We do not pretend that all Brahmans and other high caste men are angels, any more than British peers and upper middle class men are angels. Nor do we believe that British costermongers and Indian pariahs are angels. We think it necessary to say at the same time that Brahmans, Pariahs and British peers are not naturally more selfish or worse than other men. We have to see what kind of machinery will produce the greatest good in the long run. We find that the United Kingdom has done tolerably well without communal representation,—certainly far better than parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire with communal representation. We, therefore, as practical men, like to follow the British precedent, though we may not be able to acquire fame as philanthropists like the Sydenham gang and some Christian missionaries.

Bureaucratic Campaign Against the Indian Press.

The Burma Government was the first to shut out from its province legally published and circulated newspapers like *New India*, *The Indian Review* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. The Punjab

Government has followed suit and excluded from its province *New India* and the *Commonweal*. The Bombay Government has adopted a different strategy. It has forbidden registered libraries to subscribe for papers like the *New Times*, and some other papers of Sind. In Bengal, there is a list of approved newspapers and periodicals out of which alone Government and aided educational institutions may choose any which they want to take. How free we are! We fervently pray that all laws, ordinances, regulations, &c., relating to the press, may for all time to come remain a "reserved" subject for the bureaucracy.

Government and the Sedition Committee's Report.

The Sedition Committee of 1918, known as the Rowlatt Committee, has submitted its report, and Government has published it. Perhaps Government is now considering what action should be taken on it. We submit for the consideration of the highest officers of the crown a piece of advice which Machiavelli has given to princes. "Never let a prince," says he, "complain of the faults of the people under his rule, for they are due either to his negligence or else to his own example."

It may be taken for granted that there has been and is a revolutionary movement confined to a very small section of the population. But nothing happens without a cause. History teaches that in all countries where there have been revolutionary movements, the causes have been political and economic. Government ought to find out these causes in India, and apply remedies which will go to the root of the matter. Without such remedies, mere repression will not succeed. And the repressive measures suggested by the Rowlatt Committee are calculated to perpetuate the state of unrest.

The majority of the people of India are not turbulent. Government should seriously consider why even a small fraction of such a people should think of risking life, limb and liberty in a hopeless rebellious attempt against one of the most powerful governments in the world. In "*The Expansion of England*" by Professor J. R. Seely (Macmillan & Co., 1935), the people of India in the eighties of the last century are thus characterised:—

".....We find a population which by habit and long tradition is absolutely passive, which has been

dragonnaded by foreign military Governments, until the very conception of resistance has been lost. We find also a population which has no sort of unity, in which nationalities lie in layers, one under another, and languages wholly unlike each other are brought together by composite dialects caused by fusion. In other words, it is a population which for the present is wholly incapable of any common action. As I said, if it had a spark of that corporate life which distinguishes a nation, it could not be held in such a grasp as we lay upon it. But there is no immediate prospect of such a corporate life springing up in it."

• It is not our purpose to examine in all its details the correctness of what the author says. What we would ask the Government to calmly consider is why among such a population the idea of resistance has taken hold of the mind of even a small fraction, and that pre-eminently in a province which Anglo-Indians have always despised for its real or supposed timidity. It will not do to fasten all the blame on the agitators. When people's stomachs are full they cannot be persuaded by even the most gifted agitator to believe that they are hungry. The agitator's words are fruitless unless they fall on fit soil; and no student of history need be told what is the fit soil for revolutionary ideas.

The Rowlatt Committee as Historians.

The very first sentence of the report of the sedition committee runs thus: "Republican or Parliamentary forms of government, as at present understood, were neither desired nor known in India till after the establishment of British rule." It is a curiously worded sentence. Can it mean that Republican or Parliamentary forms of government *have been known* in India *after* the establishment of British rule? If so, in what sense? In the sense that they are known to exist in India at present? Or in the sense that the people of India have come to know, under British rule, of the existence of such forms of government in foreign countries? The members of the committee cannot certainly mean that the British people, after establishing their rule in India, have introduced republican or parliamentary forms of government in this country; for that is not a fact, and in the Montagu-Chelmsford report the authors say, "Hitherto we have ruled India by a system of absolute government." What the committee mean is that republican or parliamentary forms of government never existed in India. Now that is false, as "every

schoolboy knows" or ought to know, as the fact is mentioned in many English and vernacular text-books of history. Should the committee lay stress on the words, "*as at present understood*", that would not give them a loophole of escape. For it is not a peculiarity of India alone that republican or parliamentary forms of government *as at present understood* did not exist here in past ages. Democracy as at present understood is a thing of modern growth everywhere. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (article Democracy) tells us that "Democracy in modern times is a very different thing from what it was in its best days in Greece and Rome." Similarly we learn from *Chambers's Encyclopaedia* that "the modern democracy differs essentially from the ancient and mediæval forms." Therefore it is as pointless and useless to say that modern democracy was non-existent in ancient India (for it was unknown in all countries), as it would be to say that steamers were unknown in ancient India, for steamers were unknown in all countries in ancient and mediæval times.

An Unfounded Apprehension.

Fears have been expressed in some quarters that if the Reform Scheme were subjected to strong criticism, the "boon" might be withdrawn altogether. We have always opposed such beggarly fears. What would be the value of a thing which lay entirely in the power of other people to give or withdraw at pleasure?

• But that these fears are quite unfounded would be at once clear from Sir John D. Rees' attitude. His curious speech on the scheme in the House of Commons has been thus summarised by Reuter:—

Sir John D. Rees urged a speedy carrying out of the proposals of the Report. If the establishment of democracy in India led to a period of Brahmin oligarchy that should not be greatly deplored. Brahmins were the natural leaders of the people of India. The reception of the proposals by Extremists such as Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant showed that the proposals were not likely to give away British power in India.

The logic of Sir John Rees may be briefly put thus: Whatever Mr. Tilak and Mrs. Besant condemn must be a good thing! So those who want to have the scheme, the whole scheme, and nothing but the scheme, have only to criticise it severely to obtain their heart's desire!

Manhood and Womanhood Suffrage for the Depressed Classes.

Mr. Bai Gangadhar Tilak is an orthodox Brahman, a Home Ruler, and the most influential Home Rule leader in the Bombay Presidency. And what does his organ, the *Mahratta*, propose in order to place Brahman oligarchy on an unassailable basis? Why, universal manhood and womanhood suffrage for the Depressed Classes! With reference to the steps recommended by the last session of the Depressed Classes Mission Conference for the elevation of this section of the population, the *Mahratta* has made the following suggestion:—

"In our opinion one most effective way of accelerating the uplift of the depressed brethren of ours is to give every adult man and woman amongst them the municipal and the political franchise.....And we feel that Adult Franchise will be a great asset for the untouchables in their efforts to come up to the level of their more fortunate brethren."

Our contemporary is right.

Votes for Women.

In India women can become graduates. They already serve in many Government and mercantile offices, and in Government and private educational institutions. They manage large landed estates of their own and some trading concerns, too. They pay taxes, and are as much affected by the laws of the country as men. There is no reason why they should not have the votes. In provinces where the purdah prevails, it is necessary only to appoint qualified women as polling officers, and make suitable arrangements for the identification of the voters. Votes given to women would be calculated to diminish drunkenness, improve the sanitary condition of towns and villages, advance the cause of social purity, spread education among girls and women and make it necessary to pay greater attention to the health, education and general upbringing of children.

Appointment of European Women to High Posts.

If Indian women were appointed to high posts by Government, we would rejoice. But recently three European women have been appointed to high posts, two as professors in Government colleges, one to an assistant secretaryship in Burma. Owing to the paucity of European men to fill vacancies, the ser-

vices of European women have been requisitioned. So they are going to be help-mates of the males in a new way, namely, in the exploitation of India, in sucking her dry. The prospect is gloomy from another point of view, too. For the women of the ruling race are likely to be haughtier and more tyrannical as officers than the men, and if the former get nervous or offended, you have very little hope of obtaining justice at the hands of a male bureaucrat superior in official position to the female bureaucrat.

Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Message to the Wood National College.

We take from the *Commonweal* the following message which was sent by Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the Chancellor of the National University, to the boys of the Wood National College, Madanapalle, on the occasion of the reopening of the College, in July, after the vacation:

Every morning the messenger of light comes to the flower buds with the message of hope for their blossoming. Every morning the same light also comes to us raising our curtain of sleep. The only word which it daily repeats to us is: "See." But what is that message of expectation which this word carries? What is that seeing which is as the flowering of our sight? The scene which the light brings before our eyes is inexpressibly great. But our seeing has not been as great as the scene presented to us, we have not fully seen. We have seen mere happenings, but not the deeper truth, which is measureless joy. And yet the morning light daily points its finger to the world. It bends down upon a grass blade with a smile that fills the sky and says to us, "See."

Dr. Nair's Liberty of Speech.

The following telegram will be found very edifying:—

London, August 1.

In the House of Lords, replying to Lord Lamington, Lord Islington said that the Government, after further careful consideration, especially referring to the fact that certain prominent Indians had expressed views on the Report had decided to release Dr. Nair from his undertaking. Simultaneously, in view of the non-differentiation between Indians holding divergent views, the Government had further considered the case of Mr. Tilak who would shortly arrive in England in connection with a legal case. Mr. Tilak had accepted restrictions similar on Dr. Nair, but had expressly stated that he reserved the right of appeal to the Government to reconsider his case. The Government proposed, on Mr. Tilak's arrival, further to consider the case regarding any appeal he might make.

The relevant question is not whether certain prominent Indians had expressed views on the Report and therefore whether others should be allowed to do so or not, but whether Indians of all kinds of political

views would be impartially allowed to proceed to England; to place their views before the British public. Dr. Nair has been allowed to proceed to England and to carry on his political propaganda there, and therefore justice requires that other Indians should be allowed to go there and address the British public,—particularly the members of the Indian deputations turned back after they had finished part of their dangerous voyage. It is not a case between Dr. Nair and Mr. Tilak personally and in their private capacity; and even if it were, the British Government ought to have decided at once and said that Mr. Tilak would be allowed to speak and write on Indian politics as soon as he reached England. Lord Islington has simply said that "Government proposed, on Mr. Tilak's arrival, further to consider the case regarding any appeal he might make." By the time he reaches England, Lord Sydenham, Lord Lamington and other men may be able to discover reasons why Mr. Tilak ought not to be allowed to express his views on the reform scheme in England; and the War Cabinet may very obligingly yield to the pressure of the Sydenham gang. All the incidents connected with Dr. Nair's present visit to England are marked by an appearance of cunning which is discreditable to all the persons concerned. The doctor's malady has been as obliging as the War Cabinet; it left him the very moment he was ready for his propaganda on British soil.

But India will have justice in spite of the efforts of her enemies.

Incidentally we are reminded of the services rendered to the cause of Indian reform by Mr. Saint Nihal Singh. Readers of British newspapers know how many articles he has contributed to the British Press to place the case for India before the British public. How much more he could have done if he could command sufficient resources to keep ten or twenty secretaries.

Reciprocity Between India and the Dominions.

The acceptance of the principle of reciprocity treatment between India and the Dominions is, for the most part, only of theoretical value. It will not result in removing any of the galling, injurious and insulting disabilities under which Indians labour in most parts of the South African Union as regards trading licenses,

the selection of premises for dwelling and trading purposes, travelling in tram cars and railway trains, and other matters. Until Indians in their country have the same amount of political power as the white men of the Dominions have in theirs, there can be no real reciprocity. For the conditions and restrictions as to immigration which any Dominion may lay down would be determined entirely by its white inhabitants with a single eye to their own interests; but the conditions and restrictions which would be laid down by the Government of India would not be determined solely or mainly by the elected representatives of the people of India. For, just as at present the bureaucracy are supreme in the affairs of the Indian Empire, so are they likely to remain after the reform scheme has been given effect to; and the bureaucracy do not act with a single eye to the interest and self-respect of India. Of course, the recognition of the principle of reciprocity will do some good. It will enable travellers on pleasure, men of business and students seeking education to go to the Dominions, and reside there temporarily. It will enable "Indians already permanently domiciled in other British countries" "to bring in their wives and minor children on condition (a) that no more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each such Indian and (b) that each individual so admitted shall be certified by the Government of India as being lawful wife or child of such Indian." But the observance of these conditions would result in the violation of the sanctity of the marriage tie and great hardship and injustice to married women in many cases. Considering the age at which girls are generally married in India and the marriage customs prevalent among many communities, particularly the Muslims, the plural wives of a single husband are not to blame for his polygamy. Under the circumstances, to compel a polygamous man to practically discard all his wives (with their issue) except one, would be a great and undeserved wrong to these discarded wives and their children. We are not pleading for the perpetual recognition of polygamy. What would suffice to meet the needs of justice would be to lay down that all the wives who had been married before the promulgation of the reciprocity agreement, and their children, would be admissible to the

Dominions, plural wives married after that date being shut out. It is a curious instance of human hypocrisy that whereas Westerners are "horrified" at the thought of a man having several wives married to him *legally and with religious ceremonies* and therefore having a social status, there is no such horror of practical polygamy of an illicit and disreputable character.

As regards reciprocity in the matter of immigration, the Dominions would shut out Indian labour, and India would be

entitled to shut out only Dominion labour. But whereas Indian labourers require to go to the Dominions, from the Dominions it is not labourers who come here, but traders, professional men, Government officers, men seeking mining and planting concessions, &c. This sort of reciprocity then would be disadvantageous to India, but would continue to enable the white men of the Dominions to exploit India in all the ways in which they have hitherto done so.

THE TAJ MAHAL

PARADOX.

What love exhaled what beauty ! What desire
Broke whitely past the flesh, and in dumb stone
Found silence louder than the heart's wild tone
That for great sorrow built this moonlit pyre !
Flame to white flame, minar and slender spire
He bade arise, consuming his deep moan.
Vain ! Vain ! ... His grief for us to bliss has grown
Through Beauty's quenchless and preserving fire.
... Canst Thou not leave us to our little ends,
Allah ! nor our dear purposes annoy
With something deeper than the eye can see,
As here, where, more than stricken love intends,
Sorrow is throned on everlasting joy,
And Death is crowned with immortality ?

FORGOTTEN WORKERS.

Ten thousand and ten thousand came and went,
Forgotten builders of one lasting name,
Even as fuel perishes to flame,
Grapes to new wine, their strength for others spent.
Yet here they have enduring monument,
One with the master's whom our lips proclaim ;
Beyond the loud irrelevance of fame,
The worker lost, in his great work content.
... Ah ! smile on us who build Thy house of life,
Allah ! that we, though nameless, have the grace
To perish greatly in Thy rising fane
Where Beauty wields pain's hammer, death's keen knife.
Grant us oblivion in Thy shining Face.
All else forgotten, Thou alone remain.

MURMURS IN THE DOME.

Sunrise... The servant makes his morning round,
And on her tomb his duster flicks and swings
With a soft swish : a raucous beggar sings.
High in the dome, caught swiftly from the ground,
Murmur and murmur echo and rebound,
Transfiguring those abject common things
To heavenly Presences on rustling wings
Joined in a conclave of celestial sound !

...Had we but ears made pure that we might hear,
 Allah! beyond this flying dust of speech,
 The authentic Voice that our vain words eclipse,
 Ah! then, the Infinite low murmuring near,
 We might outsing our beggar-whine, and reach
 A Godlike utterance on human lips.

THE PASSING OF THE BUILDER.

For her alone, love's queen, this queenly tomb
 He planned; and for himself in thought essayed
 On Jamuna's thither margin to be laid
 In a severer pomp of kingly gloom.
 Ah! vainly men to fashion fate presume :—
 Steadfast through passing empires, here arrayed
 In deathless beauty he himself had made.
 Dust by her dust, he finds his perfect doom.
 ...Open our eyes, and unto them display,
 Allah! the hidden Taj that through our strife
 Invisibly we build in passion's fire
 And thought's high sculpturing. Grant us each day
 Beautiful burial, sweet death in life,
 And peace at last beside the Heart's Desire.

JAMES H. COUSINS.

HINDU LAW OF STAMPS; COURT-FEES AND COSTS

ALL authorities point to the conclusion that a suitor in ancient India was not required to bring his action in a court of justice by the precious payment of a duty in the shape of stamps as court-fees just as one has to do in our British Indian Courts, nor is it evident that any process-fees was levied from him. The King's attendant performed the duties of the peon and process-server. This was due to the fact that a Hindu sovereign regarded it his paramount duty to administer justice without the thought of any remuneration.

Traces of a variety of fines and costs are abundant.

Ordinarily a successful party had to pay nothing to the king. But an unsuccessful party had to pay costs to his successful adversary who, in his turn, paid a portion thereof to the king.

A defendant who admitted his debt in the midst of the proceeding paid a fine of five in the hundred. If he denied a claim but if it was subsequently proved to be true, a fine of twice the amount was realised from him (*Manu* VIII, 139). A rich and dishonest debtor was dealt with more severely. He was made to pay a fine of twenty per cent. (*Narada* : Colebrooke's Digest, vol. I, p. 378). In

an undefended or *ex parte* case the fine was five in the hundred; in a contested case it was ten. All these fines went to the royal chest. Yajnavalkya is much to the same effect. He says that although a litigant had not to pay any fees pending the litigation, yet he had to pay some costs after it was over. His statement which has been translated by Colebrooke runs thus :

'A debtor shall be forced to pay to the King ten in the hundred of the sum proved against him; and the creditor having received the sum due must pay five in the hundred.....'

Colebrooke's Digest, Vol. I, C.C. I., XXV, p. 379.

Vishnu also ordains to the same strain. He says that 'if a creditor sue before the King and fully establish his claim, the debtor shall pay a tenth of the sum proved as fine to him; and the plaintiff, having realised the sum due shall pay a twentieth part of it.....'

(Colebrooke's Digest, vol. I, C. C. XXVII, p. 381)

All those fines, it is interesting to note, went to the keeping up of the judicial administration of the ancient Hindu sovereigns.

P. C. GHOSH.



PORTRAIT OF A MUGHAL PRINCESS

From an old Painting

By courtesy of Mr. Samarendranath Gupta.

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MEMORY IMAGE AND ITS REVIVAL

By SIR J. C. BOSE.

OF that mental revival of past experience which we call memory, we may notice two different types. One is the spontaneous and recurrent revival of some strong impression from which we cannot escape; in the second case the primary impression has faded away, and it is only after an effort that we succeed in reviving the latent image.

The phenomenon of memory then, is concerned with some after-effect of an impression induced by a stimulus. An investigation of the after-effects of stimulus on very simple types of living tissue, may throw some light on this obscure subject.

It should be borne in mind that excitation induced by stimulus may find different forms of expression according to the indicating apparatus; the same excitation may thus be exhibited by mechanical movement, electrical variation, or by sensory response.

As an instance of mechanical response to stimulus may be mentioned the sudden fall of the leaf or leaflets of certain sensitive plants, like *Mimosa pudica* or *Biophytum sensitivum*. In these there is a cushion-like mass of tissue at the joint, the pulvinus, which serves as the motile organ. The stem in the stalk of the plant contains, as I have shewn elsewhere, a strand of tissue which conducts excitation in precisely the same manner as the nerve in the animal. Stimulus thus causes an excitatory impulse in the plant which, reaching the pulvinus, gives rise to an answering contraction, in consequence of which there is a sudden fall of the leaf or leaflets. On the cessation of stimulus there is a slow recovery, the leaf re-erecting itself to its normal outspread position. By means of a delicate apparatus a record may be taken of this response and recovery.

In the case of plants which possess no

motile organs, the excitatory reactions may still be detected by electrical response. I find that the tissue of a plant under excitation undergoes a sudden electric variation, the character and sign of which is exactly the same as that of an excited animal tissue. By means of suitable galvanometers the response of all plants and every organ of every plant may be recorded. The electric responses to stimulation are found to be similar to the mechanical responses given by motile organs.

In studying these records of mechanical or electrical responses, it is found that the effect of strong stimulus is more persistent than that of feeble stimulus. This is equally true of the psychological retention of an impression. Another noticeable fact as regards the subsidence of excitation or recovery, is that at first it is very rapid and then slows down. This is also characteristic of the rate of forgetting.

Another remarkable analogy is the effect of continued stimulation; the excitatory effect in the plant is found to increase at first with increasing duration, but when too long continued, the effect undergoes a rapid diminution on account of fatigue. Similarly there is an actual danger in "cram" of reducing the image to be remembered, to the dimness of an overexposed photograph.

MULTIPLE RESPONSE AND RECURRENT MEMORY.

I have described how a single stimulus of moderate intensity, gives rise to a single response. Taking *Biophytum sensitivum* as our experimental plant, we may thus obtain a series of single responses to moderate stimulus. But if the impinging stimulus be very strong, then it induces multiple excitations, as seen in repeated responses: (Fig. 1.) Such records

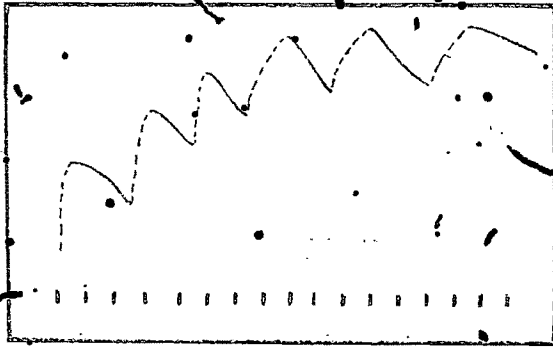


Fig. 1.—Multiple response in *Avernho* under a single strong electrical stimulus.

Vertical marks below indicate time interval of 1 minute (in this and in the following record).

I have not only obtained by the mechanical but also by the electrical mode of response. Moreover these echoing or multiple after-effects of strong stimulus occur in an interesting form in multiple visual sensation when the retina has been excited by intense light. The recurrent after-image is very distinct at the beginning, but becomes fainter after many repetitions. A time comes when it is difficult to tell whether the image is a real after-sensation or merely an effect of "memory." There is, in fact, no hard and fast line between the two—one merges simply into the other. Often the recurrent memory image seems to disappear on account of weariness and the distractions of the day; but it may reappear in all its vividness as soon as night and solitude have brought the necessary freedom from disturbance. Since an intense excitation is liable to recur spontaneously, without the action of the will or even in spite of it, it follows that any single impression, when very intense, may become dominant and persist in automatic recurrence. Examples of this are only too familiar.

MEMORY REVIVAL.

A more interesting form of memory is the revival of an impression the after-effect of which has faded out. Here we find that when no tangible effect of the impression remains it may still be recalled by an effort or impulse of the will.

It is clear that such a revival of impression can only take place by bringing about original condition of excitation; in

other words repeating the effect of the original stimulus in its complete absence.

As a concrete example we may take the visual impression of a bright cross against a dark background. Under primary stimulus it is clear that we have in the sensory field two areas under differential excitation: The one—the excited area—in the form of a cross; the other, outside this, remaining unexcited. The image of the cross is therefore due to the differential excitation of a definite region in the sensory field. It is therefore obvious that in order to revive the picture we have to reproduce, in the absence of primary stimulus, the same state of differential excitation as was originally induced.

Evidently a pattern has been impressed on some sensitive area which remains latent. The tablet can never again be rendered quite clean. The tissue, which was originally *isotropic*, must have been rendered *anisotropic*, by the differential action of stimulus imprinting the latent image.

I shall now proceed to show that such anisotropy is actually induced by the latent impression left by stimulus. Next I shall demonstrate different methods by which we can detect the areas of differential excitability, and finally I shall show how the latent memory image can be brought into excitatory prominence.

AFTER-EFFECT OF STIMULUS ON EXCITABILITY AND CONDUCTIVITY.

Working with different plant tissues I find that the excitability of a tissue is enhanced by moderate stimulation; enhanced excitability thus being the effect of moderate stimulation, a tissue which has previously been excited, is rendered more susceptible than one which has never been excited. In a *Mimosa* which has been kept free from stimulation, a series of sub-minimal stimuli were applied at regular intervals. The first stimulus produced no excitation, the second gave rise to a very feeble response; as an after-effect of these stimulations, however, the excitability of the tissue was enhanced and the subsequent responses became large.

Similarly, the conducting power of the plant-nerve is enhanced by previous stimulation. A specimen of *Mimosa*, which has been kept screened from external stimulation, has little development of conducting power, but by application of successive

stimuli, the tissue which was formerly ineffective now begins to conduct excitation, and becomes increasingly effective under successive stimuli. This may be called the educative influence of stimulation.

It is thus clear that the area which has once been locally excited is rendered relatively more excitable than the neighbouring unexcited area. But such differences we cannot discover by even the closest scrutiny; they are latent.

Let us next see how we can discriminate these areas of latent impression—that is to say, of differential excitability. It is evident that the area of greater excitability will exhibit greater excitation under stimulation, and we have seen that greater excitation may be manifested in different ways, depending on the different organs of expression. Greater excitation may thus be evidenced first by greater contraction, secondly by more intense electrical token of excitation of galvanometric negativity, or thirdly by greater intensity of sensation.

DYNAMIC MANIFESTATION OF DIFFERENTIAL EXCITABILITY.

As an example of the first let us take the pulvinus of *Mimosa*, the upper halves of which through the action of light and other stimuli of the environment have become anisotropic or differentially excitable. If we had not been previously aware of the peculiar characteristics of the pulvinus, its quiescent condition would have given us no clue to its latent excitabilities. But differences which were latent could be brought into dynamic prominence by the action of a testing blow. Let us apply a diffuse stimulus which will act directly on both halves of the pulvinus. The direction of the resulting excitatory movement will now depend on the greater contraction of the more excitable half. The spasmodic down-movement of the leaf thus demonstrates the greater degree of latent excitability of the lower half. Thus a diffuse stimulus reveals the internal condition by causing a definite movement. In the case mentioned the diffuse stimulus was applied externally on the motile organ. But a shock from within, or external stimulus, will both bring about equally the same result. The stimulus instead of being applied on the pulvinus, may be applied on a distant point of the stem. The excitation will be transmitted as an

internal nervous impulse, and this blow from within will reveal the greater excitability of the lower half of the pulvinus, by the resulting fall of the leaf.

ELECTRIC DISCRIMINATION OF LATENT IMPRESSION.

In the absence of any motile indication, as for example when the leaf is physically restrained from movement, the latent differential excitability may still be made to exhibit itself by means of electrical response. Suitable electrical connections are made between the upper and lower halves of the pulvinus and an included galvanometer. The galvanometer needle will be found to remain quiescent under the normal condition of rest. But if an excitation be caused at some distant point on the stem, the internal excitatory impulse will act diffusely on both halves of the organ. The latent differential excitability will now be made manifest by the sudden occurrence of an electrical current, which flows through the pulvinus from the more excited lower to the more excited upper half. This takes place, even when, as stated before, the motile response of the leaf is physically restrained, and in organs which are not conspicuously motile at all. In other words, the part of the organ which is possessed of greater latent excitability will, under the test of diffuse stimulus, become galvanometrically negative. If this particular variation of electrical condition were visible, the more excited lower half of the organ would be seen to glow with light. From these demonstrations we see that latent impalpable differences of excitability may be awakened into greater prominence by the shock of diffused stimulus, whether internal or external, the sign of this greater excitability being either greater contraction, or greater galvanometric negativity.

EXCITATION OF ANISOTROPIC STRUCTURE AND ELECTRIC DISCHARGE.

The electrical organ of certain fishes, again, consist of a number of plates, each being unequally excitable on its two sides. In the *Torpedo* for example the anterior or nervous surface is more excitable than the posterior or non-nervous. There are numerous such plates, in series, and all these remain quiescent in a state of inactivity. But under sudden internal stimulation, induced at the will of the animal,

mal, the differential excitability hitherto latent is manifested electrically, the more excitable face of each plate becoming galvanometrically negative. The pile-like arrangement of these discs causes their individual variations to act additively and thus determine the intensity of the electrical discharge.

EXPERIMENTAL REVIVAL OF LATENT IMAGE.

I may now describe an experiment which I have devised, exemplifying the process of the rise of a latent impression into vividness under the action of diffuse stimulus. We may take a metallic surface, a *leaf*, in which different areas are impressed with latent variations of excitability, in consequence of the previous action on them of stimulating or depressing agents. A A' A'' is the indifferent background represented as grey. Another portion B has its excitability exalted as an after-effect of some stimulating agent. This is represented as white. In still a third portion C, the excitability has been depressed, this being represented as black. This latent impress of unequal excitability has for purposes of convenience been described by means of a scheme of light and shade. But in reality there is no outward sign of difference. An electric contact with a galvanometer is kept permanently made to the indifferent surface A''. The second or the exploring contact is now moved along the plate and while it rests on any point, the plate is excited as a whole by vibration. The galvanometer under this arrangement will detect differential excitability. As long as the exploring wire moves over indifferent areas there is no effect detected in the galvanometer. But as soon as the exploring point rests

on the area B, the latent enhancement of excitability there shows itself by a sudden responsive up-movement of the galvanometer. When the explorer again passes over B and reaches the indifferent area A, response disappears. But when it reaches C with its depressed excitability, there is another responsive movement, this time in a reversed, or down direction. It is thus seen that the impress made by the action of stimulus, though it remains latent and invisible, can be revived by the impact of a fresh excitatory impulse. (Fig. 2).

DEATH-STRUGGLE AND MEMORY-REVIVAL.

To return to the case of revival of latent impressions, we have seen that the localised effect of a stimulus is to render the affected tissue more excitable, or a better conductor of excitation. Thus the pattern of excitation impressed by the primary stimulus remains as latent areas of greater excitability, and a diffused stimulus of the effort of the will wakes up into sensory prominence the dormant memory and vivifies once more the impression that had faded.

Before concluding I may perhaps refer to a widespread belief that in the case of

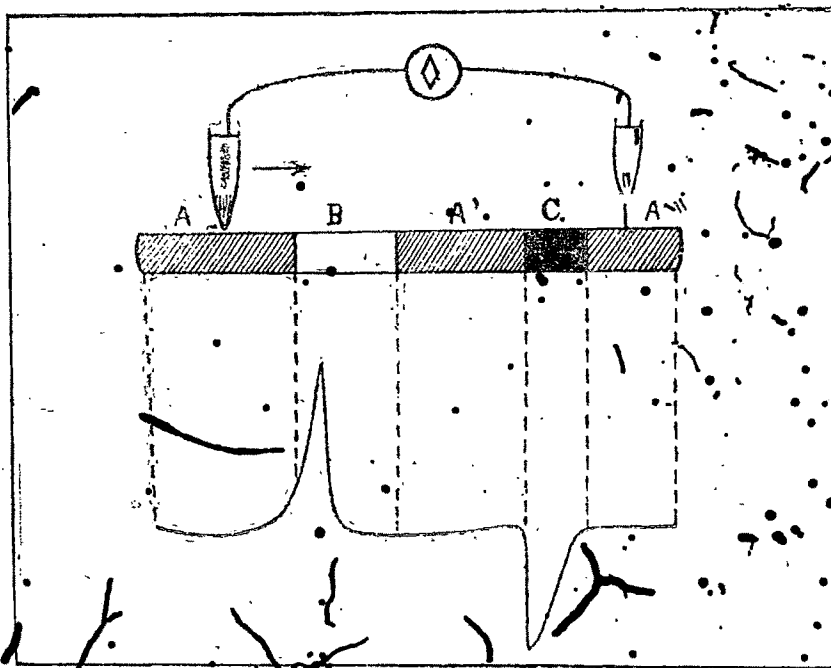


Fig. 2.—Revival of latent image.

a sudden death-struggle, as for example, when drowning, the memory of the past comes in a flash. This may not be altogether superstition. I have been told by an acquaintance of mine who was revived from drowning, that he had this experience. Assuming the correctness of this, certain experimental results which I have obtained may be pertinent to the subject. The experiment consisted in find-

ing whether the plant, near the point of death, gave any signal of the approaching crisis. I found that at this critical moment a sudden electrical spasm sweeps through every part of the organism. Such a strong and diffused stimulation—now involuntary—may be expected in a human subject to crowd into one brief flash a panoramic succession of all the memory images latent in the organism.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

CHAPTER XI.

BIMALA'S STORY.

18.

WITH Amulya's departure my heart sank within me. On what perilous adventure had I sent this only son of his mother. O God, why need my expiation have such pomp and circumstance? Could I not be allowed to suffer alone without inviting all this multitude to share my punishment? Oh let not this innocent child fall victim to Your wrath.

I called him back—"Amulya!" My voice sounded so feebly, it failed to reach him. I went up to the door and called again: "Amulya!" He had gone.

"Who is there?"

"Rani Mother!"

"Go and tell Amulya Babu that I want him."

What exactly happened I could not make out,—the man, perhaps, was not familiar with Amulya's name,—but he returned almost at once followed by Sandip.

"The very moment you sent me away," he said as he came in, "I had a presentiment that you would call me back. The attraction of the same moon causes both ebb and flow. I was so sure of being sent for, that I was actually waiting out in the passage. As soon as I caught sight of your man, coming from your room, I said: 'Yes, yes, I am coming, I am coming at once!' before he could utter a word. That up-country lout was surprised, I can tell you! He stared at me, open-mouthed, as if he thought I knew magic."

"All the fights in the world, Queen Bee," Sandip rambled on, "are really fights between magical forces. Spell cast against spell,—noiseless weapons which reach even invisible targets. At last I have met in you my match. Your quiver is full, I know, you artful warrior Queen! You are the only one in the world who has been able to turn Sandip out and call Sandip back, at your sweet will. Well, your quarrel is at your feet. What will you do with him now? Shall you give him the *coup de grace*, or would you keep him in your cage? Let me warn you beforehand, Queen, you will find the beast as difficult to kill outright as to keep in bondage. Anyway, why lose time in trying your magic weapons?"

Sandip must have felt the shadow of approaching defeat, which made him try to gain time by chattering away without waiting for a reply. I believe he knew that I had sent the messenger for Amulya, whose name the man must have mentioned. In spite of that he had deliberately played this trick. He was now trying to avoid giving me any opening to tell him that it was Amulya I wanted, not him. But his stratagem was futile, for I could see his weakness through it. I must not yield up a pin's point of the ground I had gained.

"Sandip Babu," I said, "I wonder how you can go on making these endless speeches without a stop. Do you get them up by heart, beforehand?"

Sandip's face flushed instantly.

"I have heard," I continued, "that our professional reciters keep a book full of all kinds of ready-made discourses, which can

has lighted the raging flame of destruction within me. I am not righteous. I have no beliefs. I only believe in her whom, above all else in the world, I have been able to realise."

Wonderful! It was really wonderful. Only a minute ago I had despised this man with all my heart. But what I had thought to be mere ashes now glowed with living fire. That the fire in him is true is beyond doubt. Oh why has God made man such a mixed creature,—was it only to show His supernatural sleight of hand? Only a few minutes ago I had thought that Sandip, whom I had once taken to be a hero, was only the hero of melodrama. But that is not so, not so. Even behind the trappings of the stage, a true hero may sometimes be lurking.

There is much in Sandip that is coarse, that is sensuous, that is false, that is overlaid with layer after layer of fleshly covering. Yet,—yet it is best to confess that there is a great deal in him which we do not, can not, understand to its innermost depth,—much in ourselves, too. A wonderful thing is man. What great mysterious purpose he is working out only the Terrible One knows,—meanwhile we groan beneath the brunt of it. Shiva is the Lord of Chaos. He is all Joy. He will destroy our bonds.

I cannot but feel, again and again, that there are two persons in me. One recoils from Sandip in his terrible aspect of Chaos—the other feels that very vision to be sweetly alluring. The sinking ship drags down all who are swimming round it. Sandip is just such a force of destruction,—his immense attraction gets hold of one before fear can come to the rescue,—and then, in the twinkling of an eye, one is drawn away, irresistibly, from all light, all good, all freedom of the sky, all air that can be breathed,—from lifelong accumulations, from everyday cares—right to the bottom of dissolution.

From some realm of calamity has Sandip come as its messenger; and as he stalks the land muttering unholy incantations, to him flock all the boys and youths. The mother, seated in the lotus-heart of the Country is wailing her heart out; for they have broken open her store room, there to hold their drunken revelry. Her hoard of nectar they would pour out on the dust; her time-honoured vessels they would smash into bits. True, I feel with

her; but, at the same time, I cannot help being infected with their excitement.

Truth itself has sent us this temptation to test our trustiness in upholding its commandments. Intoxication masquerades in heavenly garb, and dances before the pilgrims saying: 'Fools you are that pursue the fruitless path of renunciation. Its way is long, its time passing slow. So has the Wielder of the Thunderbolt sent me to you. Behold, I the beautiful, the passionate, I will accept you,—in my embrace you will find fulfilment.'

After a pause Sandip addressed me again: "Goddess, the time has come for me to leave you. It is well. The work of your nearness has been done. By lingering longer it would only become undone again, little by little. All is lost, if in our greed we try to cheapen that which is the greatest thing on earth. That which is infinite within the moment, only gets to be circumscribed if spread out in time. We were about to spoil our infinite moment, when it was your uplifted thunderbolt which came to the rescue. You intervened to save the purity of your own worship,—and in so doing you also saved your worshipper. In my leave-taking today your worship stands out the biggest thing.

"Goddess, I, also, set you free to-day. My earthen temple could hold you no longer,—every moment it was on the point of breaking apart. Today I depart to worship your larger image in a larger temple. I can gain you more truly only at a distance from yourself. Here I had only your favour, there I shall be vouchsafed your boon."

My jewel casket was lying on the table. I held it up aloft as I said: "I charge you to convey these my jewels to the object of my worship,—to whom I have dedicated them through you."

My husband remained silent. Sandip left the room.

19.

I had just sat down to make some cakes for Amulya when the Senior Rani came upon the scene. "Oh dear, Junior Rani, has it come to this that you must make cakes for your own birthday," she exclaimed.

"Is there no one else for whom I could be making them?" I asked.

"But this is not the day when you should think of feasting others. It is us to

feast you. I was just thinking of making something up, when I heard the staggering news which completely upset me. A gang of five or six hundred men, they say, raided one of our treasuries and made off with six thousand rupees. Our house will be looted next, they expect."

I felt greatly relieved. So it was our own money after all. I wanted to send for Amulya at once and tell him that he need only hand over those notes to my husband and leave the explanations to me.

"You are a wonderful creature!" my sister-in-law broke out, at the change in my countenance. "Have you then really no such thing as fear?"

"I cannot believe it," I said. "Why should they loot our house?"

"Not believe it, indeed! Who could have believed that they would attack our treasury, either?"

I made no reply but bent over my cakes, putting in the cocoanut stuffing.

"Well I'm off", said the Senior Rani after a prolonged stare at me. "I must see brother Nikhil and get something done about sending off my money to Calcutta, before it's too late."

She was no sooner gone than I left the cakes to take care of themselves and rushed off to my dressing room, shutting myself inside. My husband's tunic with the keys in its pocket, was still hanging there,—so forgetful was he. I took the key of the iron safe off the ring and kept it by me, hidden in the folds of my dress.

Then there came a knocking at the door. "I am dressing," I called out. I could hear the Senior Rani saying: "Only a minute ago I saw her making cakes and now she is busy dressing up. What next, I wonder! One of their *Bande Mataram* meetings is on, I suppose. I say, Robber Queen," she called out to me. "Are you taking stock of your loot?"

When they went away I hardly know what made me open the safe. Perhaps there was a lurking hope that it might all be a dream. What, if on pulling out the inside drawer, I should find the rolls of gold there, just as before? Alas, everything was as empty as the trust which had been betrayed.

I had to go through the farce of dressing. I had to do my hair up all over again quite unnecessarily. When I came out my sister-in-law hailed at me: "How many times are you going to dress to-day?"

"My birthday!" I said.

"Oh, any pretext seems good enough," she went on. "Many vain people have I seen in my day, but you beat them all hollow."

I was about to summon a servant to send after Amulya, when one of the men came up with a little note, which he handed to me. It was from Amulya. "Sister" he wrote "You invited me this afternoon, but I thought I should not wait. Let me first execute your bidding and then come for my *prasad*. I may be a little late."

To whom could he be going to return that money into what fresh entanglement was the poor boy rushing? O miserable woman, you can only send him off like an arrow, but not recall him if you miss your aim.

I should have declared at once that I was at the bottom of this robbery. But women live on the trust of their surroundings,—that is their whole world. If once it is out that that trust has been secretly betrayed, their place in their world is lost. They have then to stand upon the fragments of the thing they have broken, and its jagged edges keep on wounding at every turn. To sin is easy enough, but to make up for it is above all difficult for a woman.

It is some time since all easy approaches for communion with my husband have been closed to me. How then could I burst on him with this stupendous news? He was very late in coming for his meal today,—nearly two o'clock. He was absent-minded and hardly touched any food. I had lost even the right to press him to take a little more. I had to avert my face to wipe away my tears.

I wanted so badly to say to him: "Do come into our room and rest awhile, you look so tired." I had just cleared my throat with a little cough, when a servant hurried in to say that the Police Inspector had brought Panchu up to the palace. My husband, with the shadow on his face deepened, left his meal unfinished and went out.

A little later the Senior Rani appeared. "Why did you not send me word when Brother Nikhil came in," she complained. "As he was late I thought I might as well finish my bath in the meantime. However did he manage to finish with his meal so soon?"

"Why did you want him for anything?"

"What is this about both of you going off to Calcutta tomorrow? All I can say is, I am not going to be left here alone. I should get startled out of my life at every sound, with all these dacoits about. Is it quite settled about your going tomorrow?"

"Yes," said I, though I only just now heard it; and though, moreover, I was not at all sure that before tomorrow our history would not take such a turn as to make it all one whether we went or stayed. After that, what our home, our life would be like, was utterly beyond my ken,—it seemed so misty, dream-like!

In a very few hours, now, my unseen fate would become visible. Was there no one who could, keep on postponing the flight of these hours, from day to day, and so make them long enough for me to set things right, so far as in me lay? The time during which the seed lies underground is long—so long indeed that one forgets that there is any danger of its sprouting. But once its shoot shows up above the surface, it grows and grows so fast, there is no time to cover it up, neither with skirt, nor body, nor even life itself.

I will try to think of it no more, but sit quiet, passive and callous,—let the crash come when it may. By the day after tomorrow all will be over, anyhow,—publicity, laughter, bewailing, questions, explanations,—everything.

But I cannot forget the face of Amulya, beautiful, radiant, with devotion. He did not wait, despairing, for the blow of fate to fall, but rushed into the thick of danger. Wretched woman that I am, I do him reverence. He is my boy-god. Under the pretext of his playfulness he took from me the weight of my burden. He would save me by taking the punishment meant for me on his own head. But how am I to bear this terrible mercy of my God?

• Oh my child, my child, I do you reverence. Little brother mine, I do you reverence. Pure are you, beautiful are you, I do you reverence. May you come to my arms, in the next birth, as my own child, —that is my prayer.

20.

Rumour became busy on every side. The police were continually in and out. The servants of the house were in a great flurry.

Khema, my maid, came up to me.

and said: "Oh, Rani Mother! for goodness sake put away my gold necklet and armlets in your iron safe." To whom was I to explain that the Rani herself had been weaving all this network of trouble, and had got caught in it, too! I had to play the benign protector and take charge of Khema's ornaments and Thako's savings. The milk-woman, in her turn, brought along and kept in my room a box in which were a Benares sari and some other of her valued possessions. "I got these at your wedding," she told me.

When, tomorrow, my iron safe will be opened in the presence of these—Khema, Thako, the milkwoman and all the rest—stop, let me not think of it! Let me rather try to think what it will be like when this 3rd day of *Magh* comes round again after a year has passed. Will all the wounds of my home life then be still as fresh as ever? . . .

Amulya writes that he will come later in the evening. I cannot remain alone with my thoughts, doing nothing. So I sit down again to make cakes for him. I have finished making quite a quantity, but still I must go on. Who will eat them? I shall distribute them amongst the servants. I must do so this very night. To-night is my limit. To-morrow will not be in my hands.

I went on untiringly, frying cake after cake. Every now and then it seemed to me that there was some noise in the direction of my rooms, upstairs. Could it be that my husband had missed the key of the safe, and the Senior Rani had assembled all the servants to help him to hunt for it? No, I must not pay heed to these sounds. Let me shut the door.

I rose to do so, when Thako came panting in: "Rani Mother, O Rani Mother!"

"Oh get away!" I snapped out, cutting her short. "Don't come bothering me."

"The Senior Rani mother wants you," she went on. "Her nephew has brought such a wonderful machine from Calcutta. It talks like a man. Do come and hear it!"

I did not know whether to laugh or to cry. So of all things a gramophone needs must come on the scene at such a time, repeating at every winding the nasal twang of its theatrical songs! What a fearsome thing results when a machine apes a man!

The shades of evening began to fall.

I knew that Amulya would not delay to announce himself—yet I could not wait. I summoned a servant and said: "Go and tell Amulya Babu to come straight in here." The man came back after a while to say that Amulya was not in,—he had not come back since he had gone.

"Gone!" The last word struck my ears like a wail in the gathering darkness. Amulya gone! Had he then come like a streak of light from the setting sun, only to be gone for ever? All kinds of possible and impossible dangers flitted through my mind. It was I who had sent him to his death. What if he was fearless, that only showed his greatness of heart. But after this how was I to go on living?

I had no memento of Amulya save that pistol,—his reverence offering. It seemed to me that this was a sign given by Providence. This guilt which had contaminated my life at its very root,—my God in the form of a child had left with me the means of wiping it away, and then vanished. Oh the loving gift—the saving grace that lay hidden within it!

I opened my box and took out the pistol, lifting it reverently to my forehead. At that moment the gongs clanged out from the temple attached to our house. I prostrated myself in salutation.

In the evening I feasted the whole household with my cakes. "You have managed a wonderful birthday feast,—and all by yourself too!"—exclaimed my sister-in-law. "But you must leave something for us to do." With this she turned on her gramophone and let loose the shrill treble of the Calcutta actresses all over the place. It seemed like a stable full of neighing fillies.

It got quite late before the feasting was over. I had a sudden longing to end my birthday celebration by taking the dust of my husband's feet. I went up to the bed room and found him fast asleep. He had had such a worrying, trying day. I raised the edge of the mosquito curtain very very gently, and laid my head near his feet. My hair must have touched him, for he moved his legs in his sleep and pushed my head away.

I then went out and sat in the west veranda. A silk-cotton tree, which had shed its leaves, stood there in the distance like a skeleton. Behind it the crescent moon was setting. All of a sudden I had the feeling that the very stars in

the sky were afraid of me,—that the whole of the night world was looking askance at me. Why? Because I was alone.

There is nothing so odd in creation as the man who is alone. Even he whose near ones have all died, one by one, is not alone,—companionship comes for him from behind the screen of death. But he, whose kin are there, yet no longer near, who has dropped out of all the varied companionship of a full home,—the starry universe itself seems to bristle to look on him in his darkness.

Where I am, I am not. I am far away from those who are around me. I live and move upon a world-wide chasm of separation, unstable as the dew-drop upon the lotus leaf.

Why do not men change wholly when they change? When I look into my heart, I find everything that was, there, still there,—only they are topsy-turvy. Things that were well-ordered have become jumbled up. The gems that were strung into a garland are now rolling in the dust. And so my heart is breaking.

I feel I want to die. Yet in my heart everything still lives,—nor even in death can I see the end of it all: rather, in death there seems to be ever so much more of repining. What is to be ended must be ended in this life,—there is no other way out.

Oh forgive me just once, only this time, Lord! All that you gave into my hands as the wealth of my life, I have made into my burden. I can neither bear it longer, nor give it up. O Lord, sound once again those flute strains which you played for me, long ago, standing at the rosy edge of my morning sky,—and let all my complexities become easy. Nothing save the music of your flute can make whole that which has been broken, make pure that which has been sullied. Create my home anew with the sound of your flute. No other way can I see.

I threw myself prone on the ground and sobbed aloud. It was mercy that I beseeched,—some little mercy from somewhere, some shelter, some sign of forgiveness, some hope that might bring about the end. "Lord," I vowed to myself, "I shall lie here, waiting and waiting, touching, neither food nor drink, so long as your blessing does not reach me."

I heard the sound of footsteps. Who says that the gods do not show them-

selves to mortal men? I did not raise my face to look up, lest the sight of it should break the spell. Come, oh come, come and let your feet touch my head. Come, Lord, and stand upon my throbbing heart, and at that moment let me die.

He came and sat near my head. Who? My husband! The seat of the god, who could not bear to witness my grief, moved under the weight of his presence. I felt that I should swoon. And then the pain at my heart burst its way out in an overwhelming flood of tears, tearing through all my obstructing veins and nerves. I strained his feet to my bosom,—oh why could not their impress remain there for ever?

He tenderly stroked my head. I received his blessing. Now I shall be able to take up the penalty of public humiliation which shall be mine tomorrow, and

offer it in all sincerity, at the feet of my God.

But what keeps crushing my heart is the thought that the festive pipes which played at my wedding, nine years ago, will never play for me again in this life,—the pipes which had first welcomed me into this house. Oh, what rigour of penance is there which can serve to bring me once more, red-robed and sandal-paste-anointed, to my place upon that same bridal seat? How many years, how many ages, aeons, must pass before I can find my way back to that day of nine years ago?

God can create new things, but has even He the power to create afresh that which has been destroyed?

(To be concluded)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE LAST REPUBLIC OF THE HINDUS

BY KUNWAR SHIV NATH SINGH SENGAR, BIKANER.

MANY proofs have come to light of the existence, in the distant past, of the republican form of Government in India, and the fact is now so well established that it is not in the least necessary to enumerate them here. There were many republics in India about the beginning of the Buddhistic period—particularly in several of those tribal areas which surrounded the birth-place of that great man—Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha (the Enlightened One). But to most of the readers of this article it will come as an agreeable discovery to learn that a republic existed in India till less than 150 years ago. This, however, has really been the case. It was the little republic of Lakhnesar and was founded in the thirteenth century of the Christian era by a heroic little band of Sengar Rajputs who had fled from the irresistible onslaught of the Mahomedans. It lasted for about 500 years. This land now forms a pargana, of the Ballia district of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, but the bulk of it—83 per cent. according to the 1907 Gazetteer of the district—is still owned and held by the Sengars in the *bhaiyachara* (literally brotherhood) form of tenure.

Let us here reproduce a few lines from the Gazetteer of the district.

"Amongst the earliest Rajput immigrants were the Sengars." (P. 140) "Their history is remarkable, for at all times they were renowned for their strength and courage, but on no occasion do they seem to have had a common Raja, the republican nature of their institution being illustrated by the fact that the 537 *mahals* into which the pargana (Lakhnesar) is now divided are all held in *bhaiyachara* tenure. Nevertheless their union was so complete that the Sengars were the only clan who preserved their proprietary rights intact." (P. 228) "The democratic spirit was not so strong in the case of the clans in other parganas." (P. 87).

Before proceeding further we shall show how and why our republics differed in one important respect from those of other countries.

The caste system of us Hindus is older than the age of the great Buddha. It only meant the classification of the population of the country into four interdependent divisions (*varnas*) according to 'qualities and actions.'

Each division was an undetachable component part of one compact and entire whole with its duties clearly defined for the common good of the nation. The governance and protection of the country fell to the Kshatriya. In their own sphere of life they were the permanent representa-

tives of the remaining three *varnas* as they (the other) *varnas* were in theirs.

Separate clans of Kshatriyas formed separate governments in their respective spheres of influence which, needless to say, changed with the times. In doing so the clansmen either elected one of themselves as their king or carried on the government conjointly in the name of the brotherhood. These latter were our republics. The same was doubtless the model of the tribal republics of 2500 years ago that we read of in Buddhistic literature. Such clan republics were a recognised form of government also in the time of the Maurya king Chandragupta (322-298 B.c.), whose minister Chanakya *alias* Kautilya or Vishungupta, in his now famous "Arthashastra" says, *कुलस्य वा भवेद्भूजानम्*, that is to say, "Sovereignty may be the property of a clan." It is a mistake to call them oligarchies or give them any other name, for the simple reason given above, *viz.*, the Kshatriyas were the representatives of the nation as a whole charged with the governance of the country.

At the time of the fall of the kingdom of Kanauj at the hand of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghorī in 1194 the Sengar Rajputs ruled over that part of the country on either bank of the Jumna which now forms the bulk of the Jalaun and Etawah districts of the Agra Province and is locally known after them by the name of Singarat (Sringa-Rashtra) or Singar-Ghar. It had by then been their stronghold for about 150 years. The town of Karnavati (Kanar) situate on the south bank of the Jumna river near where Jagamanpur, the capital of Raja Lokendra Shah Bahadur, the present head and premier chief of the clan, now stands, was their metropolis and the mighty prince Vishoka Deva, who was the son-in-law of the great Raja Jayachandra Rathor (Gahadwal) of Kanauj, and had added much to his possessions either by conquest or by grants from Kanauj or by both, was their Raja. By reason of the relationship mentioned he paid no tribute to Kanauj, which was then the suzerain power of the Eastern Rajputs—the 'Prasii' or the 'Prachyas' of the historians of Alexander the Great and the 'Prabhu' or 'Hindustani' Rajputs of present day writers.

Increased the less powerful did this kingdom of the Sengars become. The Mahomedans made several of its cadet branches (now represented by the Rajas of Bhareilly, Ruru and Hardoi; the Diwan of Sarawan; the Raos of Kakhaotu, Bhikar and Riniyan; the Rawats of Kursi; and others) one by one independent of the House of Kanar which the Raja of Jagamanpur now represents and levied tribute from them.

Some liberty-loving Sengar Rajputs, mostly from Phapund, which was also one of the cadet chiefships, would not stand the humiliation, and, bidding adieu to their kith and kin as well as their own hearths and homes, set out in search of 'a place in the Sun' where they and their children could live like free men. Two elderly brothers, Hari Sah *alias* Sur Sah and Bir Sah, headed and led this little adventurous band of great souls.

'Where there is a will there is a way.' They travelled far to the east and in course of time reached the country between the Ghagra and the Ganges. Its rugged and secluded nature and its thick primeval forests at once appealed to the military instinct of the Rajputs. In this veritable fastness of nature they planted their colonies here and there and the land stood them in good stead throughout the Mahomedan period.

Sur Sah and his people were more fortunate than the rest of the party. They struck upon the decaying Bhar principality of Lakhnesar on the Sarju in the very heart of the forest, conquered it, and founded, in its stead, the little republic of Lakhnesar which is the subject of this article. Here one thing deserves special notice. The Gautama Kshatriyas, of whom the great Buddha was one, claim, down to the present day, to be a younger branch of the Sengar clan. The foundation of a republic by that great man's kinsfolk so near his birthplace and near where republics had also existed in the past is remarkable and may have had some special significance about it. It is possible that a yearning for the old home of their forefathers or an invitation from their Gautama brethren of the Gorakhpur country on the other side of the Ghaghra was also at the back of the adventurous undertaking which was so successful.

At any rate Lakhnesar was not the

represent the 'Singhoe' mentioned by that Greek author and ambassador Megasthenes as being one of the peoples "which are free, have no kings and occupy mountain heights where they have built many cities." These 'Singhoe' cannot but have been the Sengars of Bandhu (Rewah) and Kalinjar, which, according to the traditions of the clan, were among its strongholds in the remote past.

The Sengars' code of government was very simple. They taxed the agricultural and the mercantile communities for the use of their land. Priests, village workmen and menials rendered service in lieu of lands held by them. The Sengars in return took upon themselves all responsibility for the government and defence of the country. Justice was cheap, instantaneous and easy to obtain and was in most cases administered by village or caste panchayats, the Sengar elders only interfering in big or complicated cases.

Ordinarily all the routine work of government was attended to by elderly Sengars but in time of war each and every male member of the brotherhood capable of bearing arms deemed it his duty to render military service in the defence of the country. There was no age limit. None but Sengars were liable to a call to arms. They always kept themselves militarily prepared, and every third year in the month of Baisakh (Vaisakha) all able-bodied Sengars, duly armed and accoutred, met in thousands for a general inspection by the elders of the clan of the combined armed strength of the brotherhood. The meeting place was generally the town of Rasra to which they had removed the capital and which has ever since been the headquarters of the clan in this part of the country. (*Vide Imperial Gazetteer*). While there, they indulged in diverse sorts of manly sports and soldierly performances. Spectators from the neighbouring tribal areas also flocked to Rasra in large numbers to witness this triennial military *Vrihat-Sammelana* of the Sengars and returned to their homes vividly impressed with the unity and strength of the clan.

When they went to Rasra for the *Sammelana* they had not to report themselves at the door of any particular person there, because they were all brothers and therefore all equal, but encamped

a deified hero of the Sengar clan whose original name was Amar Singh and who is still worshipped by them.

In spite of having on more than one occasion had to pay tribute to its contemporary Mahomedan kings, the Republic enjoyed complete internal independence throughout the Musalman period, with the end of which the days of its misfortune began. But, as we shall see, the Sengars were a hard nut to crack and only yielded after they had shed and drawn much blood, and, sacrificed and taken many lives, in which their heroines also participated.

In Akbar's time Lakhnesar paid a light annual tribute of about Rs. 3,165, but unlike other tribal areas of the country furnished no military contingent;—*vide Ain-i-Akbari*.

"The administrative arrangements of Akbar's time appear to have remained unchanged till 1722, and for the intervening period the history of the district is a complete blank.....As in former times the Rajputs of this district appear to have been left to themselves" (*Gazetteer of Ballia District, 1907*).

In 1722 Saadat Ali Khan became the governor of Oudh. He was the first Nawab Vazir of Oudh. He and his successors did much to destroy the power of the Rajputs of this part of the country, but with varying success. The latter were never completely subjugated and Muhammad Ali Khan, the last representative but one of the Oudh government, about 1754, had to be recalled because of his "inability to deal with the Rajput population."

From 1761 to 1781 Raja Balwant Singh of Benares held this part of the country as a feudatory, first of Oudh and then of the East India Company. He also adopted the policy of destroying the power of the Rajputs. On several occasions they offered resistance to Balwant Singh, but in only one case were their efforts successful. This exception to the general rule was provided by the Sengar republicans of Lakhnesar, who not only treated his demands with contempt but adopted an attitude of open hostility and attacked and pillaged his treasuries.

"The Raja incensed at the spirit they displayed conducted a large force into the heart of their fastness," and attacked their capital Rasra. In vain did they ask him to reconsider his decision and save them the great sin of staining their hands with Brahman blood. He was determined and ordered attack after attack.

In spite of the inequality of the fight, the Sengars fought like lions and smashed all the attacks. They knew that their very existence as free men was at stake and were therefore very desperate. Their ladies also stood heroically by them and many of them burnt themselves alive with their fallen husbands. Hundreds of *sati* monuments sacred to the memory of these heroines surround the large tank near the shrine of Amar Nathji (Nath Baba) at Rasra down to the present day.

The bloody conflict lasted for full two days. It can easily be imagined what a tremendous loss of life that duration of a pitched battle against overwhelming odds in those days of hand to hand fight with cold steel meant. The Sengars, however, stood firm and when bravery failed Balwant Singh, he had recourse to treachery and had the cowardice to have the town set on fire so that many helpless and innocent lives were lost and the Sengars had to withdraw; but they wavered not in the least in their vow to fight to the last man, because it was, after all, an unconquerable will to remain free and not the walls that counted and fought.

"The issue of this famous fight was gratifying to the brave clan, and has been the subject of exultation among their descendants down to the present time. The Raja was obliged to agree to a compromise and permitted the Sengars to retain their estates on the payment of a small revenue. The fruit of their bravery is conspicuously seen now that the country is under the British, for the amount of land revenue annually paid by the Sengars, settled in accordance with the original arrangement made by them with the Raja Balwant Singh, is now only nine annas or thirteen pence half-penny per acre, the lowest sum paid in the whole of the Benares province excepting the hill people in the Mirzapore district." (Sherring's "Hindu Castes and Tribes" 1872 Edn.)

The annual payment fixed was Rs. 20,501, and the Sengars were guaranteed the right "to manage it in their own fashion. They had their own revenue collector, and the distribution of the demand was effected by themselves without any interference on the part of the Government." (Gazetteer of Ballia Dt., 1907.) The amount then fixed has remained unchanged unto this day and works out to "a rate which does not now exceed eight annas per bigha of cultivation" (*Ibid.*)

The Sengars maintained the internal independence of Lakhnesar almost unimpaired down to the early years of British rule, which began in 1781 and "when Mr. Duncan (appointed Resident in 1787) as-

sumed control of Benares the Sengars were considered the most independent and troublesome of all the subjects of the Company." (*Ibid.*) Dr. Wilt Oldham in his statistical memoirs of the Ghazipur District puts it thus: "Before the establishment of the British authority, the Sengars of Lakhnesar had managed to establish for themselves an unrivalled reputation for their courage, independence and insubordination. This reputation they preserved unimpaired during the first years of our administration."

In 1788 the British Government abolished certain market and other dues which the Sengars used to realize in their chief town Rasra and they were prepared "to resist the order by force till a compromise was suggested by the merchants * * * whereby the ground rents (which had not been interfered with by the Government and are still realized) were raised by one half." (Gazetteer of Ballia Dt., 1907.) That the merchants came to their rescue at such a critical juncture proves beyond doubt that the rule of the Sengars had been popular and that the inhabitants in general were, on the whole, sympathetic with and well-inclined to the brave clan under whose protection they had for centuries lived in peace and plenty and had known practically no outside interference with their internal affairs.

In 1793 Mr. Duncan made a tour of Lakhnesar. The Sengars were not much used to such tours and saw in it the thin end of the wedge. They, therefore, attacked his body-guard. He was, however, a master breaker of men to harness and knew how to deal with them. The offence was condoned and the fiscal arrangement entered into with Balwant Singh was permitted to continue, the entire pargana being settled with their Chaudhris or headmen "as the undivided estate of the whole clan." And undivided it had always been in spite of the governing clan numbering thousands, because it was founded as a State and not as an Estate.

Somehow or other, in 1796, Lakhnesar fell into arrears and in 1798 the Collector of Benares had to proceed against the Sengars with a military force. In 1801 the first detailed settlement of Lakhnesar was made at Rs. 40,738. The enhanced revenue was, however, never paid, with the result that the pargana was sold to the Raja of Benares. He made several attempts

to gain possession by means of "a semi-military force" and to accomplish what his famous grand-father had failed in, but with no better result. In 1802 the sale had to be cancelled and old Lakhnesar was once more restored to the Sengars. A settlement was carried out again and the original demand of Rs. 20,501 was maintained with the deduction of Rs. 1,653 on account of nankar and the salary of a separate revenue establishment.

In 1841 Lakhnesar's privilege of maintaining its own Tahsildar and Sarishtadar as distinct from the Government revenue establishment of the district, was withdrawn, the duties being performed by the Government Tahsildar and Qanungo of Rasra.

In this way the Sengar Rajputs who had founded the little republic of Lakhnesar and administered and protected it for centuries became ordinary Zamindars. They still hold about 83 per cent. of the pargana of Lakhnesar.

Lakhnesar's struggle for existence was tragic and protracted.

The Sengars of Lakhnesar have nothing to be ashamed of in the way in which their brave ancestors acquitted themselves. They acted their part well, and, as Pope has said,

Honour and shame from no condition rise;
Act well your part, there all the honour lies.

So all honour to those really great souls.

THE HOUSING QUESTION IN AN INDIAN CITY

THROUGHOUT India the drift to the city is a marked feature in our economic and social life though its extent and significance differ in the different provinces. This has brought about a change in the mentality of the population in our villages. Certain attitudes of mind have been developed in our villages unknown before, while in the cities the type of mentality that is now being developed is new, and this is tending to replace the old habits and traditions associated with our ancient civic life and institutions. In too many cases the process has been that of the substitution of cultures, not to speak of the social dislocation, and unsettlement, with its attendant evils of unrest, poverty and stress, associated with all transitional stages.

In schemes of economic reconstruction we ought not to satisfy ourselves merely with the task of rehabilitating the disintegrated agriculture of our villages. We have to cleanse and beautify our sordid cities, rebuild them and their institutions so that they may contribute to the healthy and noble living of the population instead of regarding them as 'inevitable' products of 'industrialism' and human nature.

At present the conditions of life of our factory labourers are far from healthy and

natural. The Indian mill-hand is primarily a cultivator who returns to his home in his native village as soon as he has been able to lay by sufficient money after his own expenses and his regular remittances to his family who seldom accompanies him to his *chawl* or *busti* near the factory. The labourer in a jute mill in Bengal who usually comes from Saran Champaran, Balia or other districts in the United Provinces or Bihar goes back in the hot weather or harvest season. Local labourers are few comprising less than one-third of the hands. In the city of Howrah, which has a population of 1,79,006 and which doubled itself during the last 40 years, more than two-thirds of the inhabitants were born outside the district. The Bengali-speaking population comprised only 47 p.c. of the population while the Hindi and Oriya speaking people constituted 47 p.c. and 3 p.c. respectively. When the labourers come from distant countries they leave their families behind. Thus in Howrah there are only 562 females to 1,000 males. Between 1871-1911 the increase of females has been 75 p.c. while that of males has been as great as 100 p.c. Some of the mill-towns have shown a phenomenal increase of population. Thus, in Bengal, in the last decade, Bhadrabad has increased twice. Tittagarh has increased

Kharagpur 5 times in population. The dangers of over-crowding and insanitation have been very serious and the more so because the increase of population has been so sudden. Bukka or kuccha cooly lines have been built by the managers of the mills but they do not save the situation. When the hours of labour are 5 A.M. to 8 P.M., with changes at 7.30 A.M., 10 A.M., 12-30 P.M., 3 and 8 P.M., each shift working 10 hours a day, the labourers have to live close to a mill, and overcrowding cannot be prevented. There is also an enormous amount of contract labour, about the housing of which the employer does not trouble himself at all. A cooly contractor is paid so much a bale for bringing raw jute from a jetty to the mill, or manufactured jute from the mill to the jetty or the railway station. All these make it absolutely essential for labour to live close to the factory, and if there is no congestion in the mill-lines, there is congestion in the private *bustis*. It is these latter especially which are centres of poverty, prostitution, and disease. A Sarder gets some land from

tion or light. Filth is uncollected or lumped in the yards. The rents are sometimes as high as Re. 1.8 as. or Re. 2 per week for a dark-room and another small-half-room, and there is one privy for 60 persons with a rent of 1½ a. per week per head. In ward V. Howrah, the number of persons per acre is 90. Sankari-bazar, Dacca, which strikes us as one of the most congested quarters in a city in Bengal has a density of 61.6 which compares favourably with Howrah.

In Bombay town 76 p.c. of the population lives in one-room tenements. There are over 166,000 of these tenements and the average number of persons per room is 4.47. The labouring classes, almost without exception, live in tenements of a single room in large *chawls*, which sometimes provide a common washing place on each floor and sometimes a *nahani* or *mori* in each room. Persons living in five or six room tenements average 1.43 and 1.45 persons per room. The following table shows the number of tenements per inhabited house in some of the mill-areas in Bombay.

	Total number of occupied tenements of each class.	Percentage of each class of tenements to total tenements.	Total number of occupants.	Percentage borne by population in each class of tenements to total population.	Average number of occupants per room.
<i>Byculla</i>					
1 Room	15,998	99.25	70,970	94.24	4.44
2 Rooms	347	2.09	11,760	2.34	2.54
3 Rooms	118	.71	658	.87	1.86
4 Rooms	79	.48	872	1.16	2.44
5 Rooms	25	.15	232	.31	1.86
6 Rooms and over	55	.33	815	1.08	2.47
<i>Tadwadi</i>					
1 Room	4,807	94.81	26,186	92.16	5.45
2 Rooms	129	2.54	673	2.37	2.91
3 Rooms	39	.77	275	.97	2.35
4 Rooms	65	.69	198	.70	1.41
5 Rooms	15	.30	129	.42	1.72
6 Rooms and over	45	.89	952	3.35	3.53
<i>In Mandvi, Circle No. 6.</i>					
1 Room	327	77.67	4,927	93.14	15.07
2 Rooms	61	14.49	198	3.47	1.62
3 Rooms	19	4.51	97	1.64	1.70
4 Rooms	7	1.66	25	.47	.89
5 Rooms	2	.47	13	.22	1.30
6 Rooms and over	5	1.10	30	.57	1.00

The greatest density is 638 per acre in second Nagpada, while in 1-15th of the total area of the Island are huddled together nearly 2.5th of the population at 391 per acre.

the mill rent-free to build huts on; he brings workers to live in the huts and collects their rents, and would sometimes charge exorbitant rates. The huts are very dark and gloomy, without ventila-

Life is squalid, dirty, unclean and unnatural when, for example, as many as 15 persons live in each room of the one-room tenements. No less than 70 per cent. of the population, i.e., no less than 7,41,250

souls reside in single-room tenements. Real homes in the shape of whole houses are very rare; even homes in flats are comparatively uncommon; for the great bulk of the people "home" means a single room. Hence the importance of recognising the room rather than the house as the unit when applying municipal by-laws which prescribe the amount of open space to be provided outside dwelling places.*

As regards drainage and ventilation the following remarks are quoted from the Secretary to the Bombay Development Committee of 1918:—"It is not uncommon to find a continuous area of buildings each occupying practically the whole site on which it stands. Each building may be surrounded almost entirely by a dark narrow gully which, in the absence of any possibility of installing a proper drainage system, is an open drain containing the waste water used for domestic purposes, and defiled also with urine, with excreta overflowing from the privy baskets, and with all kinds of refuse thrown out of windows. Except for some small dirty chawks, these gullies may constitute the only access of light and air to the rooms in the buildings. Most of the rooms have obviously no proper supply of light and air, and many of them are dark hovels which no breath of fresh air ever reaches. Often such small windows as look out on the narrow passage cannot be opened at all because of the foulness of the gullies, and because of the fear that rubbish and filth thrown out of the windows will enter the rooms. But lack of light and air is by no means the only fault of such dwellings. There is also the very imperfect drainage which results from the crowded nature of the sites, and the dampness of soil due to this insufficient drainage, and other causes. Dwelling rooms are too small, and too low. Yards and compounds are not decently paved. Proper arrangements for disposal of refuse are absent."

Inadequate municipal regulations with regard to dwellings, town-planlessness, a laissez faire policy pursued with regard to the location of factories and working-men's quarters; as well as house-tax laws have all contributed to this overcrowding involving disease and discomfort, nervous

tension, vice, callousness and many more evils.

There is, in the same way, an enormous amount of overcrowding in the poorer quarters in Calcutta. Over the whole municipal area there is an average population of 2.5 persons per room, and this congestion is more or less over the whole of the city, the least congested ward being Park Street with 1.3 persons per room, and the most congested being Jorabagan with 4.4 persons per room.* The facts as to the absence of family life in Calcutta will soon be fully dealt with, and the investigation of the conditions prevailing makes it clear that the majority of the working-classes are housed in overcrowded bustes.

The city of New York presents us with one of the world's overcrowded conditions. But in Bombay the overcrowding beats the New York record hollow. We have not got any data relating to the number of families in Calcutta occupying rooms in the *busti*, and the sizes of those rooms, but we have sufficiently clear impressions to conclude that the congestion and overcrowding are not less. In New York more than one and a half persons to a room is held to be over-crowding, and about 45 per cent. of families live in an overcrowded condition. In Byculla and Tadmadi the average number of occupants in a single room is 4.44 and 5.45 respectively, and in none of the tenements there is less than 1.5 persons living in one room. In Mandvi, as we have already seen, there are on an average 15.07 persons living in a single room. The unmitigated and incalculable evils of this fearful congestion are apparent.

Under such overcrowded conditions the spread of diseases is easy, and an outbreak of plague, cholera or small pox will drive away all those who can escape. Grog shops are many and they are situated quite near the lines to encourage drink, while brothels also spring up and satisfy the coarse appetites of operatives whose nerves are shattered by long hours of work and the de-humanised and de-socialised life under de-vitalised conditions and who therefore have frequent recourse to drink and debauchery for relaxation. Apart from these we have already pointed out

* P. Orr—Social Reform and Slum Reform, Part II, p. 12.

* Vide Maden and Shroobree's Report on City and Suburban Main Road Projects, Calcutta, 1918.

the general character of the mill-population. In India there has not as yet been created a class of factory-labourers who train themselves in mill-work and who depend upon it for livelihood. It is true that some labourers remain long enough on the lines and chawls and bring their family to live with them but the vast mass of the factory population is shifting, inconstant and irregular in their employment, and characterised by a striking disparity between the proportions of the sexes.

In the mill areas in Bombay the disparity in the sex-proportions is shown below:—

The number of females to 1,000 males.

Byculla	...	...	580.55
Tadwadi	...	...	566.84
Mandvi	...	...	423.94

In Howrah we have already seen that there are only 562 females to 1,000 males. Thus intemperance and prostitution become easy and natural.

The social conditions in our mill-towns represent only a more squalid and degrading phase of life of our important cities. We have already described the unnatural life of our labourers in the Bombay chawls and the Howrah *bustees*.

In Calcutta and Bombay the problem of housing accommodation has become extremely serious. The increase of rents has been phenomenal and this has tended to break up the joint family. Where families still live under the same room they often divide the house into separate portions. In Northern Calcutta, the portion of the residence of the Bengalee population, the system of actually dividing dwelling houses amongst several co-heirs is a very potent factor in the production of insanitary property. Thus a big dwelling is divided into a number of mean little houses with totally inadequate open spaces and most of the rooms imperfectly lighted and ventilated. Ordinarily, however, much of Northern Calcutta contains only from 9 per cent. to 12 per cent. of total open space, which is an appalling figure, and the buildings are generally twice the heights of London, Birmingham, and Liverpool slums. This fact of much greater height of Calcutta slums makes the insanitary conditions. London and English city slums, of which we have heard so much, and which are steadily being cleared away at great ex-

pense, are commonly but two stories in height, and all are provided with an incomparably better street system than we find anywhere throughout Calcutta, excepting only in the small Park Street area. Nor is any European slum allowed to be over-crowded to an extent even approaching the condition now existing in Calcutta. Calcutta, inside the area enclosed by Circular Road and the River Hooghli, contains no less than twenty-two blocks of residential property, each having no street system, and served internally only by tortuous lanes, passages, and fragmentary lengths of narrow streets. The average size of each block is 100 acres. The total area is about 2,200 acres, and can perhaps best be comprehended in the form of 22 squares of closely-built-up streetless property, each square measuring about 2,100 feet by 2,100 feet, or 700 yards by 700 yards, and they cover over 3 square miles. If we include areas outside Circular Road, then we get a total of 2,500 acres of streetless property.

Conditions like these can be found elsewhere only in Bombay, and in Cairo and Constantinople (both dry cities), and Peking, Canton, Mukden, and other Chinese cities. On a very much smaller scale they occur in Delhi and other Indian cities.

Some of the greatest Western slums appear to have been in Glasgow, many years ago. Their total area of about 90 acres is still spoken of with awe in British municipal circles—in Calcutta a single one of our 22 blocks would beat the Glasgow record hollow, both in area and intensity.*

The effects of these conditions on the health and mortality of the people are alarming. Tuberculosis, which is the most indicating disease of slum conditions, is fast spreading in Calcutta despite the favourable conditions of tropical sunlight and heat.

Number of deaths from Tuberculosis per 10,000.

1880	...	...	454
1890	...	...	743
1901	...	...	1,064
1904	...	...	1,608
1911	...	...	2,060

The death-rates, general and tuberculosis, of several important cities are given below for comparison.

* Vide Richards—Report on the Town-planning of Calcutta.

	General Death- Rate per 1,000. (1911-12)	Tuberculosis per 1,000.
London	15.	1.35
Birmingham	14.1	1.28
Liverpool	17.7	1.49
Manchester	16.2	1.53
Bombay	35.6	.62
		Respiratory diseases (including phthisis 10.94.)
Calcutta	27.2 (Corrected 35).	2.3

There has recently been great exaltation that in Calcutta the death-rates are going down and down, but it must be remembered that these are crude and unconnected, and, as Dr. Crake points out in his Report, "cannot be compared with those of other towns." Still-births are not calculated in Calcutta, as in Bombay and the West, and there is a large number of deaths of persons who leave Calcutta to die in villages that is also not reckoned. Thus the Calcutta death-rate cannot be lower than that of Bombay if calculated in the ordinary way. In all countries the male death rate exceeds the female death-rate. In Switzerland, Germany and Great Britain, the female death-rate is only about 88 per cent. that of the male. This is due to the fact that the females are less exposed to the trials and dangers of life. In the province of Bengal as well the female death-rate is 31 per mille against 34 amongst males. But in Calcutta the ratios are inverted.

The following table shows the death-rate by sex and age in Calcutta and the province.

Age Period. Years.	Calcutta Rate per mille. (1916).		Provincial Rates. (1909).	
	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.
1 to 5	42.2	48.6	37	42
5 to 10	10.1	10.9	14	17
10 to 15	11.2	7.3	10	11
15 to 20	18.1	7.6	20	17
20 to 30	18.1	8.5	21	19
30 to 40	20.0	11.9	22	22
40 to 50	20.3	18.9	24	27
50 to 60	26.2	30.3	35	41
60 and over	121.7	96.4	58	77

At 15-20 years the female death-rate in Calcutta is more than double the male death-rate, while in Bengal Presidency the difference is not so sharp (20 and 17).

From the age of 10 in all age-periods the death-rate amongst females in the city is much higher than amongst males; while in the presidency the male death-rate is generally higher, as in other countries, of

the world. When we remember this and compare the Calcutta rates with those recorded in England, where at all ages from 5-56 years, the death-rate amongst females is distinctly lower than amongst males, one realised the truth of Prof. Patrick Geddes' indictment of Calcutta as a matricidal city.*

The causes of this inversion of the normal ratios of mortality amongst males and females are obvious. In the city, the effect of the insanitary housing arrangement must tell more upon the health of the females than upon the males and, especially so, because the purdah system is much more rigid and exacting than in the villages and not only involves the constant exposure of women to insanitary conditions but actually leads to the construction of ill-lighted and ill-ventilated buildings in order to secure privacy to the *zenana*. Apart from the dangers due to the strain of repealed child-bearing and prolonged lactation in tender age and of ignorant midwifery, the ill-ventilated and insanitary houses with the courtyards in the middle, latrines and drains in the vicinity of the water tank and kitchen for exclusive use of women, and the social conventions prohibiting exercises in the pure air outside the precincts of the congested slums and dwellings bear responsibility for the greater mortality amongst females. As a result of a complex variety of causes more economic than social, such as premature motherhood, ignorant midwifery, poverty, insanitary dwellings, want of pure air and healthy exercises, maternal deaths in Calcutta amount to 1 in every 40 as compared with the average rate of from 1 to 2 per 1,000 in England.

The effect of constant exposure to insanitary surroundings, or, in other words, the result of adhering to the *purdah* system in the slums of a large city is also shown by the heavy incidence of tuberculosis amongst girls and young women. Bombay is not so much responsible on this account as Calcutta.

TUBERCULOSIS DEATH-RATE PER 100.

	Calcutta.	Bombay.
Females only	3.3	1.02
Males "	1.7	.41
Average "	2.3	.62
	Respiratory diseases including Phthisis	10.9

Vide Report of the Municipal Administration of Calcutta, 1915-16, Vol. I, page 54.

• In Calcutta at 10-15 years of age the incidence was 6 times as great, at 15 to 20 years, it was 4 times as great, and at 20-30 years, 3 times as great as amongst males.

Another effect of the insanitary, ill-lighted dwelling has been that the incidence of blindness among males is lower, but among females is far higher, than in the province of which Calcutta is the capital; and that the loss of sight is less frequent among men than among women, whereas the reverse is the case in Bengal. The figures are given below:—

NUMBER PER 1,000.			
	Male.		Female.
Calcutta	... 63	...	92
Bengal	... 78	...	63
England	... 100	...	107.3
United States	... 100	...	80.1
Calcutta	... 100	...	146.
Bengal	... 100	...	80.

• One explanation is that males suffering from cataract have recourse to the surgeon

more freely than women. But the effects of the conditions of ill-lighted dwellings must also be emphasised. The occupation of women lies mainly indoors, and the main proportion have to spend the greater part of day and night in small dark rooms filled with the acrid smoke of cow-dung fires, at which they cook their food. The cumulative effect of life under such conditions is apparent from the returns of blindness by age, for two-thirds of the blind women are over 50 years of age. The homesteads in the village are ventilated as the bamboo walls and roofs allow of a more thorough passage of air; the Bengali woman in the village consequently suffers less than her sister who lives in the slums and the insanitary dwellings of the metropolis.

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VERNACULARS FOR THE M. A. DEGREE

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[The following letter was written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to a correspondent, and is published with the latter's permission. Ed., M. R.]

Dear—,

It is needless to say that it has given me great delight to learn of Sir Ashutosh's proposal for introducing Indian vernaculars in the university for the M. A. But at the same time I must frankly admit the misgivings I feel owing to my natural distrust of the spirit of teaching that dominates our university education. Vernacular literature, at least in Bengal, has flourished in spite of its being ignored by the higher branches of our educational organisation. It carried no prospect of reward for its votaries from the Government, nor, in its first stages, any acknowledgment even from our own people. This neglect has been a blessing in disguise, for thus our language and literature have had the opportunity of natural growth, unhampered by worldly temptation, or imposition of outside authority. Our literary language is still in a fluid stage,

it is continually trying to adapt itself to new accessions of thought and emotion and to the constant progress in our national life. Necessarily the changes in our life and ideas are more rapid than they are in the countries whose influences are contributing to build the modern epoch of our renaissance. And, therefore, our language, the principal instrument for shaping and storing our ideals, should be allowed to remain much more plastic than it need be in the future when standards have already been formed which can afford a surer basis for our progress.

—But I have found that the direct influence which the Calcutta University wields over our language is not strengthening and vitalising, but pedantic and narrow. It tries to perpetuate the anachronism of preserving the Pundit-made Bengali swathed in grammar-wrappings borrowed from a dead language. It is every day becoming a more formidable obstacle in the way of our boys' acquiring that mastery of their mother tongue which is

life and literature. The artificial language of a learned mediocrity, inert and formal, ponderous and didactic, devoid of the least breath of creative vitality, is forced upon our boys at the most receptive period of their life. I know this, because I have to connive myself, at a kind of intellectual infanticide when my own students try to drown the natural spontaneity of their expression under some stagnant formalism. It is the old man of the sea keeping his fatal hold upon the youth of our country. And this makes me apprehensive lest the stamping of death's seal upon our living language should be performed on a magnified scale by our university as its final act of tyranny at the last hour of its direct authority.

In the modern European universities the medium of instruction being the vernacular, the students in receiving, recording and communicating their lessons perpetually come into intimate touch with it, making its acquaintance where it is not slavishly domineered over by one particular sect of academicians. The personalities of various authors, the individualities of their styles, the revelation of the living power of their language are constantly and closely brought to their minds—and therefore all that they need for their final degrees is a knowledge of the history and morphology of their mother-tongues. But our students have not the same opportunity, excepting in their private studies and according to their private tastes. And therefore their minds are more liable to come under the influence of some inflexible standard of language manufactured by pedagogues and not given birth to by the genius of artists. I assert once again that those who, from their position of author-

ity, have the power and the wish to help our language in the unfolding of its possibilities, must know that in its present stage freedom of movement is of more vital necessity than fixedness of forms.

Being an outsider I feel reluctant to make any suggestions, knowing that they may prove unpractical. But as that will not cause an additional injury to my reputation, I make bold to offer you at least one suggestion. The candidates for the M. A. degree in the vernaculars should not be compelled to attend classes, because in the first place, that would be an insuperable obstacle to a great number of students, including ladies, who have entered the married state; secondly, the facility of studying Bengali under the most favorable conditions cannot be limited to one particular institution, and the research work which should comprehend different dialects and folk literature can best be carried out outside the class; and lastly, if such freedom be given to the students, the danger of imposing upon their minds the dead uniformity of some artificial standard will be obviated. For the same reason, the university should not make any attempt, by prescribing definite text-books, to impose or even authoritatively suggest any particular line of thought to the students, leaving each to take up the study of any prescribed subject,—grammar, philology, or whatever it may be, along the line best suited to his individual temperament, judging of the result according to the quantity of conscientious work done and the quality of the thought-processes employed.

Yours Sincerely

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

THE RISE IN THE PRICES OF COTTON PIECE GOODS

THE four years of war have witnessed a phenomenal rise in the prices of most commodities. In few cases however has the rise been more marked than in the case of cotton and its manufactures, and in no case has the rise of prices caused so much hardship to the poorer classes of the population as the rise in the prices of

cotton goods. It is true that all the provinces have not suffered equally from the rise; those parts of the country which are near to the great centres of the Indian cotton industry, and those where the handloom industry still flourishes, have suffered less than those parts which in normal times depend upon imported piece

goods. It is an indisputable fact, however, that all parts of the country have suffered in greater or less degree, and that even in those parts which have been least affected the rise has been considerable and the distress acute.

The object which I have set before me in writing this paper is to make an enquiry into the causes of the rise in the price of cotton piece goods with the help of statistical data, and to discuss the suitability of different measures of relief. The conclusions at which I have arrived are not novel. They are such as have long been apparent to men with knowledge of the business and to students who have taken an interest in the subject. All I can claim for this paper is that I have tried to place all the relevant facts and figures together and to arrange them in a systematic way and thus to test how far the general conclusions formed on the subject are capable of being supported by statistical evidence.

THE EXTENT OF THE RISE.

The following table gives the index numbers of wholesale prices of cotton piece goods in Calcutta and Bombay during the period of our enquiry, taking July 1914 as the base.

Index numbers of wholesale prices of Cotton Piece Goods.

	Calcutta.	Bombay.
I. July, 1914	100	100
II. August, 1915	94	94
III. August, 1916	139	120
IV. August, 1917	225	182
V. December, 1917	262	241

It will be seen from the above table that between July 1914 and December 1917 prices of piece goods rose by about 150 p.c. There was a temporary fall immediately after the outbreak of the War, and in August, 1915, i.e., one year after the outbreak of the War, the index numbers show a fall of 6 p.c. Since then prices have risen without a break, and in the latter part the rise has been more abrupt than in the former. I have not got figures for any date later than December, 1917. But if such figures were available they would probably show that in the present year the rise has been still more abrupt.

THE CAUSE OF THE RISE.

The main cause to which our attention is directed is the shortage in the supply. England is our chief source of the supply of cotton piece goods. Owing to the rise in

the price of raw cotton all over the world and in wages in England there has been a serious increase in the cost of manufacture of cotton goods. Besides these, the heavy demand for the Army has absorbed increasing quantities of the produce of English Mills, and the rise of ocean freights has made it difficult and expensive to transport to India what goods are available in England. All these causes have induced the manufacturers of Lancashire to produce much smaller quantities for the Indian market. Against this reduction in the supply from England we have to set the increase in the imports from other countries (particularly Japan) which has taken place in recent years, as well as the increase in the production of Indian Mills. It is, therefore, necessary to estimate as accurately as possible the actual shortage in the quantity of piece goods available for consumption in the country. The following table compiled from figures taken from the "Review of the Trade of India" enables us to make this estimate. (Quantities are given in Millions of yards).

	Quinquennial average for (1909-10) 1914-1915-1916-1917- (1913-14). 15. 16. 17. 18.				
Imports	2,617	2,419	2,118	1,892	1,523
Home Production	1,106	1,135	1,442	1,577	1,650
Exports	90	67	114	245	172
Total available for consumption in India	3,633	3,487	3,446	3,224	3,001
Shortage as of		146	187	410	662
with Qq. : average			or 5%	or 11%	or 18%

The comparisons in the above table are made with the pre-war quinquennial average. This is done in order to eliminate the error due to variations in annual figures. The year 1914-15 is useless for purposes of comparison. The two succeeding years show a shortage of 5 p.c. and 11 p.c. respectively. I have not got exact figures for the Indian production in 1917-18. But taking 1650 millions as the probable output of Indian Mills in that year, we have a shortage of 18 p.c. in 1917-18.

It is also seen from the above table that in the five years preceding the war we were dependent for 73 p.c. of the total consumption of Mill-woven goods on foreign imports. In 1916-17, this percentage had come down to 59, and in 1917-18 (relying

* Figure for twelve months calculated from that of ten months published some months ago by the cotton committee.

on our probable estimate of Indian output to about 50. Almost the whole of the imported goods comes from England. According to the "Review of the Trade of India" England's share in the total imports in the pre-war quinquennium was 97 p.c. In 1916-17 her share was 93 p.c. Of the total imports in 1916-17, again, Japan supplied 4.5 p.c. and America, Holland and Italy together 2.5 p.c.

By far the greatest portion of the trade lost by England has gone to the Indian Mills. In the pre-war quinquennium the share of the Indian output in the total consumption was 27 p.c.; in 1916-17 it was 41 p.c. and in 1917-18 (probably) about 50 p.c. This apparent increase, however, does not mean an equal increase in the quantity supplied by the Indian Mills, for the percentage is calculated on a much smaller base.

During the three financial years ended in March 1917 the Indian Mills raised their production of piece goods from 1106 million yards to 1577 million yards, thus showing an increase of about 43 per cent. over the original amount. But no less than 33 per cent of the increase was exported, thus leaving only two-thirds of the increased output for home consumption. The quantity exported in 1916-17 was nearly three times the average for the five years preceding the war. This is very anomalous. In the presence of a great rise in home prices, it was to be expected that the large quantity of Indian piece-goods which in normal times is exported to foreign countries would be drawn into the home market. Instead of that we find an actual increase in exports in two successive years, and this in spite of the rise of ocean freights and the exchange difficulties caused by a favourable balance of trade.

There would have been some reason for the increase in the exports if the prices of piece goods in foreign countries had risen higher than they have in India. As it is, the export prices show a progressive fall during this period. The following are the declared prices for exported piece goods during the four years (1913-14) to (1916-17):—

1913-14 3a. 10p. per yard.

1914-15 3a. 9p. per yard.

1915-16 3a. 6p. per yard.

1916-17 3a. 4p. per yard.

The above figures show a fall of 13 p.c. till 1916-17. In 1917-18, however, exports

fell to 70 p.c. of the preceding year, and this fall in quantity was accompanied by a rise in the export price to 4a. 8p. per yard.

I have so far considered the amount of the shortage from our main source of supply, England, and also how far this shortage has been made up by increased supplies from other sources. I have shown that the actual reduction in the quantity supplied by England has not been made up to any great extent by the increased supply from these sources, and that in 1917-18 there was on the whole a shortage of about 18 p.c. of the pre-war quinquennium. I shall now consider how far this shortage in quantity justifies the rise in the price. But for this purpose annual averages are not a safe guide. When the period taken into consideration is only four years, twelve months seem to be too long to be taken as the unit of comparison. Besides in a rapidly changing market, where prices and quantities between the beginning and the end of a year may show a rise or fall of 50 to 100 per cent, the annual figure does not indicate clearly the rise or fall which has occurred in the course of the year, or when a particular sharp alteration has commenced. For these reasons I shall take one month as the unit for comparison. I shall try to show how imports have fallen from month to month, and how far there is a correspondence between this fall in imports with the rise in prices which has accompanied it, bearing in mind all the while that owing to increased supplies from other sources, the actual shortage is something less than the fall in the imports.

The figures for monthly imports of piece goods published in the *Gazette of India* show large fluctuations. But as we proceed from August 1914 onward we find that these fluctuations take place round a steadily decreasing mean. It is not safe to take the figures of any particular month and compare it with the price for the corresponding month. I have, therefore, in the case of quantities taken the quarterly averages instead of actual monthly figures. In the case of prices, however, no such precaution seems to be necessary, for they are fixed with reference to long periods, and show throughout a steady fall or rise.

I shall take the average quantity of imports for the three months May to July 1914 as the base, and compare with it the

quantities at different subsequent points. The following table gives a fair idea of the reduction in import :

Index numbers of quantities of imports.

I.	Quarterly average for May-July, 1914	100
II.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1915	74
III.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1916	73
IV.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1917	70
V.	Do January-March, 1918	52

In the prices table given in a previous paragraph July, 1914 is taken as the base and comparisons are made with August of the three successive years and December of 1918. Columns 2, 3, 4, 5, of the prices table is taken to correspond with the same columns of the Quantities table. In other words the prices at each successive point of time are supposed to represent quantities which were imported in the next three months. The reason for this course is obvious. As sales are made for future delivery the goods that are sold in, say, the Calcutta market to-day are those which have been contracted for in Lancashire within the last week, and which will not arrive at Calcutta till about two months hence. Thus the wholesale price in Calcutta in August is not the price of the goods which are imported in August, but which will be imported perhaps in October.

* I now proceed to make the comparison. In the course of a little over one year after the war the index number of quantities drops to 74, and continues in the neighbourhood of that figure during the two successive years. Prices, however, do not show any sudden rise. On the contrary the index number of prices at Calcutta shows a fall of about 6 points in the first year of the war. After that prices are not constant (as in the case of quantities) but show a steady rise. The slowness of the rise is explained partly by the fact that there had been excessive imports in the year preceding the outbreak of war and partly by the fact that prices are determined by the course of supply extending over long periods. In August 1916 the index number of prices stood at 139 and the index number of quantities in the next quarter at 73. At this point there appears to be a fair correspondence

* I have taken the wholesale prices in Calcutta for comparison, because the Calcutta market more than the Bombay market depends on imported piece goods.

between the supply and the rise in price, and by this time the price movement had probably overtaken the movement in the supply.

At the end of the next year, however, while the index number for quantity is still at 70, the price index at Calcutta has risen to 225, i.e. a rise of 86 points over the corresponding month of the previous year. Four months after, in December 1917, there is a rise of about 40 points in the price index, but to match it there is a fall of about 20 points in the quantity. Taking the index number of prices in December 1917 and that of quantities in the next three months, we find that a reduction of about 50 p. c. in quantity is responsible for a rise of about 160 p. c. in the price. This is apparently the measure of the elasticity of our demand for imported cotton piece goods. But I can not think that it is the true measure. It is difficult to believe that a reduction of 50 p. c. in the import should induce buyers to pay more than two-and-a-half times the price which they were paying in normal times. Demand would have to be very inelastic before consumers would submit to this squeezing. It is probable that the quantities imported from month to month have not been freely placed on the market, and that the market price is the demand price for quantities very much smaller than those imported.

The probable conclusion that the rise in wholesale prices is not justified by the shortage in the supply receives support from the fact that the rise in market prices has been far in excess of the rise in the import prices. If the rise in market prices were entirely due to shortage, we should expect to find a nearly equal rise in the import prices. This has, however, not been the case. The following table compiled from figures published in the *Gazette of India* shows the rise in import prices:

Index numbers of declared values per unit of imported piece goods.

I.	Quarterly average for May-July, 1914	100
II.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1915	105
III.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1916	138
IV.	Do Sept.-Nov., 1917	186
V.	Do Jan.-March, 1918	209

Comparing the above table with the table for whole sale prices at Calcutta we find that by August 1916 the market price rises to the same extent as the import

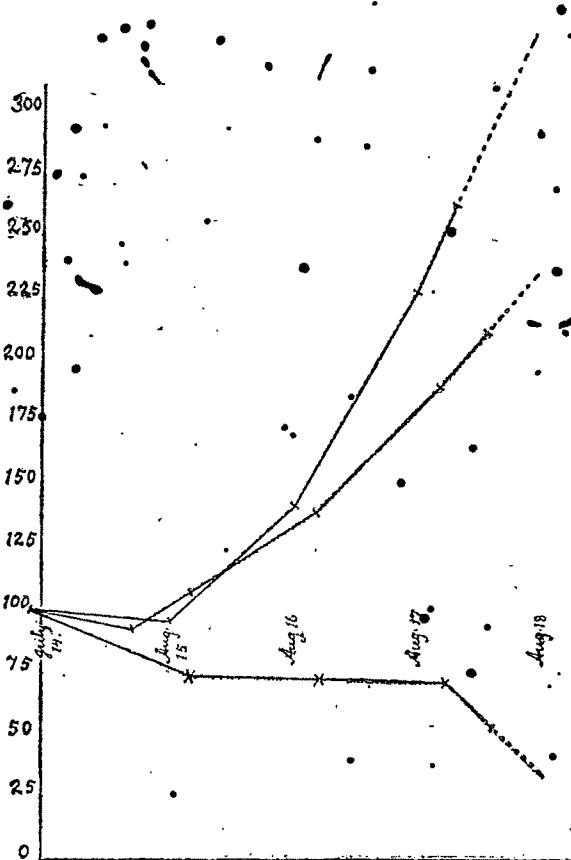
price. After that point, however, there begins a clear divergence between the rise in the two prices. It is exactly at this point, moreover, that the market price begins to show an abrupt rise, although the quantities of imports remain constant for one year more. In August 1917 the market price rises to 225 while the import price in the next quarter rises only to 186. In December 1917 the Index number of market prices rises to 262 while the Index number of import prices in the next quarter rises only to 209. It must be noticed that this difference is not a difference in the two prices, but a difference between the rise in one case and the other. It therefore shows that the whole of the rise in market prices is not due to increased cost of supply. I think it probable, therefore, that out of a rise of about 160 p. c. recorded in December last year, something like 50 p. c. is due to causes other than the rise in expenses of production and transport, and the main cause is probably speculation.

The graphs at the top of the next column show the reduction in quantity and the rise in prices and declared values.

REMEDIES.

In considering the various means which may be devised to meet the present situation, I wish to give the first place to the scheme adopted by the Government. It is proposed to empower the Government "to require the mills to manufacture certain kinds of cloth, for which they will be paid at rates fixed so as to allow a reasonable margin of profit. The cloth so produced will be retailed to the public at strictly controlled prices, either through the agency of Government shops or of licensed vendors." Local administrations will probably be required to make estimates from time to time of the quantities which they will require, and orders will accordingly be distributed among the Mills. It is considered "undesirable, even if possible, to assume control over imported cloth."

It has not appeared so far whether in respect of the standard cloths Government will exercise any control over the demand. Local administrations will make estimates of the quantities required for their provinces. But this requirement will depend on the prices at which the cloths are available. If the prices are low, the re-



quirement will be great, if the prices are high, it will be small. The object which Government have in view is to keep prices down at a level justified by the price of raw cotton and other expenses of manufacture, including of course the manufacturer's profit. It is certain that these prices will be considerably lower than those at present ruling for the same varieties of goods. The question is, whether in the absence of any control over demand Government will be able to sell at these prices, in other words, whether government will be able to sell any amount of the standard cloth which the public will be ready to purchase at the fixed price. At first sight it may appear that it should not be very difficult. At present about 50 per cent of the total consumption of cotton piece goods in the country is supplied by Indian Mills. Besides this considerable quantities are exported. If the whole or the greater part of the producing capacity of these Mills is requisitioned by the Government, it may

be possible to satisfy the demand so far as the coarser varieties are concerned at a low price. But it must be remembered that the 50 p. c. is calculated on a very much reduced absolute consumption. This reduction has been made under the stress of high prices, and if this stress is removed to any considerable extent the quantity demanded will move in the direction of the normal consumption. Moreover, as I shall try to show later on, the prices of the unstandardised varieties will probably rise as a result of Government's action.

If so, the demand on the standard varieties will increase, for a considerable part of the demand will be shifted from the finer to the coarser varieties. When all these considerations are taken into account, it seems incredible that Government with only the Indian production to fall back upon will be able to sell unlimited quantities at a low price.

Now let us suppose that control of price is accompanied by control of demand; in other words, let us suppose that a system of "rationing" is adopted. This means that the standard cloth will be supplied only to the poorer classes and to each individual in proportion to the requirements of his family. This method has some great disadvantages. It will be necessary to keep a register of individuals to whom the cloth may be supplied, the size of their families, and of the quantities supplied to each from time to time. Moreover in a country like India where the bulk of the people are ignorant and slow to defend their rights the system will prove an engine of oppression in the hands of officers who are appointed to assess the requirements of each family and of unscrupulous dealers. Let us suppose, however, that this system is adopted, and safeguards are provided to minimise its defects as far as possible. In this case there will be no fear of the supply running short. The poor people will get their cloth cheaper. But unless the supply can be increased they will not get enough. The advantage of government control will come to them in the shape of more surplus money on their hands, but not in the shape of more cloth.

I will now consider briefly what effect is likely to be produced on the prices of the finer varieties of cloth by the course proposed to be taken by Government. I have shown above that if the supply of the standard

cloth is to bring any relief to the poorer classes, it will have to be in such quantities as will engage the entire producing capacity of the Indian Mills. Consequently there will be a further shortage in the supply of the finer varieties of cloth. As the price of coarse standard cloth falls, the price of the finer cloths will rise. If it were possible for Government to undertake to supply unlimited quantities of standard cloth, a considerable part of the demand would ultimately be shifted from the finer to the coarser varieties. This is, however, not possible, and there is the likelihood of a marked cleavage between the prices of finer cloth and those of coarser. The greater part of the cloth which is imported from England belongs to the former category rather than the latter. It is clear, therefore, that speculation in imported cloth will go on unchecked, and will probably increase, for it is the prospect of a rise which is the main cause of speculation. In view of this fact it is a pity that Government should at the outset deny itself the power to control the prices of imported piece goods.

The policy of controlling prices is efficacious as a remedy for speculation. It cannot (in the absence of a system of distribution according to needs) cope with a real shortage. It can merely keep down prices to the level at which the quantity available can be disposed of in the open market. But that is the limit. If there is a shortage in the supply, the Government fixed price will have to be raised. That being so, if the war should continue for some years more, and if the present tendencies should continue to act, the policy adopted by the Government towards Indian products (even if it should be extended to control over imported goods) will fail to check distress. So long as the war continues we may expect this tendency to continue at a progressive rate from year to year and even from month to month. It is not unlikely therefore that in the near future we shall have to consider seriously the problem of increasing our output. The Indian cotton industry with its present supply of machinery and labour is not capable of unlimited expansion, and something will have to be done in order to make the country more and more self-dependent in respect of its production of cotton goods.

One way of solving the problem which has recently found much favour in Bengal

is to fall back on the old economy, to encourage the cultivator to grow cotton on his land and work it up to finished cloth in his home. I do not think that the introduction of the "Charka" (spinning wheel) is so closely bound up with the problem of growing cotton on one's own land that the two things must needs be taken up together, and when the real difficulty is about manufacturing raw cotton, it is unwise to obscure the problem by introducing the question of growing cotton. True, in Bengal in olden times the two things went together. But it need not be the case at the present day, when any quantity of raw cotton can be had from distant parts of the country at a price. Of course, if the price of raw cotton has gone up so high that it is more profitable to grow on one's own land than to buy it, then it is surely advisable to choose the former course. But in that case it would also be profitable to grow cotton for the market in preference to other crops. I think the question of extending the cultivation of cotton should be decided merely by reference to its relative value and that handloom weaving can be carried on even in those parts where climatic conditions do not allow cotton to be grown locally.

Handloom weaving again has to be considered by comparing it with Mill weaving, and here the advantage undoubtedly lies with the latter. The former may be a useful makeshift to tide over the present emergency, but as a feature of normal industry it is doomed. When after the war normal conditions are once more es-

tablished the Mill industry will be in a far better position to withstand foreign competition than any extensive handloom industry which may be built up during this period of distress. It is not a wise policy to lay hold of anything which comes in our way to cope with the present difficulty, but to lay our plans carefully, and build an organisation which will not collapse at the first touch of foreign competition. Every industrial country which is not seriously affected by the war is employing its present advantage to build a firm industrial organisation which should be a tower of strength in the struggle of the future, and it will be a poor record for India to show that in this long war she was content with a few patches on her old industrial structure.

To me it seems clear that as a solution of the present cotton problem and as a preparation for the future industrial struggle the least we can do is to extend the Mill industry. It is true that at the present time it is difficult to obtain machinery from abroad, and the training of labour will also take time. But if the problem is handled earnestly, it may not be impossible to find a solution. Things which before the war appeared to be impossible have been made possible because governments and peoples have had to do them. And if the question of clothing the people is tackled with any thing like the same determination and courage the difficulty may not be insuperable.

BIJOY KUMAR SEN, M. A.

THE SEARCH FOR GOD

BY MAHARSHI DEVENDRANATH TAGORE.

"He is not perceived by the eyes, nor through speech, nor any of our organs, nor by austerities, nor any deeds.

Only the mind, purified by wisdom in meditation, finds Him who is without parts."

GOD is not perceived by the eyes, but we see the manifestation of His spirit of wisdom in the spirit of man.

He is not heard by the organs of hearing, yet we are able to hear His commands.

He is beyond all our senses, yet we

can experience the truth and grace of His nature and quench our thirst with His immortal love.

Thus it is true that our senses cannot apprehend Him, yet the relation of our spirit to Him is deep and intimate. By purifying the mind with wisdom in meditation we can perceive Him directly in our soul.

When we feel that He is watching over us in love, and that His eyes of love are

gazing into ours, then we know inwardly that we are one with Him. As His nature is one of love, so ours is also.

If we look on Him with indifference then we cannot understand His love. But if we seek Him with the longing of pure love, then a new image of beauty will rise before our minds.

Love cannot fulfil its own nature unless there is some one to love. The love with which God loves us, is the same as that which draws our own souls to Him. He gives us the fullness of His love, and the meaning of our own life is fulfilled if we are able to give Him one drop of our love in return.

Like the tender love of a mother for her child, so the love of God refreshes the whole world and the heart of every man. He sees in each one of us a separate individual to love and satisfies the hunger for love in each individual heart. If the world had contained but one individual, then that one person would have been the sole possessor of the kingdom of His love. And so wonderful is His love that, even among the countless souls of men, He still regards each one as the complete owner of His love's kingdom.

An earthly king cannot recognise, even by sight, the different subjects of his realm. But the Father of the world takes into His embrace of love every son of this boundless universe and makes each one His very own.

We come into this world understanding nothing. At one time we were unconscious, like clods of earth, enveloped in darkness. But as we saw the light, love came and caught us in its embrace. What attraction was there in us, at that time, that any one should care for us? Yet, long before we were born, God had sent love into the heart of the mother and that love shielded us from all danger. God gave us milk from our mother's breast and love from our mother's heart. We did not ask for His love, it came of itself and possessed us. Long before we loved Him, He was our Father and our Mother and our all. Now that we have come to know and love

Him, He is the same Lover and will remain eternally the same.

Our part is to feel, ever more clearly, the breadth of God's love, and to give, ever more freely, our own love in return. With His love He has initiated us into the sacred service of the world through suffering and pain. Even now, we are becoming ready to dwell with Him in the eternal fullness of His love.

God has prepared His answer to our prayers even before we have uttered them. He has dispensed for us all the things we desire even before we have consciously desired them. The width of His love is incomparably greater than this narrow world. Here, in this life, the things from which we expect most benefit disappoint us. Even those who most care for us give us cruel suffering. Only by resting upon the unchanging love of God can we get beyond the hardness and the cruelty of the world. Weak, selfish men, each intent upon his own interest, not considering the needs of others,—such a world as this cannot bring us deliverance.

But in the deep realisation of God's presence there is peace. He has satisfied the longing for love in our hearts by the gift of His own love. We may receive in the world all kinds of blows which give us pain, but in His presence there is peace. We know from experience that we have to return again and again from those to whom we go for the satisfaction of our earthly love to the one life-long Companion. In dependence on Him we are free.

He is our Supreme Friend, the God who is worthy of our worship, the Fulfilment of all our desires.

O God, fill our hearts to the full with Thine eternal love, so that we may ever gaze upon Thy face and be united with Thy sovereign will. Chasten us a thousand times if we transgress against Thee; only forsake us not. Oh dearest Friend, without Thee life is meaningless and void.

(Translated, with abridgment, from the Bengali.)

THE LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF SHIVAJI

I

AFTER his marvellous success in the invasion of the Karnatak (described by me in the *Central Hindu College Magazine*, October, 1918), Shivaji left the Madras plains (about November, 1677) and entered the Mysore plateau, conquering its eastern and central parts.*

From Sera in the heart of the Mysore kingdom (December, 1677), he marched to Kopal, 125 miles north, the fort of which he took, then turned 35 miles westwards to Gadag, and 24 miles south of the latter to Lakshmishwar in the Dharwar district, (capturing the forts at both these places.) The desai of Mulgund, half way from Gadag to Lakshmishwar, had evacuated his fort in terror, and it was occupied by the Marathas. Bankapur, 20 miles S. W. of Lakshmishwar, was besieged unsuccessfully, about the middle of January, 1678. From this place Shivaji retraced his steps northwards, and arrived near Sampgaon in the Belgaum district. At Belvadi, a small village 12 miles S. E. of Sampgaon and 30 miles S. E. of Belgaum, Mal Bai, the widowed lady proprietor, plundered some transport bullocks of Shiva's army when passing by. Her fort was at once besieged, but she defended it most heroically for 27 days, after which it was carried by assault and she herself was captured.†

* His route is thus given in Sabhasad, 91 : Kolhar—Ballapur—Kopal—Lakshmishwar—*Khangauda* desai chastised—Sampgaon district—Balvada *desain* invested, captured, and "taught a lesson"—Panhala. Chitnis, 142 :—Srirangapattan—Gadag—Lakshmishwar—*Khangauda* desai fled—Gadag—Balved *desain* Mal Bai besieged for 27 days, captured and released. *Shivadigvijay*, 347-357 : Savitri Bai of Belvadi besieged—Gadag—Lakshmishwar—*Gaunda* desai fled—Balvud *desain* loots transport, is besieged and captured. I cannot find *Khangauda* in the maps, but only *Mulgund* and *Navalgund*, (the last being 20 M. N. W. of Gadag.)

† T. S. § 55 thus describes her fate : "A woman named Savitri was the *patelni* (proprietress) of Balvadi. From the shelter of her fort she fought Shiva for one month. On her provisions and munitions running short, she made a sortie, demolished all the siege trenches, and dispersed and slew many of the besiegers. For one day she kept the field heroically, but at last fled vanquished, was captured and

This long check by a woman, before an obscure mud fort, greatly lowered Shivaji's prestige. As the English merchants of Rajapur write on 28 Feb., 1678 : "He is at present besieging a fort where, by relation of their own people come from him, he has suffered more disgrace than ever he did from all power of the Mughal or the Deccans (=Bijapuris), and he who hath conquered so many kingdoms is not able to reduce this woman Desai!"

Soon afterwards Shivaji had another and very great disappointment,—the greatest in his life, which we describe in the words of the Rajapur factors in their letter dated 3rd April. "Jamshid Khan, since the death of his master the Nawab [Bahlol Khan, on 23 Dec., 1677] found himself incapable of longer holding out, agrees with Shivaji to deliver up [the fort of Bijapur and the person of Sikandar Adil Shah] for 600,000 pagodas. Siddi Masaud having intelligence of this, feigns a sickness, at last death, and causes a *handol* publicly to be sent away with part of the army to Adoni, the residue [of his troops] about 4000 sent to Jamshid, pretending that, since the leader was dead, if he would entertain them they would serve him. He presently accepts their service and receives them into the Fort, who within two days seized his person, caused the gates to be opened and received the Siddi in alive, [21st Feb., 1678]. Shivaji upon his march hearing this news returns, and is expected at Panhala in a short time." [F. R. Surat, Vol. 107].

In an age when almost every man had his price, Shivaji cannot be blamed for trying to make gains by bribery. The fort of Bijapur was for sale, and he only made a bid for it, and took his chance with other competitors for the position of keeper of the puppet Adil Shah, even as Shahji had been the keeper of a puppet Nizam Shah. Masaud and Bahlol were no more interested, but certainly less efficient than he

greatly dishonoured. Saknuji Gailwad was the doer of this evil deed. Shivaji on hearing of his act, put out both his eyes and thus gave him his deserts. He was imprisoned in the village of Manauli.

would have been as Regent of Bijapur.

The news of the transfer of the Adil Shahi capital to Siddi Mas'ud (21st February) reached Shivaji on his way from Belvadi through Turgal to Bijapur, and he swerved aside to the west and returned to his own stronghold of Panhala at the end of March or in the first week of April, 1678.

II

At this stage we may conveniently inquire into what happened in Maharashtra during Shivaji's absence in the Karnatak. In November, 1676, an army was sent under Shambhuji to annex some Portuguese territory near Goa. He demanded 60 villages from the Portuguese on the ground that they belonged to the fort of Phonda, which was now in Shivaji's possession; but on meeting with a refusal, he made a rash assault on the Portuguese forces, who beat him off. Then the Marathas left the district for Daman, hoping to find less opposition there. But no permanent gain resulted from this campaign.

During Shivaji's absence (November, 1676—March, 1678), the army left by him at home under Moro Trimbak in the Desh and Annaji Datto in the Konkan, naturally confined itself to the defence of the realm, without venturing to make any aggression. In November, 1677, however, Dattaji taking advantage of the crushing repulse of Dilir and Bahlol by the Golkonda troops (September) roved the inland parts of Kanara and looted Hubli. Early in January, 1678, Moro Panth "plundered Trimbak, Nasik and other considerable places in the Mughal territory." Dilir Khan hastened there with the remnant of his broken army, (middle of February).

III

Shivaji's return home (March, 1678), revived Maratha activity. The districts that he retained in Central and Eastern Mysore as the result of his Karnatak expedition, had to be connected with his old dominions by the conquest of the southern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur, which consisted of the Kopal region north of the Tungabhadra opposite the Bellary district, as well as parts of the Dharwar and Belgaum districts intervening between Kopal and Panhala. This country was held by two Afghans, Husain Khan Miana of Sampgaon (Belgaum) and his brother

Qasim Khan of Kopal. They were fellow-gangsmen of Bahlol Khan, and it seems probable that on the death of that chief and the ruin of his family, the defence of these tracts, formerly included in his jagir, was entrusted to them.

Husain Khan was as high and powerful a noble as Bahlol Khan, a brave general renowned for his martial spirit, and commanding 5000 Pathan archers, lancers, musketeers and artillery men. The fort of Kopal was secured by Moro Pant from Qasim Khan for a price. Husain Khan is said by Chitnis (p. 142) to have disputed Shivaji's passage by the Kopal-Gadag route and to have been repulsed. Some time afterwards he was defeated and captured by Hambir Rao near Sampgaon, but dismissed by Shivaji with honour.

"Kopal (105 miles due south of Bijapur and a slightly greater distance south-east of Belgaum) is the gate of the south," and its possession enabled the Maratha dominion to be extended to the bank of the Tungabhadra river and even across it into the Bellary and Chittaldurg districts. Many of the local chieftains who had long defied the Bijapur government and withheld taxes in this ill-subdued border country, were now chastised by the Marathas and reduced to obedience,—among them being the poligars of Kanakgiri (25 miles N. E. of Kopal), Harpan-halli (40 miles S. of Kopal), Raydurg, Chittaldurg, Vidyannagar (? old Vijaynagar), and Bundikot (? Gudicota; 45 miles E. of Harpan-halli.) This country was now formed into a regular province of Shivaji's kingdom and placed under Janardan Narayan Hanuwante as viceroy.

In the meantime, a few days after Shivaji's return to Panhala, his troops attacked Mungi-pattan, on the Godavari, 30 miles south of Aurangabad. (M.A. 166.) It was probably next month that they made a second attempt to get possession of Shivner. They invested the village (of Junnar) at its foot, and at night tried to scale the fort. "Three hundred Marathas climbed the fort walls at night by means of nooses and rope-ladders. But Abdul Aziz Khan was an expert *qiladar*. Though he had sent away his sons and followers to reinforce the faujdar Yahiya Khan in the village, he personally with a few men slew all the infantry of Shiva who had entered the fort. Next morning he hunted out the few who had concealed themselves.

in the hill [side] below the fort and among rocks and holes, and released them with presents, sending a message to Shivaji to the effect, 'So long as I am *qiladar*, you will never take this fort.' " (*Dil.* 157.)

IV.

A rupture now took place between Shiva and Qutb Shah, and the diplomatic system so patiently built up by Madanna Pandit fell to the ground. Qutb Shah's indignation had been rising as he found himself made a mere cat's paw of Shiva in the Karnatak adventure. He had borne all the expenses of the expedition and supplied artillery and an auxiliary force for it. But not one of the conquered forts was given to him, not one pice of his contribution repaid out of the fabulous booty carried away by Shiva from that land of gold. And now the Maratha plot to capture Bijapur by treachery destroyed the last trace of patience in the Golkonda king, especially as he had been playing for some years past the flattering role of a chivalrous friend and protector of the boy Adil Shah. So, Abul Hassan arranged for a peace between the new Bijapuri regent, Siddi Masaud, and his rivals (especially Sharza Khan), helped him with money to pacify the unpaid mutinous soldiery, and bound him to wage war against Shiva and "confine him to the Konkan." The Adil Shahi nobles prepared to open the campaign in October next, with about 25,000 cavalry and numerous infantry. But Dilir Khan spoiled the whole plan.

Dilir Khan had exacted heavy and humiliating concessions from Siddi Masaud when he made peace with him at Kulbarga (Nov., 1677.) The odium of that treaty fell on the new regent, and all the disorders in the State and all the sufferings of the people were laid at his door. Distracted by domestic factions, daily insulted and threatened by the Afghan soldiers, and hopeless of preventing "Shiva's boundless violence and encroachments" with the resources of the ruined, divided and bankrupt State, Siddi Masaud wanted to come to terms with Shivaji, but Dilir Khan forbade it, assuring him that the imperial army was ready to help him in fighting the Marathas. Masaud was, however, too bewildered by the disturbances in all parts of the country to listen to this advice. He wrote to Shiva, "We are neighbours. We eat the

same salt. You are as deeply concerned in [the welfare of] this State as I am. The enemy [i.e., Mughals] are day and night trying to ruin it. We two ought to unite and expel the foreigner."

At the news of these negotiations, Dilir Khan grew angry and set himself to conquer Bijapur. Only respect for treaties had kept him from doing so before; but Masaud's breach of faith absolved him from the obligation to spare the Adil Shah. And he now received a most unexpected accession of strength. Shivaji's eldest son Shambhuji was the curse of his old age. This youth of nineteen was violent, capricious, unsteady, thoughtless and notoriously depraved in his morals. For his outrage on a married Brahman woman he had been confined in Panhala fort, but escaped with his wife Yessu Bai and a few comrades to join Dilir Khan. Shivaji sent a force in pursuit, but it was too late. Dilir Khan, on getting Shambhuji's letter, had detached from his camp at Bahadurgarh 4000 men under Ikhlas Khan (the commander of his Vanguard) and Ghairat Khan (his nephew) to advance and escort the fugitive. They met him 8 miles south of Supa, and Dilir himself joined them at Karkumb, 12 miles further north-east. Dilir Khan was thrown into a transport of joy at the desertion of Shivaji's heir to his side. "He felt as happy as if he had conquered the whole Deccan!" (*B. S.* 415.) "He beat his drums in joy and sent a report to the Emperor. Shambhuji created a 7-hazari and a Rajah and presented with an elephant." (*Dil.* 159.) This happened in November, 1678. The Khan with his valuable new ally, halted at Akluj (50 miles south of Bahadurgarh) for some time to prepare for the invasion of Bijapur.

V.

In this danger Siddi Masaud immediately asked for help from Shiva, as agreed upon. The Rajah sent six to seven thousand well-armed cavalry to guard Bijapur. Masaud could not fully trust his ally, he asked the Maratha contingent to halt beside the stream of the village Itangihal (5 m. N. W. of the city), but they came nearer, encamped at Khanapur and Khasrapur, and demanded that one of the gates and towers of the fort should be entrusted to them. Masaud wisely declined. Then they moved to Zuhrapur

and encamped on the plain just outside the walls, thus increasing Masaud's suspicion. Soon the allies began to quarrel openly. The Marathas were detected in trying to smuggle arms and men into the fort, by concealing the arms in sacks of grain and disguising themselves as drivers of the pack-oxen! Then Shiva threw off the mask. He began to plunder and devastate Adil Shahi territory again. His men looted the suburbs of Bijapur—Datlatpura (=Khawasapura), Khusrapura and Zuhrapura, and carried off the rich *banias* for ransom. Near the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khawas-Khani, they slew Ali Raza and wounded Siddi Yaqut. But when they reached the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah, west of the city, a shot from the fort-guns killed the Maratha commander and the men fled away. Masaud now made peace with Dilir Khan.

A Mughal force was invited to Bijapur, royally welcomed, and sent off with a Bijapuri army under Venkatadri Murari (the confidant of the Regent) and other officers, against the Marathas. They reached Tikota (13 Miles W. of Bijapur) when spies brought the report that Shiva himself had arrived at Selgur (55 Miles W. of Bijapur and the same distance east of Panhala) with 7 to 8 thousand men and wanted to make a night attack on the Mughal or the Bijapuri army, whichever would advance first. But a new quarrel between Masaud and Sharza Khan paralysed the power of Bijapur.

VI

Dilir Khan next marched to the fort of Bhupalgarh, (20 miles N. W. of Jath and 45 miles S. W. of Pandharpur) situated among the Majra hills, which Shivaji had built as a store-house of his property and the refuge of the families of his subjects in the neighbourhood during his wars with the Mughals. By great labour the imperialists dragged some guns to the top of a neighbouring height during the night and next morning began to batter the walls and towers. The assault was launched about 9 a. m. and the Mughals fought with vigour till noon, when the fort was captured, after heavy slaughter on both sides. Vast quantities of grain and other property and large numbers of people were captured by the victors. Seven hundred survivors of the garrison were deprived of one hand and then set free; the

other captives were evidently sold into slavery.

Before this Shivaji had sent 16,000 horse to relieve the fort. They arrived too late, but hovered on the four sides of the Mughals. Suddenly they learnt that Irij Khan and Bajaji Rao [Nimbalkar] were bringing provisions from Parenda to the besieging army, and then they immediately set off rapidly to intercept the convoy. But Dilir Khan detached Ikhlas Khan with 1500 cavalry to the aid of Irij Khan. Twelve miles from Bhupalgarh he overtook the Marathas. Ikhlas Khan's small force was enveloped and he took refuge in a walled village and repelled the Maratha assault with his back to the wall, doing great havoc among the enemy with his artillery, and slaying nearly one thousand of Shiva's men. Then large reinforcements arrived from Dilir Khan, at whose approach the Marathas fled. Dilir then returned to Bhupalgarh, burnt everything that he could not carry off, dismantled its fortifications, and returned to Dhulkhed. [B. S. 418-419; *Dil.* 160; Chitnis 176 differs.]

The fugitive Marathas, however, scored a success. Near Karkamb (30 miles south of Parenda,) they fell in with Irij Khan, looted all his grain and the property of his troops, and forced him to flee with a few men into a small fort hard by, where he was afterwards relieved by his kinsman, Mir Muhammad Khan, the *qiladar* of Parenda. (*Dil.* 161.)

The fall of Bhupalgarh took place about March, 1679. Then followed a period of puzzling intrigue and counter-intrigue between the Mughal viceroy and the Bijapur nobility, and also quarrels between Masaud and Sharza Khan, Masaud and Dilir, and Masaud and his favourite Venkatadri.

VII

On 18th August, Dilir crossed the Bhima at Dhulkhed, 40 m. due north of Bijapur, and opened a new campaign against Masaud. That helpless regent begged aid from Shivaji, sending to him an envoy named Hindu Rao charged with this piteous appeal: "The condition of this royalty is not hidden from you. There is no army, money, or ally for defending the fort and no provision at all. The enemy is strong and ever bent on war. You are a hereditary servant, elevated by this

court. And, therefore, you will feel for this house more than others can. We cannot defend the kingdom and its forts without your aid. Be true to your salt; turn towards us. Command what you consider proper, and it shall be done by us." (B. S. 427.)

Shiva undertook the defence of Bijapur, ordered 10,000 of his cavalry to reinforce Masaud, sent from his forts 2000 ox-loads of provisions to the city and bade his subjects send grain and other necessities to Bijapur for sale, so that the citizens and soldiers there might not suffer scarcity. His envoy Visaji Nilkanth reached Masaud with a cheering message, "You hold the fort. I shall go out and punish Dilir Khan as he deserves." Visaji reported to the regent that 5000 Maratha troopers had reached Ainapur (20 m. S. E. of Miraj) and 5000 others Bhupalgarh, waiting for his call to come when needed. (B. S. 427.)

The Mughals took Mangalvide (Sept.) and came nearer to Bijapur. Masaud conciliated Sabaji Ghatge and sent him with the army of Turgal to Indi (28 m. N. of Bijapur.) This detachment had a skirmish with Shambhuji who was out foraging; about fifteen men were slain on each side; Sabaji was wounded but captured 50 horses, 50 oxen, and 4 camels from the enemy. Shivaji's envoy now reached Bijapur with Anand Rao [= Hambir Rao] at the head of 2500 horse. They were welcomed by Masaud and stationed in the Nauraspura suburb. Bajaji [Nimbalkar], now in Mughal service, laid siege to the fort of Akhuj, but a Bijapuri general named Bahadur marched up from Sangula (32 m. S.) and drove him away.

But on 15th September, Dilir Khan left his camp at Dhulkhed and came very close to Bijapur, reaching Baratgi, 6 m. N. E. of the city, on 7th October. Here he halted and held palavers with Masaud's envoys. On 30th October Shivaji arrived at Selgur, midway between Panhala and Bijapur, with 10,000 cavalry. His first detachment left Nauraspur next day to welcome him there. Shiva wanted to visit Adil Shah; Masaud permitted him to come with an escort of 500 men only. But the Peshwa More Trimbak dissuaded Shivaji from falling into the power of Masaud by entering the fort.

So, on 4th November, 1679, the Maratha king divided his army into two bodies;

he himself with 8 or 9 thousand troopers started by the road of Muslah and Almala, and Anand Rao [= Hambir Rao] with 10,000 cavalry by way of Man and Sangula, to raid the Mughal dominions and recall Dilir from the environs of Bijapur. But Dilir Khan, to whom the capture of Bijapur seemed easy, paid no heed to the Maratha plunder and devastation of those provinces, which were a familiar annual evil, and hoped for the highest rewards from the expected conquest of the Adil Shahi capital. So, he pressed his attack on it, without retreating.

But his siege of Bijapur was a failure. After vainly trying to make peace with Masaud, he left the environs of the city on 14th November and marched westwards, intending to invade the Miraj-Panhala region and create a diversion there, which would quickly recall Shiva home. The scheme seemed promising, as Shambhuji bragged of his ability to capture forts quickly with his Maratha followers and thus make the progress of the imperialists easy, while the petty chiefs (Nayak-wars) of Miraj had been already won over by a Mughal agent.

But his first work was to ravage the Bijapuri territory with insane cruelty. By way of Bahmanhali, Maknapur, and Jalgeri, he reached Tikota (13 m. W. of Bijapur), a rich and populous village, where the wealthy men of the neighbourhood had taken refuge with their families. "The Mughals were utterly unexpected. When Ikhtlas Khan with [Dilir's] Vanguard arrived there and began to plunder it, the wives of the Hindus and Muslims with their children jumped into the wells near their houses and committed suicide. The village was utterly sacked. Nearly 3000 men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoner [for being sold into slavery.]... Leaving Tikota on 18th November, by way of Honvad and Telsang, ravaging the country and carrying off the people as slaves, the imperialists reached Athni (43 m. W. of Bijapur.) Here, according to the English factory records, a breach took place between the Mughal general and his Maratha ally. Athni, "a considerable mart," was burnt down and Dilir proposed to sell the inhabitants who were all Hindus. Shambhuji objected to it, but was over-ruled, and began to grow sick of his associates. On 31st November,

Dilir left Athni for Ainapur, 12 miles westwards, but learnt on the way that Shambhuji had fled away to Bijapur.

Since his coming over to the Mughals in November 1678, Shambhuji had been constantly approached by Shivaji's agents with all sorts of persuasions and promises to return to his father. Even Mahadji Nimbalkar, his brother-in-law, though now a Mughal servant, censured him for his act of desertion. (Shambhu reported the matter to Dilir, who put Mahadji in confinement for some days. *Dil.* 160.) But by this time Shambhuji had made up his mind to leave the Mughals.* In the night of 20th November he slipped out of the camp with his wife Yessu Bai disguised in male attire and only 10 troopers for escort, rode hard to Bijapur in the course of the day and was warmly received by Masaud. Dilir promptly returned towards Bijapur on learning of Shambhu's flight on the 21st, and sent an agent, Khawajah Abdur Razzaq, to that city to bribe the regent to capture the Maratha prince (28th.) In the night of the 30th, Shambhuji, getting scent of the matter, issued in secret from Bijapur, met a body of cavalry sent by his father to escort him, and galloped away to Panhala, which he reached about the 2nd of December.

VIII.

We shall now trace the history of Shivaji's movements from 4th November, 1679, when he marched out to raid the Mughal dominions in order to create a diversion for the relief of Bijapur. The campaign was not an unbroken success for him. As the Bombay Council wrote on 1, Jan 1680, "He hath both lost and gained." Near Bijapur he was attacked (middle of November) and utterly routed by Dilir Khan, who captured from him 2000 horses, besides prisoners. The defeated Rajah fled to Pattagarh † (Vishram-garh) with only 500 cavalry, having lost the greater part of his army, and summoned Moro Trimbak and Annaji Datto to a council of war there.

* According to Sabhasad, 93, Aurangzib wrote to Dilir to arrest Shambhu and send him a prisoner to Delhi; but the Mughal general, to keep his word to his guest, informed the Maratha prince of the letter and connived at his flight. Unlikely story. B. S. 439 says that Aurangzib summoned Shambhu to his court.

† Futta, 20 m. S. of Nasik, and 20 m. E. of Thal Ghat.

The Peshwa had himself just suffered a reverse in advancing towards Sarat; he had been defeated and driven back by Ranmast Khan, a Pathan general, with the loss of 2000 men killed and 400 horses captured.

As Dilir Khan was advancing westwards from Bijapur (middle of November) and seemed intent on laying siege to Panhala, and the presence of Shambhuji in the enemy's camp threatened a civil war in the Maratha State, Shivaji tried to convert Panhala into an impregnable refuge by removing to it the guns of many of his other forts, besides 40 pieces bought from the French. As early as 24th November he had sent Somaji, the brother of Annaji Datto, to remove about 30 pieces of artillery from the forts of Ankola, Karwar, Someshwar, and Phonda, and drag them to Panhala "by the strength of men and buffaloes."

A grand attempt was made to retrieve the two disasters of the middle of November. Towards the end of that month, a fresh army of 12,000 men was assembled near Rajapur in S. Konkan. They looted and burnt that town (26th) and set out (28th) for Burhanpur; but on the way they turned aside to the right towards Malkapur. Shivaji had been greatly relieved by the return of his prodigal son Shambhuji to Panhala (2nd December). At the head of 20,000 horse he set out and overtook his army. The Maratha flood swept into West Khandesh, plundering Dharangaon, Chopra, (4th-6th Dec.), and other rich trade centres, and then turning sharply to the south entered Balaghat, and reached Jalna, a populous town only 40 miles due east of Aurangabad.

Here the godly saint, Sayyid Jan Muhammad, had his hermitage in a garden in the suburbs. As Shivaji always spared the holy men and holy places of all religions, most of the wealthy men of Jalna had taken refuge in this hermitage with their money and jewels. The raiders, finding very little booty in the town and learning of the concealment of wealth in the saint's abode, entered it and robbed the refugees, wounding many of them. The holy man appealed to them to desist; but they only abused and threatened him for his pains. (K. K. ii, 271; *Dil.* 165, T. S. § 58.) Then the man of God, "who had marvellous efficacy of prayer," cursed Shiva, and popular

belief ascribed the Rajah's death five months afterwards to his curses.

Retribution visited the Maratha army very much sooner. Jalna, both town and suburb, was thoroughly plundered and devastated for four days. Then as the Marathas, loaded with booty consisting of "countless gold, silver, jewels, cloths, horses, elephants and cantels", were retreating, an enterprising Mughal officer, Ranmast Khan*, attacked their rear-guard, (near Sangamner according to Duff, i. 289.) Shidhoji Nimbalkar with 5000 men opposed him for some days, but was at last slain with many of his men. In the meantime, the Mughals had received very heavy reinforcements from Aurangabad, (20,000 men), and they now threatened to envelop and cut off the entire Maratha army. Under the guidance of Bahirji, his chief-spy, Shivaji, after three days and nights of anxious and ceaseless marching, escaped from the ring of his enemies by an obscure path.† But he had to sacrifice much of his booty, besides losing 4000 cavalry killed and Hambir Rao, his commander-in-chief, wounded. This happened towards the end of December, and Shivaji retired to Panhala to meet his recovered son.

The credit of this victory over the Marathas must be given to the troops immediately under Prince Muazzam, the viceroy of Aurangabad, who had returned to the Deccan "with a vast army" (M.A. 169) in November, 1678. Dilir Khan was too far away in the south, near Bijapur, and too closely engaged with the enemy there to have taken part in the fighting near Jalna.‡

* Ranmast Khan, brother of Khizr Khan Pani, received a robe of honour from the Emperor on 18 September 1682, and was created Bahadur Khan in August next (M. A. 222, 235.) T. S. speaks of him as thanahdar or qiladar of Jalna at this time. We afterwards meet him as thanahdar of Akluj (Dil.)

† According to Sabh. 93, Shiva wanted to retreat by the Jagdiri route. The nearest approach to this name that I can find in the environs of Sangamner is Jakhorce, 5 m. S. E. (Ind. At. Sheet 38.)

‡ Sabhasad mentions no Maratha military enterprise between Shiva's battle with Ranmast Khan and his death. B.S. contradicts the theory that the Marathas at all opposed Dilir Khan during these four months. The English records are silent. But Chitnis (176-177) says that Shiva on his return from Jalna expelled Dilir Khan from Bijapur territory, recovered Bhupalgarh and Bahadur-Binda, and sent Moro Pant with 20,000 men to invade Baglana and capture 27 forts from the Mughals there. All these

IX.

The recent rebellion of Shambhuji had revealed the serious danger that threatened the newly founded Maratha kingdom. The character of his eldest son filled Shiva with the gloomiest anticipations of the future. A profligate, capricious and cruel youth, devoid of every spark of honour, patriotism, or religious fervour, could not be left sole master of Maharashtra. And yet, the only alternative to Shambhu was Raja Ram, a boy of ten, whose accession would have meant a long regency. But there was such mutual jealousy and discord among the old ministers of the State, especially between Moro Trimbak, the premier, and Annaji Datto, the viceroy of the West, that a council of regency would have broken up in civil war and the ruin of the State as surely as the Poona council of ministers did a century later. A division of the kingdom between the two princes was then contemplated, but the idea was very wisely given up.

Shivaji tried hard to conciliate and reason with Shambhu. He appealed to all the nobler instincts of the prince as well as to his self-interest, read him many a lecture, showed him his treasury, revenue returns, list of forts and muster-rolls, and urged him to be worthy of such a rich heritage and to be true to all the high hopes which his own reign had raised in the Hindu world. But a born judge of character like Shivaji must have soon perceived that his sermons were falling on deaf ears, and hence his last days were clouded by despair.

The evil was aggravated by intrigues within his harem.* At the age of 47 he had

exploits in January or February, 1680, appear to me improbable, as Shiva was preoccupied with domestic troubles.

* According to Sabh. 72, Shivaji married six wives besides the mother of Shambhuji, Mr. Rajwade (Vol. IV. Intro. 53) infers from the *Life of Ramdas* that Shiva had three wives and two concubines. On 27 May 1674, Mr. Henry Oxinden wrote from Raigarh, "The Rajah was, and is still so busy about his coronation and marriage with two other [blank in the MS. record] women, that it was yesterday before we had audience." Under 8th June 1674, he writes, "The Rajah was married to a fourth (F.R. Surat, Vol. 88.) From a letter of Narayan Shenvi to the Deputy Governor of Bombay, dated 4 April 1674, we learn, "I arrived at Rairi on 24th March.....An order [came] from Naroji Pandit that I should remain in his house until the time of mourning was over for the death of Raja Shivaji's wife, which I did, resting there five days." (Ibid.) So, one wife of Shiva died in March 1674.

made the mistake of marrying three young women, though he had a wife and two sons living. His old wife, Sayra Bai, the mother of Raja Ram, felt herself neglected by her husband and tried all kinds of charms and love-philtres to win back his affection from her more youthful rivals. Shivaji's harem was, therefore, a scene of veiled warfare,—the queens plotting against one another through their maids, doctors and magicians, and the poor husband trying to find some quiet by sleeping outside. (*Dig.* 458). The question of succession which was constantly discussed during the earlier months of 1680, intensified this conflict of wives. After December, 1679, Shivaji's health seems to have declined (*Chit.* 180), and he seems to have had a premonition of the approach of death. (*Sabh.* 101). This fact made the choice of an heir a live issue, and the plots and counterplots in the harem and cabinet thickened in consequence.

X

On 24th March, 1680, the Raiah was seized with fever and dysentery. The illness continued for twelve days. Gradually all hopes of recovery faded away, and then, after giving solemn charges and wise counsels to his nobles and officers, and consoling the weeping assemblage with assurances of the spirit's immortality in spite of the perishableness of the body, the maker of the Maratha nation performed the last rites of his religion and then

fell into a trance, which imperceptibly passed into death. It was the noon of Sunday, 5th April, 1680, the full moon of the month of Chaitra.

He had not yet completed 53 years of age. The Muslim world ascribed his premature death to the curse of the saint Sayyid Jah Muhammad of Jalna. In Maharashtra there were ugly whispers of his wife Sayra Bai, the mother of Raja Ram, having administered poison to him to prevent his giving the throne to Shambhuji. The earliest mention of this charge is in the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, one extant MS. of which is at least as old as 1780. It is repeated in the *Shiva-Digvijaya*, p. 462. Both these works are based on an earlier Marathi history now lost.

The oldest Marathi *bakhar*, that of Sabhasad, is silent on the point, and with good reason. A servant of Raja Ram, in a book written by order of that king and for his eyes, could not possibly have mentioned his mother's murder of her husband even if it had been true. Chitnis tells us that Shambhuji on his accession put Sayra Bai to death on the charge of having poisoned Shiva, but it was in all probability a false pretext for wreaking vengeance on his step-mother for her late attempt to crown her son. Readers of Macaulay's account of the death of Charles II. will remember how at that very time in Europe hardly a sovereign died without the event being ascribed to poison.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

TAXILA : A MEETING-GROUND OF NATIONS.

West is West, and East is East :
Yet once for a while at least
The twin forsooth did meet.

FOR nearly ten centuries, ending with the fifth after Christ, Taxila is said to have been a meeting-ground of nations,—of the West and of the East,—of the Persians, the Macedonians, the Mauryas, the Bactrian Greeks, the Scythians, and the Kushans.

The prompt publication of a *Guide to Taxila* by Sir John Marshall has been a welcome addition to the literature on the subject. It is an illustrated hand-book,

dealing with Topography, History, Art and an account of excavations, commenced near Sarai-kala, twenty miles north-west of Rawalpindi.

The Persian touch, if any, was perhaps an indirect one. The Macedonian contact, though direct, was extremely transitory. But the other nations actually enjoyed a longer direct connection. More than ordinary interest is, therefore, attached to this ancient locality. Information is, however, still "singularly meagre," in spite of the accounts of Greek and Chinese writers.

The name Taxila is of course of foreign

TAXILA : A MEETING-GROUND OF NATIONS

origin. It is a foreign corruption of the Indian name, Takshasila, a capital and a University town, famous for the Arts and Sciences of the age. Its origin is lost in oblivion. It is generally admitted that it had an earlier existence than many cities of the ancient world. Its remains are situated in a well-watered valley, protected by a girdle of hills, in the districts of Rawalpindi and Hazara. Within this valley and within three and a half miles of each other, stand the sites of three distinct cities, now known as the Bhir mound, Sirkap, and Sirsukh; of which the first has been found to be the most ancient of all. Sirkap and Sirsukh, though situated in India, were founded by foreign invaders;—the one by the Bactrian Greeks, and the other by the Kushans.

The belief that Taxila was once included in the Indian possessions of the Achæmenid Empire of Persia, founded by Cyrus, (558-529 B. C.), before the advent of the Buddha, rests chiefly on the testimony of Herodotus, corroborated by an inscription in Aramaic characters (p. 75), discovered amidst the ruins of the second city, Sirkap. The real import of this ancient record is, however, still shrouded in mystery. According to one authority, it refers to "the erection of a Palace of cedar and ivory;" according to another to "a private compact and the penalty to be paid for breaking it" (p. 76). From the mention of "a new Indian satrapy" in the inscriptions of Darius at Parsepolis and on his tomb at Nakshi-Rustam, historians suggest that Taxila was probably "included in the Achæmenid Empire of Persia" (p. 8).

The Macedonian connection stands upon evidence of a different character, more direct and undeniable. Taxila was under an Indian Prince named Ambhi, who was at war with his neighbour, Porus. He readily sided with Alexander the Great in his expedition against the common enemy. In consequence of this compact, the Macedonian hero encamped at Taxila for a few days. Whatever political relationship might have thus been temporarily patched up, it was promptly swept away by Chandragupta, the founder of the Maurya Empire, at the time of the expulsion of Seleucus Nicator from all his Indian possessions as far as the Hindu-Kush.

Chandragupta, his son Bindusara, and

his grandson Asoka, managed to maintain their occupation of Taxila, in spite of local insurrections to assert independence. As Crown Prince, Asoka and his son acted as Viceroy of this frontier province. The fall of their Empire offered an opportunity to the Bactrian Greeks (described by Sir John by the appropriate name of Eurasians) to regain their lost possession of Taxila. They held it for a time during which some of them adopted the faith and culture of India. All other foreigners, who occupied Taxila in later times, were pure Asiatics in origin.

Thus, there could be no direct influx of European influence through the gates of Taxila. Any influence, which could be directly exerted by the Eurasian Greeks, belonged to a period subsequent to the fall of the Maurya Empire. It was confined to the area then actually under their occupation. The epithet "Hellenistic" is usually applied to such influence, and Sir John Marshal has not accordingly discarded this epithet. He has, however, admitted the existence of an Early Indian Art before the influx of any foreign influence, and has referred his readers to his contributions to the forthcoming Cambridge History of India on the subject.

There is no real evidence, as Sir John has readily admitted, to support the assumption that Persian influence found its way into Indian art at the time "when the Persian Empire extended over the north-west" (pp. 23-24). "A more reasonable view," according to him, "is that the fusion of Iranian and Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria and the neighbouring countries after their colonisation by Alexander the Great; and that the hybrid art, there evolved, was introduced into India, either as a direct result of the peaceful intercourse between the Maurya Empire and Western Asia, or as a result of the subsequent invasions of the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushans, all of whom must have been imbued to a greater or less degree with Graeco-Persian culture." (p. 24)

A further reasonable view, as a corollary to this, appears to be inevitable. It is, that "the colonisation by Alexander the Great," and the consequent "fusion" of art in the Bactrian colony, must have required a reasonable time, so that the influence of the fused art could not have been introduced in a hurry into India. It

might have been more probably and more effectively introduced by subsequent invasions than by peaceful intercourse during the Earlier Maurya age.

Foreign influence upon Indian art is a complex problem, which can hardly be solved conclusively with our present state of knowledge. The real sources of knowledge, *literary* and *monumental*, have not yet been adequately tapped. An intelligent combination of the two, and a correct appreciation of their varying relations, have been deemed necessary to discover the foundation for a scientific study. Some writers have, however, started a startling proposition that "Roman art and Roman culture extended their influence as far as Northern India" (p. 31). Here Sir John has, with commendable promptness, cleared the ground by pointing out that this opinion is "based on a fundamental error as to the genesis of Roman Imperial art, and the relation in which it stood to the Hellenistic art of Western Asia" (p. 32).

The observations of Sir John that (i) the fusion of Iranian with Hellenistic ideas took place in Bactria, and that (ii) the real crucible of fusion was Western Asia, should be reconciled to imply that the first fusion had taken place in Western Asia, and the second in Bactria, before the influence of the double hybrid actually penetrated into India. The epithet Greek or Hellenistic, applied to this ultimate product, must, therefore, be understood in an extraordinary sense for want of a better name.

Says Sir John,

"In spite of its wide diffusion, Hellenistic art never took the real hold upon India that it took, for example, upon Italy or Western Asia, for the reason that the temperaments of the two peoples were radically dissimilar. To the Greek, man, man's beauty man's intellect, were everything; and it was the apotheosis of this beauty and this intellect which still remained the keynote of Hellenistic art even in the Orient. But these ideals awakened no response in the Indian mind. The vision of the Indian was bounded by the immortal rather than the mortal, by the infinite rather than the finite. Where Greek thought was ethical, his was spiritual; where Greek was rational, his was emotional." (p. 33)

This well-grounded observation at once takes away from Hellenistic art all questionable claims which relate to its having modified the fundamentals of Indian art. Foreign art undoubtedly played an important part; but much misconception

seems to linger as to its exact nature and extent. According to Sir John,

"It promoted the development of the early National School of Indian art. This signal service is said to have been rendered in two different ways,—(i) by clearing the path of technical difficulties, and (ii) by strengthening the growth with new and enervating ideals." (p. 32)

According to this view, art was to the Indian

"a thing apart,—a sensuous, concrete expression of the beautiful, which appealed intimately to his sub-conscious æsthetic sense, but in which neither intellectuality nor mysticism had any share. For the rest, he found in the formative arts a valuable medium in which to narrate, in simple and universal language, the legends and history of his faith and this was mainly why, for the sake of its lucidity and dramatic power, he welcomed and absorbed the lessons of Hellenistic art, not because he sympathised with its ideals, or saw in it the means of giving utterance to his own" (pp. 33-34)

This view contradicts the indiscriminate common opinion that "foreign influence underlies the whole fabric of Indian art." It also contradicts the other opinion that "foreign influence was almost a negligible factor." It strikes a middle course, and adopts a "golden mean." In this, it gives credit to Indian art for an extraordinary feat, inasmuch as the lessons of Hellenistic art are said to have been "welcomed and absorbed" although the ideals of Greek art "failed to awaken any response in the Indian mind."

This view, the latest on the subject, deserves a careful consideration. It has to be tested by the testimony of the relics, which lie buried in India. No better site than Taxila, the meeting-ground of nations, could be selected for the purpose; and no better person than Sir John Marshall could be found to direct and conduct the investigation. A classical scholar of special attainments Sir John came out to India with well-earned experience in Archaeology by reason of practical work in Crete under the guidance of distinguished authorities on the subject. His Indian experience has added fresh laurels to his cap. Archaeological exploration at Taxila could not, therefore, have been commenced under better auspices.

The work is still in progress. We have yet to hear the last word on the subject. Meanwhile we are grateful to Sir John for the prompt publication of all up-to-date information. So far as it goes, and it goes far enough for all practical purposes, no relic of undoubted pre-Maurya period

has yet been brought to light. This has obliged Sir John to declare in all candidness that "the history of Indian art at present opens for us in the Maurya age" (p. 24).

According to the Chronology, pieced together and published in Chapter II (pp. 20-22), this age lasted for little over three quarters of a century between 317 and 332 B.C., ending with the reign of Asoka, well-known for extraordinary building-activity.

Materials to illustrate the state of Indian art of this period are as yet few and far between, although the building-activity clearly suggests an undeniable advancement. Sir John ascribes it to foreign agency, and holds that "the indigenous art had not yet emerged from the primitive stage." According to him, "The rudimentary character of the Indian art of this period is well exemplified by the current indigenous coins, known commonly as 'punch-marked,' which are singularly crude and ugly; neither their form, which is unsymmetrical, nor the symbols, which are stamped almost indiscriminately upon their surface, having any pretensions to artistic merit." (p. 24)

This opinion seems to be based upon the assumption that the indigenous coins correctly represented the artistic capacity of the age. The crudeness of coins might, however, be due to neglect. The necessity of a minted coin had not yet arisen in India to deserve any attention of the Sovereign or to call for an organised system of manufacture. The shroffs used to impress the "punch marks," to serve the immediate purpose of regulating the current value. The very name, "Coin," was unknown. Even now, in our own day, uncoined copper-bits (dhebuas) are in use in many parts of India. No one will seriously contend that they are relevant specimens of the Indian artistic capacity of our age. Crudeness of coins and highest artistic capacities remained a normal condition of Indian culture in almost all periods of History. The coins of Shahjahan carried no reflection of the Taj. In Greece the case was different, and the Greek Numismatic ideal was carried to the entire Hellenistic world.

Of those who held Taxila in turn in the historic period, the Mauryas alone were Indians. Their city still lies buried in the Bhir mound. Here the digging operations were very limited, being carried out

"mainly for the purpose of satisfying" Sir John "as to whether any remains existed" in the compound of his Bangalow, "before a small garden was planted out."

Some examples of foreign art are said to have been unearthed in the old cities lying buried at Sirkap and Sirsukh. When it is remembered that these two cities were not Indian except in the sense that they were founded on Indian soil, the discovery of examples of pure foreign art in them would not be a matter of surprise. But the examples, though foreign, are not completely foreign in every respect. They cannot also be looked upon as examples of Indian art in a true sense of the term. They may be rather looked upon as examples which reveal an influence of Indian upon the local foreign art of the age. Indianisation of foreigners is more in evidence than Hellenisation of Indians. There are records of traditional actual conversions of some of the Eurasian Greeks to the faiths of India, as in the cases of King Menander (Milinda) and ambassador Heliodorus. But corresponding cases of conversion of Indians are not yet in evidence. Could the result have been different only in the case of art? Here too there might have been an influence of Indian art upon the Hellenistic, and the final result a complete Indianisation. One may reasonably hope to discover its first stage at Gandhara, the second in Taxila, the third at Mathura, and the last everywhere.

Sir John Marshall's painstaking work at Taxila may be rightly looked upon as the inauguration of a new era in Indian Archaeological investigation;—an era of method in spade-work, of discrimination in conservation, of scientific solicitude in observation and classification, and of decidedly superior skill in illustrating the monumental records of the past. Let us hope that it will also be the inauguration of an era of mutual co-operation, of the European and Indian scholars, of the official seekers of truth; with Sir John Marshall as "guide, friend, and philosopher."

Many remains of palaces, private dwellings, religious and sepulchral edifices, together with sculptures, inscriptions, coins, and jewellerys, have already been unearthed. An inscribed silver scroll, deciphered and interpreted with skill and knowledge of which any Indologist may well be proud, has disclosed that the ashes

of the Buddha were enshrined by a man of Balkh, on the fifteenth day of the month of Ashadha, in the year 136 of Aze, in a chapel at the *Dharmarajika* stupa, in the district of Tanuva at Takshasila (p. 52). This shows the influence of Buddhism upon the foreigners of the age. Each relic, when minutely examined, may disclose the same evidence, that of Indianisation rather than Hellenisation, indicating vitality of the Indian culture of the time, not only in the domain of religion, but also in that of art, which, in India, was, from its start, a hand-maid of religion.

Sir John has offered an explanation of this. He says :

"The Greeks, with their very elastic pantheon, readily identified Indian gods with their own deities; and just as in Italy they identified Minerva with Athena, or Bacchus with Dionysus, so in India they identified the sun-god Surya with Apollo, or Kama, the god of love, with their own Eros; and they had no hesitation, therefore, in paying their devotion, to Siva or to Parvati, to Visnu or to Lakshmi." (p. 26)

This explanation brings us very nearly to the fringe of a rational solution of the complex problem of foreign influence on Indian art. It may help us to cast off many confused notions of the past, and discover the real nature and extent of foreign influence, by encouraging a deeper study of the effect it produced in India. Frequent intercourse with foreign countries could not but have introduced into ancient India much that was not indigenous to the land. But as the indigenous art-ideals continu-

ed to remain unchanged, the final result in every case was a decided ultimate Indianisation. As in Greece, so in India, nay, in every country, independence of art lies in its *perfection*, not in its *origin*. Brunn suggested an analogy to establish the independent character of Greek art in spite of foreign influence. "The Greeks," he said, "borrowed the alphabet from the Phoenicians, yet they wrote with it, not Phœnician, but their own tongue. Even so, they borrowed from their predecessors the alphabet of art, yet always, in art as in literature, spoke their own language." In India the language of art has always been Indian, and its alphabet may also be found in most cases to have been pre-eminently indigenous. It was for this reason that no hybrids were produced in India, as in Western Asia and Bactria. Here the result of foreign contact appears to have been an increased activity, a further development, of the indigenous art, a development which cannot be said to have been achieved by any indiscriminate absorption of foreign lessons by way of blind imitation or reckless borrowing, but by gradual Indianisation, by bringing such examples and such lessons on a line with familiar Indian ideals. For this the casual adoption of a new form of decoration or capital, did not Hellenise Indian architecture, but supplied it with fresh devices to translate Indian thought into artistic forms.

A. K. MAITRA.

INDIAN PORTRAITS

ONE of the fascinating contents of Indian painting is portraiture. The history, long as it is, has necessarily an unwritten beginning, but there are sources which make it possible to study its chief characteristics and gradual development even from a very early time.

Visual art as a medium of expression of form and colour excites human emotions. Thus for its emotional value the art of painting played a significant part in the great religious ages and was largely utilised for ethical purposes. But it could

not always be content to live within a religious atmosphere. The purely representative aspect of pictorial art naturally led to the imitation of forms of familiarity. It was undoubtedly at this stage of art that the idea of portraiture was seriously considered. This would be quite consistent with human instincts. The mind, either of the primitive or of the most cultured, is and has ever been fascinated by the idea of a portrait.

Nothing definite can be said about the nature of very early portraits for want of



A prince (Ajanta.)

substantial records. But literary references and later records make it clear that they conveyed at least such distinct information about individual persons as were necessary for their identification. The art of portraiture was very popular and evidently considered to be a part of general culture. The early portraits cannot be said to have been faultless representations or speaking likenesses. This want of dexterous realism need not necessarily lead us to undervalue them as works of art. They expressed the sense of form perhaps more truly than any of the modern portraits which try to capture fleeting expressions rather than delineate character. The early portraits attempted to establish the identity of individuals partly by rendering their features and partly by other associations significant or essential for their identification—a motif which was maintained even up to a very late period. Thus none of these portraits could be valued as mere graphic semblances of sitters but as expressions of forms, recollections of appearance and delineations of character suggesting something which the artists had to say—a psychological essential for a true portrait.

With this starting point, the correct estimation of the value of the early Indian portraits becomes easy. In literature



A princess (Ajanta.)

they are described as *Chitra-Phalakas*. Literally a *phalaka* means a board. What these *phalakas* were made of, cannot be precisely determined; but judging from the extant remains of painting of different periods and of different places, it may be said that they were probably painted on a prepared medium applied over slabs of terra cotta, stone or pieces of wood. Cloth could also have been used to paint on, but perhaps a painting on cloth would not be a *phalaka* from the literal point of view. The *chitra-sala* served the purpose of a picture gallery. Even princes, we are told, learnt the art of painting and very often painted portraits of their beloved ones. Ladies also appear to have been very keen about painting. It is probable that they too learnt it as an accomplishment. The classic name *Chitra-Lekha*, literally meaning, one who looks like a picture, has an indirect bearing upon the tradition of portraiture.

Literary references show that most of the early portraits were drawn from memory. This however need not give rise to in-



A common man (Ajanta).

credulity nor the delineation of character doubted simply because the drawing was made from memory. If volumes of unwritten literature could be handed down from father to son for centuries, is it too much to expect that an artist would be able to reproduce from memory only a few lines approximately correct? Besides the generalisation of forms, so much introduced in Indian painting, made the process of drawing from memory more or less easy. This treatment naturally led to the elimination of unnecessary and insignificant details, but perhaps the likenesses did not lack in the delineation of character.

We get a very good idea of the probable nature of early portraits from records of early Indian paintings. The Ajanta frescoes, the latest of which belong to the middle of the seventh century, show a bewildering variety of elegant poses and figures, and various types of faces both of men and women. None of these could perhaps be seriously considered to be actual likenesses; but they help us to realise that portraits of the same period were probably of the same type as the other paintings of the same period. The wonderful variety of the types of faces and the precision with



Alexander the Great.

which they are repeated in the Ajanta walls bear eloquent testimony to the technical skill of the artists and their ability to delineate character in faces, let us say for the sake of argument, even of ideal types. With such technical knowledge at their command it must surely have been less difficult for them to portray the outward aspect of the face from memory.

Three figures from the Ajanta walls, one of a royal prince, the second of a princess, and the third of a commoner, are reproduced here. In each the character of the individual is rendered with great subtlety. There is something in the face of the prince which shows his high birth, and his



Shahpur presenting Khusrau's portrait to Shirin.

affable and yet dignified disposition. The princess has likewise a distinctive expression of feminine character full of tenderness. The face of the commoner reveals his humble birth.

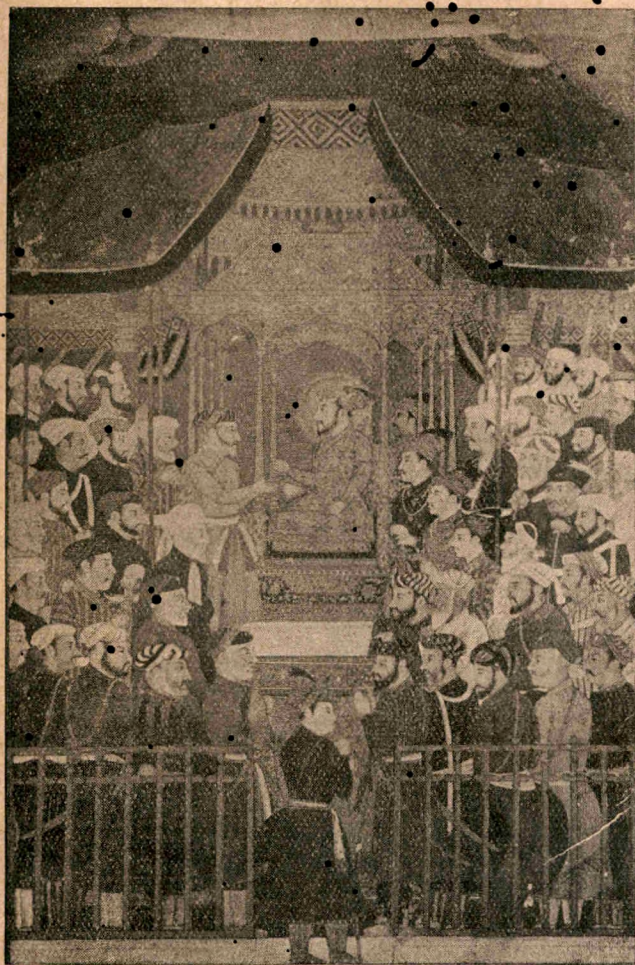
The portraits of the Moghal school are of a different type. The school was of Persian and Indian extraction and it absorbed both the Persian and Indian motifs and produced something new. Portraiture was one of the contents of the Persian school. Nizami's famous work, *Khusrau and Shirin*, has an interesting reference to the portrait of Khusrau brought to Shirin by the painter Shahpur. Early Persian portraits were purely conventional; but the later ones, although they retained the traditional mannerisms, were not of an unreal type. The early portraits of the Moghal school were substantially Persian, retaining many of



Mira Bai.

the conventional features of the Persian school. This was at a time when the Moghal school was in the making and had not become definitely Indian. Later on it did not depend upon borrowed motifs; it developed a new style in which there was a deliberate attempt at drawing the likeness of the face as true as possible, but at the same time retaining some of the traditional features, such as the conventional treatment of pose and drapery. The best portraits of the Moghal school, however, do not show all these conventional mannerisms. In many portraits the drapery and the drawing of the hands are as keenly felt as the subtle modelling of the face. One wonders not at their dexterity so much as at the simplification of design, and, above all, at the volume of suggestions in a few significant lines. The faces appear almost flat and yet none of them lack in almost invisible but significant modelling which adds character to the likenesses. The determination of this essential modelling in the face in some Mughal portraits is simply wonderful, and shows how much could be achieved by the least number of details if they were judiciously selected.

Abul Fazl records that the court



Shahjahan's Durbar.

painters of Akbar used to draw portraits from life. It is needless to suggest that portraits were not finished before the sitters, but perhaps only sketches of the face were drawn from which several finished versions were prepared. This accounts for the usually large number of exactly similar copies of the same portrait. These copies may or may not be the work of the same artist. It cannot be laid down as a rule that copies prepared by different artists were always inferior to the original. In most cases they bore the mark of inferiority, but in some cases, even if they were copies of a later period, they are practically indistinguishable from the original. The typical poses and the stiff treatment of the drapery make it probable that they were not drawn from life.

The practice of drawing from life must have been in vogue long before the time of Akbar, as otherwise it would not have been possible to get such fine results in some of the early Moghal portraits. There could not be any doubt that most of the best and remarkable Moghal portraits were drawn from life. The characteristic excellence which pervades them could be attained only by a tradition of long standing. But in spite of this tradition imaginary portraits are not entirely wanting in this school. Such an example is shown in the supposed likeness of Alexander. The name of Alexander had a great fascination for the Moghals, who idealised him as a famous hero. It is difficult to say what the origin of this portrait was. It is not improbable that the artist had seen some Indo-Scythian coin or sculpture from which he got an idea of the head-dress.* As regards authenticity the portrait may be safely said to have none, but it is an interesting example of an idealised and imaginary portrait. It was perhaps a portrait of Alexander similar to the one that Willam Moorcroft got from the large collection of Raja Sansar Chand of Kangra and about which he wrote:

"It represents him (Alexander) with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulder; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls but the rest of his costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the portrait came; he had become possessed of it by inheritance."

Moorcroft's description tallies with the drawing reproduced here. It is noteworthy that the astute traveller did not throw any doubt on the authenticity of the likeness.

Another interesting reference to idealised portraits of the Moghal school is found in Todd's Rajasthan.

The tyrant (Aurangzebe) had commanded pictures drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Sewaji and Doorga. Sewa was drawn seated on a couch; Doorga in his ordinary position on horseback, toasting *bhawties*, or barley cakes, with the point of his lance, on a fire of maize-stalks. Aurangzebe, at the first glance, exclaimed, "I may entrap that

* Similar to the Persian Bodhisattwa painted on a wooden panel from Dandan-Uiliq—Pl. Lxi; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*.



Joshiji Nagari.

fellow (meaning Sewaji), but this dog is born to be my bane."

Apparently these portraits could not have been drawn from life, as it is inconceivable that the artists of the Moghal emperor could have access to his mortal enemies. But Aurangzebe seems to have been satisfied with them, perhaps because they helped him in visualising his foes whom he could not see but felt their presence with discomfort and alarm.

The pose in Moghal portraits was more or less stiff and conventional. Equestrian portraits were also common. The face was generally drawn in profile; the three-quarter face was also freely drawn, but the full face was seldom rendered, and was a failure in most cases. Group portraits occurred in darbar and hunting scenes and other assemblies of the like. One chief characteristic element in all these portraits



Nur Jahan.

was that the artists very often attempted to contribute some peculiarities to the likenesses suggestive of the character, disposition, rank and sometimes the life history of the individuals represented. Thus, we very often find Akbar holding a grand darbar; the zealous Aurangzebe, no matter where he is, reading the Quran; the satirical Mullah Do-Piazza on a rickety horse; the love-distracted Sarmad wandering about unclad; the saintly Meera Bai holding a *chamar*; or a lady playing on a *sitar* or gathering flowers in an exquisite garden. The back ground was never emphasised but very discreetly rendered to harmonise with the general effect of the portrait. A flat colour-scheme, with a few touches of gold to break the monotony of space, was the most common motif of the back ground of single portraits. The back ground in portraits of ladies very often showed a decorative treatment in the form of a blossoming tree or a bed of flowers.

The Moghal school possesses portraits of ladies some of which are supposed to be



Raja Bhupatpal.



A Pandit.

those of royal ladies. These, although full of tenderness and great charm; form the subject of a serious controversy. It is doubted whether they could be actual portraits of those whom they are supposed to represent. With reference to the portraits of Moghal court ladies Manucci, a Venetian traveller who was in India during the latter part of the seventeenth century, has noted: "I do not bring forward any portraits of queens and princesses, for it is impossible to see them, thanks to their

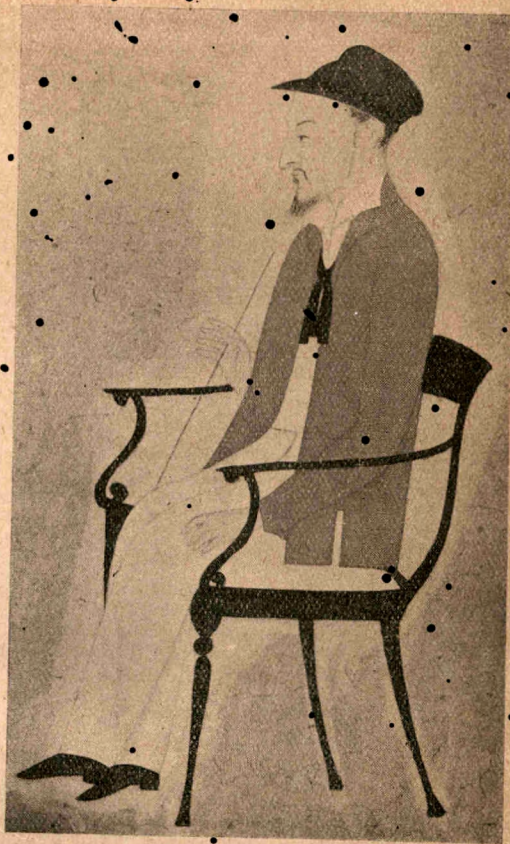


A Rajput Warrior.

being always concealed. If any one has produced such portraits, they should not be accepted, being only likenesses of concubines and dancing girls, etc., which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy." There is, no doubt, some force in this remark, but Manucci's assertion can not be said to be either definitely conclusive or incontrovertible. It is true that conditions in India with regard to women were such as to make the possibility of obtaining their actual likenesses very meager,



A Prince.



Sir Henry Lawrence.

but it was not an impossibility. Woman has indeed been a hidden beauty in India but her delineation in art has never been wanting. Likenesses of noble ladies of the Moghal period are not so numerous as those of men. This is suggestive of the fact that these, whether actual or imaginary likenesses, were accorded some kind of privacy. It is true that portraits of ladies were more or less idealistic, but they do not appear either unnatural or lack in the delineation of character. Manucci's warning may sound reasonable, but it clearly shows that even during his time portraits of ladies were found, and some of these at least were said to be those of royal ladies. This proves that the act of inscribing portraits of ladies as likenesses of royal princesses is not a purely modern invention. The ladies inside the zenana were undoubtedly placed beyond the gaze of artists, but it does not seem utterly impossible that they might have made some concession to artists for the sake of portraits. There is a very popular belief that artists were

allowed to see the reflections of ladies on the surface of the water in a well through the door of an underground apartment which enabled the artists to draw portraits. The idea is more or less fascinating but hardly deserving of serious consideration; but there must be some essential truth at the root of this tradition. Be that as it may, we cannot get over the fact that likenesses of ladies were produced. Whether they were of royal ladies or those of concubines of princes is a matter for careful study. Even if they are portraits of concubines it does not become quite clear how they could be portrayed, for the concubines of royal princes would perhaps be as much in the zenana as the royal and other noble ladies. There are certain paintings which show a Moghal emperor, for instance Jahangir, with a lady wearing a royal crown. Such a portrait would apparently be not that of a concubine. A portrait like this must have meant to be kept in the possession



Raja Sansar Chand.

emperor, and it does not appear at all plausible that artists could have taken the liberty of associating royal princes with dancing girls or concubines in their work. Besides the majority of the likenesses of ladies of the Moghal school are those of women who had a political career, such as Bai Nur Jehan, Mamtaz Mahal, Zeb-un-Nisa, Chand Bibi and a few others. These are at least, and particularly of

the Rajput princesses, it could be supposed that they suffered themselves to be painted. This need not necessarily suggest that artists had a free access to them. We know that Moghal ladies were fairly cultured. Some of them were poets. Princes learnt painting; could not princesses also learn it? Eunuchs had free access both to the zenana and outside, any of whom could have had some training in drawing. Artists could work from sketches made inside the zenana.* These are perhaps idle conjectures and they will remain so to historians and antiquarians, but they certainly have the merit of suggesting that more or less reliable portraits of royal ladies could be had even in case male artists had no direct access to them. It is difficult to say whether any internal evidence will ever be forthcoming to establish the authenticity of these portraits; but it must be said that the want of it should not underrate their value both as objects of historical interest and works of art. In the absence of other authentic portraits these ought to be accepted as genuine ones, more particularly when the doubt on their reliability is thrown by a foreigner whose know-

ledge of the country was essentially superficial and who, judging from the pictures he procured, was not competent to pass judgment on things of art. "Concubines" and "dancing girls" are very unfortunate expressions used by Manucci. They make the case of the portraits

* The Lahore Museum has an interesting portrait, said to be that of Nur Jehan, which has the unmistakable look of an amateur's work.

vulgar, undeserving of notice. But no one with the least artistic sensibility will admit that there is any vulgarity in any of the portraits believed to be those of royal Moghal ladies. None have the deliberate sensual delineation invariably found in the Delhi ivory miniatures of so-called Moghal princesses, which are most likely fancy pictures, but any of them can very well be the likeness of a prince's concubine.

In a matter like this when there is a dispute between art and history about an object of purely artistic merit, the judgment passed on an aesthetic basis should be absolute. A portrait is essentially a picture—a work of visual art. Its value as a likeness is not real; this value lasts for a limited number of years. As soon as a likeness outlives those who have a personal interest in the individual portrayed, it loses its value as a likeness but fully retains its value as a work of art. For instance, looking at a portrait of Akbar to-day, no one with any real artistic sensibility would seriously question whether Akbar had exactly the same features as shown in his likeness; but everyone is at liberty to criticise it as a work of art. So in an old portrait its interest as a likeness is almost nil. This is readily understood when we are face to face with a portrait which is neither inscribed nor are there any means of identifying it, and we cannot but appraise its value as a work of art. The portraits of ladies said to be those of the royal Moghal household have a similar significance. They are works of art first, portraits afterwards. The doubt about their authenticity should not minimise their importance and value both as records of the past and as works of art.

The Delhi ivory miniatures, which have some bearing on the Moghal school, have an uncertain history. They are undoubtedly of European origin and may have been introduced even as early as the time of Jehangir, if not earlier. European paintings found their way to Akbar's court and biblically and other paintings—particularly love scenes—belonging to the time of Akbar, Jehangir and Shah Jehan are in existence in which the influence of European paintings is distinctly visible. These pictures and some others, which appear to be copies of or adaptations from European paintings, do not show any deviation from the general tradition of the Moghal school. The ivory miniatures are

of a later period than these and do not show any influence of the old tradition. The inception of this school may have been derived from attempts to copy Moghal portraits on ivory, introducing some of the elements of European paintings, which eventually led to the production of a hybrid art having none of the good qualities of the Moghal school. Too much modelling is shown in most of these miniatures, and yet they are hopelessly wanting in the delineation of character. A deliberate attempt to make them look pretty and sensually beautiful render the miniatures vulgar and almost vicious. The Lucknow portraits are descended from the hybrid school of Delhi and are just as bad as the latter.

Portraits are quite common in the Rajput school and they bear a strong contrast against the Moghal school. This school has a peculiar history. It existed long before the birth of the Moghal school, and perhaps it was this school that interested Akbar, and eventually contributed largely towards the development of the Moghal school. The connection between the two schools has been very intimate and yet it appears that the individuality of the two was maintained even up to a very late period. Whatever influence the two schools had over each other, it was superficial. For instance, the inscribed portrait of Joshi Ji Nagarai by Bulaki, dated 1671, has not the characteristic features of the pure Rajput school; whereas the portrait of a man with a black shield belonging to late 18th century is distinctly Rajput. The portrait of Nur Jehan, on the other hand, shows the influence of both the schools. Portraits of this type are not so numerous as other subjective paintings of this kind which form a separate group. The earlier portraits of the Rajput school are severely conventional. The profile is the principal motif and the drapery—especially the head dress—is drawn with great care. Finished portraits are in local colours, but a large number of likenesses are met with in black outlines on a thick coating of white—a motif peculiar to the Rajput school.* In many cases the face and head dress only are finished in local colours, the rest remaining white with black outlines. Couplets or verses in praise of the persons represented as well

* Unfinished Punjab hill portraits show a similar treatment, but the white is very thinly applied.

as the name of the artist are sometimes given on finished portraits. Group portraits in the Rajput school are not so common as in the Moghal school. Music parties or darbar scenes are the usual types of group portraits, but they are seldom inscribed.

The art of portraiture was very extensively practised by the painters in the Punjab hill states. The history of the Punjab school is obscure, but it is certainly of pre-Moghal existence. Actual pre-Moghal records are, however, wanting, but later records unmistakably prove the existence of a tradition of long standing. The influence of the Moghal school over the Punjab school was, if any, very slight. The earliest available portraits of the Punjab school show the Moghal dress, which was apparently adopted during the period; but the rest of the treatment was distinctly different from the Moghal school. In technique the Punjab school owes nothing to the Moghal school; on the other hand it looks very probable that the Moghal school owed much to the latter.

A large number of both inscribed and uninscribed likenesses come from Basohli, Chamba, Guler, Mandi, Kangra, Nurpur and other places. Each of these places had a school of its own having distinct characteristics. There is as much of difference between two works of two different places in the Punjab hills as there is between a Moghal and a Rajput painting. For instance the Basohli portrait of Bhanpat Pal* is quite different in technique and feeling from the Kangra portrait of Sansar Chand.† The portrait of a pundit belonging to the Basohli school has a fine deli-

neation of character. Another unidentified likeness of a prince—probably of Chamba—shows traces of the Rajput tradition. The Punjab school, comprising the different hill schools, has left very extensive records of great variety and, leaving out Ajanta, it is perhaps the most significant of all the schools of Indian painting.

The Sikh school is the unworthy descendant of the great Punjab school. Its life is as short as the ephemeral supremacy of the Sikhs. Portraiture being its chief pre-occupation it produced a large number of likenesses, a few of which are good, the rest being of mediocre quality. Ivory miniatures of this school are very poor. The school has hardly contributed anything which will endure and live as an integral part of Indian art.

The Sikh school shows the vitiation of the remnant of the indigenous tradition of Indian portraiture. Besides containing the portraits of Sikh chiefs and nobles, the school has a few queer studies of Europeans, chiefly military officers, who were in the Punjab during and after Ranjit Singh's time. Whatever interest they might have as likenesses, either actual or imaginary, they have no artistic value. The comic portrait of Sir Henry Lawrence* serves as an example showing the poverty of works of this type.

Here we have the last glimpse of the indigenous Indian tradition of portraiture and the beginning of the pseudo-European ideal which has been so very fruitful in uprooting the national tradition and grafting a perverted idea about art, and has proved so far by its existence to be capable only of denationalizing and demoralising the Indian mind.

* A very brave and powerful ruler of Basohli, flourished about 1598; was kept a prisoner in Delhi for nearly eight years.

† Ruler of Kangra; died in 1824.

* An exactly similar version and many other portraits of this type are in the Lahore museum.

SAMARENDRANATH GUPTA.

FURTHER EVIDENCE OF ANCIENT INDIAN TRADE WITH THE PERSIAN GULF.

THOSE interested in the nature and extent of Indian trade in ancient days with the cities of Lower Mesopotamia and Western Persia will be glad to learn

that further evidence has been found corroborating the inferences already made.

When in Paris in 1913, I looked through

the antiquarian collections in the Louvre Museum on the chance of finding articles made from the Indian conch (the Sankha, *Turbinella pirum*, Linn.). Greatly to my satisfaction I found quite a number, some of very high interest. The principal of these was a fine libation vessel numbered AOD 35, made from a fine sankha shell over 6 inches in length. One side of the shell had been sawn off longitudinally together with the whole of the central axis or columella, thereby transforming it into a spouted vessel admirably adapted for use in pouring out libations. No carving is present, but the exterior surface is smooth and was doubtless polished when in use. This object is one of those brought back by the Mission Dieulafoy from the ruins of Susa, and is attributed to the Achaemenid period (4th and 5th centuries B.C.). In the same case is a wedge-shaped ornament also made from the Indian conch. A small perforation exists towards the wider end, such as would be made were this to be used as a pendant hung from the neck or elsewhere. The surface is polished and it has evidently been cut longitudinally from the inflated mouth whorl of the conch. In yet another case containing objects brought from the same region by the Mission J. De Morgan is a sankha bangle labelled A 7532. It measures about 4 inches in largest diameter and is nearly 1 inch in width. The pattern is a simple one, the surface having been rubbed down from each margin to form an obtuse-angled ridge running down the middle of the exterior surface of the bangle. Probably this belongs to a much older period than the libation cup, as this expedition worked generally in older strata than the Dieulafoys. Finally in Room VI amongst the objects contained in the collection brought back by the Mission de Sarzec from the ruins of Tello, the ancient Lagash, in lower Mesopotamia,

is a fragment of a plain wedge-pendant similar to that mentioned above, together with a series of other shell plaques elaborately engraved. In shape they are truncate wedges. The entire surface of the finest piece is occupied with a representation of a lion seizing a bull. All have a perforation at one side and measure about 1½ inch in length.

As I have not opportunity to complete the investigation of these exceedingly interesting objects, I have brought them to the notice of Dr. L. Germain of the Paris Natural History Museum, who has already published reports upon the shells brought back by one of the French Susa Expeditions to Persia. He has taken up the suggestion with enthusiasm and I am sure that the results of his detailed study of the objects will prove of great value in further elucidating the trade connection of India with the Assyrian and Persian Empires.

I must not omit to say that the geographical range of the Indian Conch, *Turbinella pirum*, is restricted wholly to India. Its distribution at the present day is bounded on the west by the Gulf of Kutch, while to the east it is not found beyond the Andaman Islands. Kathiawar, Travancore, the Gulf of Mannar, Palk Bay, the North of Ceylon, the Coromandal coast to some distance north of Madras, and the Andaman Islands are the only places where it exists. (For details, see "*The Sacred Shank of India*," Madras Government Press, 1914.) The shell is never found in the Persian Gulf or anywhere west of India. Hence the presumptive inference is conclusive that if found in Assyrian city sites, it must have reached there through the activity of trade agencies.

JAMES HORNELL,

[F.L.S., Government Marine Biologist].

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA., M.A., L.T.

MAN is a warring animal, Hobbes said, and naturally as with individuals there is an innate tendency for the subjugation of one by another in the

struggle for existence, so with nations the prospects of material well-being and the desire for dominance over the rest appear to have brought on this tendency for war.

It is nothing out of the way to expect, bearing in mind the conditions that prevail among the 'civilised' nations of modern times when advanced notions of brotherhood and solidarity had been preached far and wide, that in the bygone milleniums amidst the variety and multitude of the nations in Ancient India warfare was an affair of not infrequent occurrence. The very hymn of the *Purushasukta* which has been utilised as explaining the origin of the four *Varnasramas* makes provision for a warrior caste and to die in righteous battle was the highest merit of a valorous Kshatriya.¹

The conception of war being an engine to destroy the heathen or barbarian which was a feature of the ancient Greeks and Romans is seen to operate in India also. The Mahabharata² says: "War was invented by Indra for destroying the Dasyus and bows, weapons and armour created for the same end. Hence merit is acquired by the destruction of the Dasyus." Who were the Dasyus? They were, as is clear to us from the Rig Veda Samhita, the non-Aryan aboriginal inhabitants of India who appear in contrast to the Aryas, and who were alien to them in colour, language, religion and social institutions. But this eagerness of the Aryas for the extirpation of the non-Aryan races extended to their fellow Aryas also. There are many a hymn³ in the Rig Veda which indicate the wrath of the Aryan bard not only against the Dasyus but against the Aryan opponents of his own tribe.

DEFINITION AND DESCRIPTION OF WARFARE.

Warfare युद्ध has been defined as the affair that two parties who have inimical relations with each other undertake by means of arms to satisfy their rival interests.⁴ It is that by which the enemy is opposed and subjugated.⁵ This definition contains in it some of the characteristic conditions of warfare in ancient India. It presupposes the existence of two parties inimical to each other. And it would appear that war was mostly an affair between state and state and not between the individuals. It is next an affair between

two parties who had been for some time hostile in their relations to each other. In this is probably implied the fact that warfare was resorted to only after ages of long continued hostility and the impossibility of coming to terms had necessitated the declaration of war. In fact the works of literature declare definitely that war should be resorted to only if all other expedients of bringing about peace have failed.⁶ War was not entered into precipitately but only after due deliberation of the past events and the conduct of the belligerent states which must have necessitated the breaking up of peaceful relations. The hostile relations between the belligerent communities must have been long standing. The next condition assumed in the definition is the use of arms. Here we are led to the distinction between कलह⁷ or ordinary quarrel and युद्ध. The use of weapons, arms and implements is a necessary condition of war. Lastly war implies a series of acts of hostility and not merely a condition. Probably the condition or attitude of warfare is denoted by the term विग्रह.

CLASSIFICATION OF WARFARE.

Warfare is classified according to the weapons by which it is conducted into Daivika, Asura, Manusha⁸ and into Prakasa, Kuta, and Tushni⁹ according to the methods of fighting resorted to.

Daivika is the variety in which charms and spells are used. This is chiefly spoken of in connection with the fights between the Devas and Asuras. This need not therefore engage our attention.

The Asura form is one in which mechanical instruments are used. Wherever engines of oppression causing sweeping destruction are used there is probably the Asura variety of warfare.

The Manusha kind is that in which weapons and hands are made use of. It is this variety of warfare with which we are most concerned.

Open warfare is conducted by threats, assaults and creation of confusion in the enemy ranks, at the right time and at the right place. This is the only kind of

1. Eg. Sukraniti, Chap. VI. vr. 87-89.

2. Mahabharata, Udyoga Parva; Sec. 29, vr. 30 and 31.

3. Rig Veda, VI. 33. 3, E. g.

4. Sukraniti, IV. 7. II. 438 & 439.

5. Do. IV. 7. 468 & 9.

6. Mahabharata; Santi Parva; Rajadharma 60 v. 24.

7. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 501.

8. Do. IV. 7. 440-1.

9. Kautilya; Arthashastra, VII. 6.

warfare properly so called. In the ordinary circumstances fighting was to be open, no underhand dealing or unfair play being allowed.

Treacherous warfare consists in keeping up good relations with the enemy while attacking at the same time. This method of fighting implies the use of guile and underhand methods. This kind of fighting is not recommended under ordinary conditions and is permitted in case of the weak against the strong and even here only in the last instance was it to be resorted to.

Silent warfare implies the attempt to win over the army and officers of the enemy by diplomatic means. This like the previous one is not approved of as being the right method to be pursued. But this form implies so much of diplomacy and skill, if successfully carried out.

REQUISITES OF SUCCESS IN WAR.

Some of the great requisites¹⁰ of successful fighting mentioned are heroic spirit and enthusiasm; superiority in strength, organised troops and weapons and forts; and skilful diplomacy. Kautilya¹¹ lays these down in the above order and in the ascending order of merit. He says: "An arrow shot by an archer may or may not kill a person; but the skilful diplomacy of a wise man kills even those yet unborn." Great importance is attached to the proper choice of officers, soldiers, places and methods of fighting in all the books of literature dealing with politics.

CHIVALRY AND HEROISM IN WAR.

Chivalry was a virtue and the Kshatriyas are praised for their valorous fighting in the battlefield. It was in fact enjoined on all of the fighting caste to engage in righteous war and meet a noble end. A Kshatriya was never to cease from battle¹² and his death in bed was a sin.¹³ A king who is defied by foes must not shrink from battle for it is the duty of all Kshatriyas to fight. He who valorously fights is sure to attain to heaven. A Kshatriya would in fact be lacking in the performance of his religious duty and he would not acquire religious merit if he

did not engage in battle.¹⁴ There is nothing more productive of good to the Kshatriya than to be engaged in righteous warfare even though it might lead to the destruction of one's own race, so says the Bhagavat Gita.¹⁵ There are, we note, only two classes of people who reach heaven—the austere missionary and the man who is killed in the front of the fight.¹⁶ And for the warrior was reserved a place much higher than those places which Brahmans attain by performing sacrifices and which he, giving up his life for the right cause, reaches immediately after death.¹⁷

THE IDEAL IN WARFARE.

Once a warrior had entered the battlefield he was by no means to retreat or desist from fighting. Death rather than disgrace was his motto and "being in it (battle) the best way was to fight it through" as Lowell said. Not to turn from battle is one of the best means for a king to secure happiness and he who fights with utmost energy and does not retreat goes to heaven.¹⁸ The steps of those who when their ranks are broken do not turn back but fight on are like so many sacrifices.¹⁹ The rascal who flies from a fight reaches hell.²⁰ He who flies in terror from a field incurs the sin of killing a Brahman and the gods forsake such a vile coward.²¹ We read in the Mahabharata²²: "Let us swear to conquer and never to desert one another. Let only such men come who would never turn back from battle or cause their comrades to be slain. The consequences of fleeing away from battle are loss of wealth, infamy, and reproach. Those that flee are wretches among men. We should fight regardless of life or death and with this determination attain a place in heaven." He who deserted his comrades in the field or retreated after sustaining defeat was in fact allowed no place in society or family²³ life. We are told that so many

10. & 11. Kautilya : Arthashastra, X. 6.

12. Baudhayana, I. 10, 18, 19. Manu, VII. 89.

13. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 608.

14. Santi Parva ; Rajadharma ; Sec. 60.

15. Bhagavatgita, E.g. ch. 2.

16. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 632.

17. Kautilya : Arthashastra, X. 3.

18. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 616-17.

19. Agni Purana, 232. 52-56.

20. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 656.

21. Agni Purana, op. cit.

22. Mahabharata ; Santi ; Rajadharma. 100 + 39-41.

23. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 614-15.

times the soldiers put themselves to death to avoid disgrace. As regards the king of the Maharashtra country Yuan Chwang²⁴ says: "Whenever a general is despatched on a warlike expedition although he is defeated and his army is destroyed, he is not himself subjected to bodily punishment, only he has to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman much to his shame and chagrin. So many times these men put themselves to death to avoid such disgrace."

RESORT TO WAR ONLY AFTER ALL OTHER
EXPEDIENTS HAVE BEEN TRIED AND
FAILED.

Winning victories in wars was glorious for the Kshatriya and to flee away from the field of battle was worse than death. Yet it has been repeatedly proclaimed that kings should resort to war only in the last instance. Only when there was no other remedy was war to be undertaken.²⁵ The king should win victories as far as possible without battles and victories achieved by battles are not spoken of highly by the wise.²⁶ Let the other expedients of साम दान and भेद be tried in turn and their failure alone may justify the employment of the last.²⁷ If the enemy could not be stopped by the first three let the king bring them to subjection using force alone, says the Manusmriti.²⁸ The ancient Indian statesmen knew that war entailed unnecessary waste of energy and resources and that considered from the material stand-point it did not produce good results in proportion to the magnitude of the loss it involved. "The results of war are uncertain."²⁹

Consequently it would appear, unnecessary and aggressive wars were not common in ancient India, and 'only in the cause that was righteous sweet (may) be the smell of powder.' The king was to abstain from all fruitless acts of hostility and he should never destroy his army by recklessly undertaking wars.³⁰ Wars

were not in general to be waged for mere assertion of material force and for territorial aggrandisement. 'Avoid war for acquisition of territory'³¹ appears to have been the principle followed by Yudhishtira.³² "Not too ambitious surely of conquest were the ancients seeing that in a small part of the earth there were numerous monarchs such as Bhagadatta, Dantavakra, Kratha, Karna, Kaurava, Sisupala, Salva, Jarasandha, and Sindhuraja. King Yudhishtira was easily content since he endured quite near at hand the kingdom of the Kimpurushas, when the conquest of Dhananjaya had made the earth to shake." Generally speaking, kings in ancient India did not engage in war unless they were forced to it and wars were undertaken not on unforeseen and on small causes but only after great deliberation and on sufficient grounds. So at least declare the works on Polity—Arthasastras and Dharmasastras alike.

CAUSES OF WAR.

What then were the grounds on which wars were begun in ancient India? In general, war was the result of injuries done by states to one another, and one should commence warfare when one is attacked and oppressed as the Sukraniti holds.³³ Mutual rivalry among the Aryas and non-Aryas formed the cause of the wars in the Vedic age. Acquisition of territory and desire for conquest formed other grounds for the opening of hostilities. A desire for self-preservation, the disturbance in the balances of power, and the thirst for realising the Imperial ideal appear as other causes of war especially in later ages. Many of the wars of the later times appear to have been due to lust of territory. Kautilya holds the view that 'the conqueror well versed in politics who acquires territory from enemies gains superiority.'³⁴ Other miscellaneous causes found to operate before the outbreak of war are the stealing of women, of cattle, etc. Lastly the spirit of dharma was carried to such an extent as to permit a king to wage war with another who being addicted to pleasure

24. Yuan Chwang (Beal) Bk. IV.

25. Kautilya दण्डशस्त्रमिति गतिः, I. 346; Sukra-

niti, IV. 7.

26. Manusmriti, VII. 198.

27 & 28. Do. VII, 199, 200 and 201.

29. Mahabharata : Santi ; Rajadharma, 62. 16.

30. Sukraniti, V. 12; Mahabharata : Santi : Raja, 103.

31. Mahabharata : Santi : Rajadh, 69.

32. Harsha Charita, VII.

33. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 496 f.

34. Arthasastra of Kautilya, VII. 10 & 12.

plunders the people's goods and causes disaffection among his subjects.³⁵ This was made a fit ground of intervention.

Thus the ideal of warfare in ancient India was not to engage in wars unless all other means of bringing about peace are forbidden, but when once on reasonable grounds war was begun, victory was to be achieved at all costs and death rather than disgrace was the motto of the heroic warrior who fought in the field.

KUTA-YUDDHA AND PRAKASA-YUDDHA.

The ideal was not by any means easy of realisation. The main object of the conqueror in engaging himself in war was to overcome the enemy and sometimes one had to 'place even disgrace in front and honour at the back and accomplish one's desired object, for it is folly to lose one's object.'³⁶ Such was the importance attached to victory in war that we even read 'the enemy has to be subdued in war whether fought according to the rules of morality or not.'³⁷ We find that instances were not altogether wanting of wars waged on other than reasonable grounds and where treachery and guile were now and then employed. The works of literature, specially the Arthasastras, make mention of a variety of warfare which was not fair and open—कूटयुद्ध.

The Dharmasastras are never for the use of any guile or underhand methods in warfare. Kuta-yuddha being dishonourable and unmoral does not find a place in them. The Arthasastras subordinate considerations of morality to those of expediency and practical gain. But even the latter class of works do not permit Kuta-yuddha in all cases and this procedure was certainly not fair and commendable. Kuta-yuddha is mentioned as being a provision for the weak against the powerful. The Sukraniti³⁸ says: 'There is no warfare which extirpates the powerful enemy like the Kuta-yuddha and one need follow *niti* or moral rules only so long as one is powerful enough to overcome others.' The Agni Purana permits secret and underhand harassing only by the weak against the strong.³⁹ Kamandaka,⁴⁰ who

follows Kautilya, also approves of Kuta-yuddha only by the weak king against his powerful opponent:

Thus if Kuta-yuddha was resorted to it was not probably between states of equal strength and resources, but it was a way for the weak against the strong, for states which could find no other outside help and have by some means or other to maintain their existence in the midst of states strong and powerful. Even here, we read, the small states were to seek the protection of stronger ones for fighting against their mighty foes.⁴¹ A weak king was as far as possible not to persuade himself into battle. He should make treaties and avoid wars, enter into a treaty at least for the time being, waiting for an opportunity when he may reinforce himself and meet his foe in war. If no outside aid is forthcoming, or if in seeking the help of others there be suspicion of evil, the weak king has somehow to engage himself in the war⁴² and in that case it would appear Kuta-yuddha was justifiable.

We find again that the employment of guile is advised only against those that use it.⁴³ In the Pratijnayaugandharayana of Bhasa⁴⁴ we find that the minister of Udayana has recourse to guile to let his sovereign free. It was impossible to openly face king Pradyota in war, hence ruse had to be pitted against the ruse already employed by Pradyota's people. Udayana was captured by Pradyota's men with a guile corresponding to the Trojan horse trick. Yaugandharayana, the minister of Kausambi, dressed as a Buddhist monk, goes to Ujjain and fills the palace of Avanti with spies and secret agents and contrives a plan of escape for his sovereign. But the inevitable happens between Udayana and Vasavadatta, the princess of Avanti. The two fall in love and Yaugandharayana contrives somehow to set free the couple on an elephant by secret designs.

HOW FAR ARE THE ARTHASASTRAS MACHIAVELLIAN?

It is because the Arthasastras subordinate considerations of morality to expediency and practical gain that the authors

35. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 498 f.

36, 37 & 38. Sukraniti, IV. 7. 732-3; 706; 725.

39. Agni Purana, 240. 16.

40. Arthasastra of Kautilya, X. 3.

वल्गुविशिष्टः.....प्रकाशयुद्धं उपेक्ष्य

विपर्यये प्रकटयन्

41. Arthasastra of Kautilya, VII. 15.

42. Manusmriti, VII. 176.

43. Sukraniti, V. 130.

44. Triv. Sans Series.

of these works have been styled Indian Machiavellis.⁴⁵ The ideal of the Italian theorist, as will be clear from his own statement, was: "Although it is detestable in everything to use fraud, nevertheless in the conduct of war it is admirable and praiseworthy and he is commended who overcomes the foe by stratagem equally with him who overcomes him by force." This is by no means identical with that of the Indian writers mentioned above, for they would on no account give equal place to the variety of warfare with the *prajaya* type. Even in the *Arthashastras* *Kuta-yuddha* occupies only a secondary and less honourable place. The *Arthashastras* naturally give more prominent attention to the acquisition of material welfare as the *Dharmasastras* do to the spiritual and moral laws of welfare. But this can only lead one to the conclusion, even applying the foreign epithet, that the *Arthashastras* are more Machiavellian than the *Dharmasastras*. It would not altogether warrant the opinion held that the *Arthashastrakaras*, Kautilya and Sukra for instance, are Indian Machiavellis. Let us not bring in comparisons from outside and thrust them in cases where they may not suitably apply.

On the other hand the point that has to be noted in this connection is that these secular writers disclose to us how far the theory proclaimed in the sacred works of literature corresponded to the practice that obtained in their respective ages.

45. See for example article on 'Ethics of Warfare in Ancient India' (*Ind. Rev. War Book*). The same idea is intended to be conveyed in note 2 to p. 235 of Sarkar's translation of the *Sukraniti*.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar in his book on 'Ancient Indian Polity' indicates the points of agreement between Kautilya and Machiavelli. But the prominent difference between the two is that unlike Machiavelli Kautilya is a confirmed believer in the permanence of the moral order of the Universe.' P. 147.

There was no good proclaiming that a weak state should in its fight with a powerful neighbour follow exactly the same rules as were expected to be followed by the latter and that even he that is wicked should be subdued only by fair means.⁴⁶ We are reminded of the sad lot of Belgium in this connection. It was impossible for the weak, if left alone, under ordinary circumstances to overcome the more powerful.

GENERAL HUMANITY IN WARFARE.

Wars in ancient India were generally fought according to the rules of *Dharma-yuddha*. The works of literature proclaim that a king should never desire to subjugate countries by unrighteous means even if he might be made, as a result, the sovereign of the world.⁴⁷ The warrior was not to transgress his primeval law when he strikes his foe in battle.⁴⁸ A *Kshatriya* who destroys righteousness and transgresses all wholesome barriers does not deserve to be reckoned as such and society should drive him out.⁴⁹ The incidents of warfare in Ancient India were not so inhumane as in other countries of the world at the time as is clear from the accounts of foreign travellers. Megasthenes⁵⁰ bears testimony to the fact that the laws of war were humane and that wholesale destruction and devastation was forbidden. And we read in the *Mahabharata*.

"They must win who strong in virtue,
fight for virtue's stainless laws,
Doubly armed the stalwart warrior
who is armed in righteous cause."

46. *Mahabharata*: Santi : Rajadh : Sec. 95.

47. Do. Sec. 96 ; 2-10.

48. *Manusmriti*, VII. vr. 87-93.

49. *Sukraniti*, IV. 7. 614-15.

50. Mc. Crindle: *Megasthenes and Arrian*, Frag. 1.

(Concluded.)

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Self-Determination

is the theme of a very thoughtful article appearing in *Arya* for September. After analysing liberty and democracy as it

meant in ancient Greece and as it means in modern States the writer gives us the following luminous exposition as to what he understands by the term self-determination.

The principle of self-determination really means this, that, within every living human creature, man, woman and child, and equally within every distinct human collectivity growing or grown, half developed or adult, there is a self, a being, which has the right to grow in its own way, to find itself, to make its life a full and a satisfied instrument and image of its being. This is the first principle which must contain and overtop all others; the rest is a question of conditions, means, expedients, accommodations, opportunities, capacities, limitations, none of which must be allowed to abrogate the sovereignty of the first essential principle.

There is the ideal which sets order first and liberty either nowhere or in an inferior category, because it is willing to accept any coercion of liberty which will maintain the mechanical stability of order; and there is the ideal which on the contrary sets liberty first and regards law either as a hostile compression or a temporarily necessary evil or at best a means of securing liberty by guarding against any violent and aggressive interference with it as between man and man. This use of law as a means of liberty may be advocated only in a minimum reducible to the just quantity necessary for its purpose, the individualistic idea of the matter, or raised to a maximum as in the socialistic idea that the largest sum of regulation will total up to or at least lead up to or secure the largest sum of freedom. We have continually too the most curious mixing up of the two ideas, as in the old-time claim of the capitalist to prevent the freedom of labour to organise so that the liberty of contract might be preserved, or in the singular sophistical contention of the Indian defenders of orthodox caste rigidity on its economical side that coercion of a man to follow his ancestral profession is, in disregard not only of his inclinations, but of his natural tendencies and aptitudes is a securing to the individual of his natural right, his freedom to follow his hereditary nature. We see a similar confusion of ideas in the claim of European statesmen to train Asiatic or African peoples to liberty, which means in fact to teach them in the beginning liberty, in the school of subjection and afterwards to compel them at each stage in the progress of a mechanical self-government to satisfy the tests and notions imposed on them by an alien being and consciousness instead of developing freely a type and law of their own. The right idea of self-determination makes a clean sweep of these confusions. It makes it clear that liberty should proceed by the development of the law of one's own being determined from within, evolving out of oneself and not determined from outside by the idea and will of another.

But it is from the self-determination of the free individual within the free collectivity in which he lives that we have to start, because so only can we be sure of a healthy growth of freedom and because too the unity to be arrived at is that of individuals growing freely towards perfection and not of human machines working in regulated unison or of souls suppressed, mutilated and cut into one or more fixed geometrical patterns. The moment we sincerely accept this idea, we have to travel altogether away from the old notion of the right of property of man in man which still lurks in the human mind where it does not possess it. The trail of this notion is all over our past, the right of property of the father over the child, of the man over the woman, of the ruler or the ruling class or power over the ruled, of the State over the individual. The child was in the ancient patriarchal idea the

live property of the father; he was his creation, his production, his own reproduction of himself; the father, rather than God or the universal Life or in place of God, stood as the author of the child's being; and the creator has every right over his creation, the producer over his manufacture. He had the right to make of him what he willed, and not what the being of the child really was within, to train and shape and cut him according to the parental ideas and rear him according to his own nature's deepest needs, to bind him to the paternal career or the career chosen by the parent and not that to which his nature and capacity and inclination pointed, to fix for him all the critical turning-points of his life even after he had reached maturity. In education the child was regarded not as a soul meant to grow, but as brute psychological stuff to be shaped into a fixed mould by the teacher. We have travelled to another conception of the child as a soul with a being, a nature and capacities of his own who must be helped to find them, to find himself, to grow into their maturity, into a fullness of physical and vital energy and the utmost breadth, depth, and height of his emotional, his intellectual and his spiritual being. So too the subjection of woman, the property of the man over the woman, was once an axiom of social life and has only in recent times been effectively challenged. So strong was or had become the instinct of this domination in the male animal man, that even religion and philosophy have had to sanction it, very much in that formula in which Milton expresses the height of masculine egoism, "He for God only, she for God in him,"—if not actually indeed for him in the place of God. This idea too is crumbling into the dust, though its remnants still cling to life by many strong tentacles of old legislation, continued instinct, persistence of traditional ideas; the fiat has gone out against it in the claim of woman to be regarded, she too, as a free individual being. The right of property of the rulers in the ruled has perished by the advance of liberty and democracy, in the form of national imperialism it still indeed persists, though more now by commercial greed than by the instinct of political domination, intellectually this form too of possessional egoism has received its death-blow, vitally it still endures. The right of property of the State in the individual which threatened to take the place of all these, has now had its real spiritual consequence thrown into relief by the lurid light of the war, and we may hope that its menace to human liberty will be diminished by this clearer knowledge.

Indian Art.

In the course of a short though valuable article contributed to the *Hindustan Review*, which deals with *Indian Art in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, the pre-eminent art critic of India, gives us the following just and fair interpretation of Indian Art.

Indian art embraces the distinct traditions of Hinduism (Brahmahical, Buddhist and Jaina) and of Islam.

The subject matter of Hindu art is biotic and epic. It does not aim at illustration or record. It is not an art of impressionism, representation or

self-expression, but abstract and anonymous. In primitive and classic phases it unites canonical form with swift serene gesture and tender feeling; in decadence it preserves an original grandeur of design, though the gesture is no longer felt, and the form is over-emphasized or over-ornamented. Hindu art is never interested in the mere appearances of things, but interprets them as symbols of general ideas. Moreover, the true work of art is not an object, but something which springs into being between the artist and the spectator and is due to the activity of both. In other words, the appreciation of art is not a question of taste or ethics, but of creative imagination. Without this the spectator, however well he knows what he likes or dislikes, may remain unmoved before the most beautiful work: with it he will understand the significance of the most awkward and primitive work, and the meaning of a great tradition will be recognized even in decadent examples.

An art of ideas cannot be judged by standards of verisimilitude: it must be approached as expression. There is no such thing as "accurate drawing," but that drawing is best (as Leonardo says) which best expresses the passion that animates the figure. We must look then for truth of feeling and movement, rather than for scientific knowledge of perspective and anatomy. To appreciate art in this way as expression, however, demands a knowledge of what is to be expressed—a knowledge which the contemporary artist is free to take for granted, but which the student of an unfamiliar art must either possess intuitively or take some pains to acquire. To appreciate anything more than the superficial charm of Hindu art, therefore, demands a certain study of the ideas it exists to express. These ideas, being primarily devotional and philosophical, are somewhat remote from the tendencies of modern life.

It should be observed that while Indian art can be classified as Brahmanical, Buddhist or Jaina, these are sectarian names, and not distinctions of style or period.

Early Buddhism could not and did not inspire an immediate expression through art. Developing into a cult, however, under Asoka (272-232 B. C.) Buddhism adapted popular Indian art to edifying ends: but the Buddha himself is represented only by symbols. A little later the growing spirit of devotion in the development of a popular religion led to the creation of anthropomorphic images as intermediary objects of worship. The typical Buddha figure, evolved already in the second century B. C., is that of a contemplative figure seated in the traditional Indian posture with crossed legs and steady gaze, "like a flame, in a windless spot that does not flicker:" this must have presented itself to the Indian imagination as the only possible form in which to image One who had attained to Perfect-Wisdom. Standing and reclining images were soon added, in which there are certain elements of Western origin. This Western (Graeco-Roman) element is most conspicuous in the abundant Buddhist art (1st to 3rd century A. D.) of the Gandhara provinces of the North-West frontier. The purely Indian types are characteristic of the south and of Ceylon.

Rajput painting is the Hindu art of Rajputana and the Punjab Himalayas of which surviving examples range from the 16th to the 19th century. This is a descendant of the old linear and national school of mural art represented at Ajanta, but greatly modified in theme and scale. Its subjects are drawn

from epic and contemporary vernacular poetry and Brahmanical theology: but most characteristically perhaps from the cult of Radha and Krishna, where human love in all its phases is interpreted as an image of the history of the soul of man, (typified in Radha and the other milkmaids of an Indian Arcadia) pursued by the divine lover (Krishna, the herdsman avatar of Vishnu). These themes afford the artist and poet, whose work is so closely related, as to be hardly separable, with abundant material drawn from essentially Indian life—the home, the village, the cowsheds, ritual, riverside, and spring festivals: all which is interpreted in the sense of a spiritual drama. Perhaps the most attractive example of the idyllic art is a picture of Krishna disguised as milkmaid—one of the many devices he employed to effect his meeting with Radha, "making Himself as we are that we may be as He is." Even the smallest of the Rajput drawings are designed on the broad scale of mural art, almost devoid of modelling; while the actual relation to mural painting, which is the real foundation of Rajput art, is still more evident in the large cartoons of Radha and Krishna dancing. A series of illustrations of the Marriage of Nala and Damayanti exhibits the wonderful charm of sweetness that never becomes sentimental. Another favourite theme of Rajput art is the *Ragmala* or Garland of Musical Modes (the "Ragas" and "Raginis").

Mughal painting (formerly called Indo-Persian), although unmistakably and definitely Indian, derives to some extent from Persian traditions. It forms a brilliant episode in the history of Indian art, though it diverges from Hindu sentiment in as much as it is definitely and exclusively secular and realistic, interested in the study of individual character and the representation of contemporary events. In these respects it resembles the late Renaissance art of Europe, rather than any purely Asiatic art. It owes its existence entirely to the patronage of the Mughal emperors (the "Great Moguls") and especially Akbar (1556-1605) and Jahangir (1605-1628), both of whom gave lavish encouragement to court painters. It is eclectic, and combines Persian, Indian, European and even Chinese elements. Under Akbar it is still strongly influenced by the Persian school of Bihzad: it attains its most characteristic development and fullest strength under Jahangir—becoming overripe in the time of Shah Jahan and declining under Aurangzeb. It differs from Persian painting (which was already decadent in the 17th century) in that it is, although still associated with calligraphy, far less definitely an art of book illumination than Persian art; it differs, too, in its greater actuality and its representation, no longer of epic themes, but of "what we have ourselves seen and heard."

The Transmutation of Money.

In an excellent article appearing in *East and West* for September H. L. S. Wilkinson discusses the economic effects of the war and points out the re-adjustment of money that must follow in order to save the world from utter bankruptcy. The writer discusses his subject with a free and unprejudiced mind, and his conclusions are rational and humane just as they should be. We draw the serious attention of our readers to the following extracts:

The longer the war lasts, and the bigger the war-bill becomes, the more clearly loom forth two conclusions:—

First, that no economist of the orthodox schools has any idea how the huge bill is to be paid,

Second, that the one and only way to pay the bill will be to abolish the private ownership of money and of all important industries and enterprises.

Private ownership of anything which belongs to the life of the nation as a whole, and without which that life is restricted and interfered with, is manifestly and axiomatically wrong. Articles of general need, or of national use, must be sold at a fixed price by the State, and the monopoly of the supply of such articles must be removed forever from private hands.

(The day of the domination of the capitalist is over, and the hawking of stocks and shares will, sooner or later, die a natural death of inanition, paralysed by the war's colossal taxation of capital.)

People who say that money is not really disappearing, as it still remains within the pockets of the war workers, are deluding themselves with a false idea of what money is. Money which will not move is as valueless as a railway wagon which lies for ever on a siding. Money only has value when it has the power movement. In this respect it is like energy. Money which is paralysed by an exorbitant or impossible tax will not move. It will have lost its potential. Money is kept moving now by the illusory credit of the British Government. That credit will last just so long as the Government asserts its rights over capital. But the moment the capitalist asserts his counter-claims that credit will disappear into thin air, and with it will disappear the movement of capital itself.

The nationalisation of capital must take place along with the nationalisation of all the other needs of the nation, such as land, food, coal, railways, gas and electricity, shipping, implements of war, drugs, stimulants, and so on. All existing rights in these articles must be purchased by the State, and all future enterprises undertaken by the State after careful estimate by State officials of their financial soundness.

For a fixed unvarying sum per mile of railway, or per kilowatt of electricity, any one should at all times be able to command the service of railway travel or electric power, and similarly any one should at times be able to command the services of capital at a fixed rate of interest. No one should have the right to restrict the natural flow of money by withholding capital, nor to force up the price of money, nor should any one be allowed to compete for its service by offering more than the national rate of interest. Joint stock enterprise might or might not be allowed to continue, but if allowed, it could only be within State control, and subject to State purchase after a fixed term of years. But probably joint stock enterprise shorn of the hope of extravagant profits (for all such profits should be annexed by the State), would languish, and a good thing too. And with it would go all the machinery of credit which in spite of its seeming help to business, is really an unmixed evil from a national point of view. And with this false fabric of credit, luxury, gambling and parasitism in all its various forms would disappear, and Society would re-organise itself on a healthy cash basis.

All this will come about naturally as soon as the world wakes up to the fact that the private ownership of the means of exchange, now held by banks, is wrong, just as the private ownership of natural

sources of energy, or of human labour, is wrong, bringing as it does wealth to a few at the expense of much greater loss to the nation as a whole.

The curse, which has strangled the life of the world hitherto, has been the private ownership of capital. The labour of honest men has been preyed upon by financial betting rings, sharks and parasites, who have played see-saw with prices for their own ends, until legitimate buying and selling has become impossible.

The longer the war lasts, and the bigger the bill grows, the more certain the doom of capitalism becomes! Not all the resources of the British Empire will suffice to create the wealth which will pay the interest on eight or ten thousand millions, which will be the amount of our debt when we have finally cleared up the mess, disbanded the armies, pensioned widows and orphans, provided for the cripples, and re-started the industries, if those industries are to be made over to the greedy hands of capital. The mere promise to hand them back would bring the nation face to face with bankruptcy in a week! Steam for the ship of State could not be got up. Motive power would be wanting and if applied by force, strikes, bloodshed, and civil war would be substituted for international carnage.

In one way, and in one way only, will the potential energy of money be restored. When capital bears the burden which it is now evading and shirking, then the tide will turn, and the nation will realise the true path of duty. A large share of the war-bill will possibly be voluntarily written off by those who can most afford to bear the loss. Interest on war-stock promised when the loan was raised will doubtless be paid, but interest afterwards will be fixed at pre-war rates. The nation will gradually learn the limits within which private gain is a good thing, and beyond which it becomes a crime. Above all it will be felt that the first duty is to the workers, to those who suffered hardship and misery owing to wrong conditions of life before the war. Never more must they be allowed to want the primary necessities of life, clothing, shelter, honest work free from fear and care, education, leisure and the pleasures of art and love—in fact the full scope to develop naturally and freely to the utmost that nature intends.

This will mean the abolition of all slums and sweating dens, and the nationalisation of the land, and will be a gigantic task. But nothing will be impossible to the nation when it has, once made up its mind that the old conditions are horrible, monstrous and obscene, and are not to be suffered for an instant longer than can be helped. And such an awakening of the nation's conscience is inevitable, once this war is finished.

Once the accursed incubus of greed and gain is removed from our own home-land, it will be removed from the uttermost bounds of the Empire as well. Freedom will not tolerate anything but itself anywhere within the limits of Britain's sway. The new life of Brotherhood will burst asunder all bonds of colour or creed, and the new generation of Britons will laugh to think that their fathers could have tolerated such futile and antiquated preference and snobbery.

The ferment of this new life will permeate India too, and she will awake from her long sleep, and destroy her prison of caste and sex domination, and the iniquitous tyranny of the money-lender.

The Secret of a Literary Education.

P. R. Krishnaswami points out the way which leads to the attainment of a literary education in the pages of the *Indian Education* for September. This is what he says:

A literary course is different from a course in every other branch of knowledge in that it is more or less an indefinite sphere of knowledge. Speaking comparatively, while there is for all only one method of progressing in other branches of knowledge, in literature alone is it possible for the individual to have his own peculiar path of progress. Literature is the noble expression of ideas, feelings and moods, and these are of endless range. Entrance into the realm of literature can be effected successfully only when the student finds adequately reflected some idea, feeling or mood with which he is in sympathy because it is in some measure also his own. The pursuit of literature is painful only till individual taste is gratified and after that progress is pleasant and easy. Every man possesses in himself a latent susceptibility to the beauties of literature and in varying degrees even a power of literary expression. But it needs a congenial spark to light it, and this is not forthcoming in the case of many.

One fatal error in imparting a literary education is the emphasis of literary form at the expense of a rich development and acquisition of ideas by the youthful mind. The first requisite in a literary education is the provision of freedom of study and to a certain extent of pursuits. Such freedom must of course include facilities for contact with learned and intelligent teachers of diverse habit of mind and more especially with libraries well equipped with the largest variety of the best books.

It will be perceived that many of them did not attain to their literary greatness by following faithfully and rigidly any professedly educational course. Chaucer became a page in the royal household when he was seventeen. Shakespeare left school at thirteen to assist his father in trade. Ben Jonson was never at college. He started as a bricklayer, became a soldier and was cast adrift in the streets of London. Milton, it is true, was subjected to a most careful and complete course of education at home, school and college, but he achieved a greatness very different from what his father had designed for him. Bunyan had only an elementary education, even the learning of which he forgot later. The education of Pope was most peculiar. Never inside the regular educational system of England, he was a self-taught poet and his method of reading was, in his own words, "like a boy gathering flowers in the fields just as they fell in his way." We learn again that Swift was a rebel at school and college and neglected his studies. In the

case of Dr. Johnson it is recorded that the best portion of his learning which contributed to his literary greatness was acquired in the two years he spent at home after leaving school and before entering the university. The story of his looking for apples on one of his father's shelves and lighting on a folio volume of Petrarch is very well known in literature. Goldsmith and Burns had no regular education at all. Wordsworth disliked the discipline and paid no attention to the prescribed courses at Cambridge.

We may add here the name of Rabindranath Tagore for whom schools had no charm. He was educated mostly at home by varied and prolific self-studies.

An essential element of a literary education is an abundant stock of learning put by, implying a long and familiar acquaintance with innumerable works of literature. In the effort to obtain a mastery of literary expression there is nothing so useful as having known varieties of concepts conveyed in varieties of literary expression. The reading habit is precious in a literary education and this reading habit is best promoted by freedom of choice of the course of study. That is why literature is frequently and appropriately termed a 'common' and literary readers are those who browse upon it at will. In literature more often than anywhere else a rigorous routine is very harmful, destroying in the youthful mind all the attraction of literary pursuits. One boy is delighted to read a tale of real life, another a romance, a third loves a lyric, a fourth a drama and others still an essay or a biography. If the ideas in a particular prescribed work make no appeal to a boy's mind, as often they do not, there is nothing harder and more wasteful than forcing him to it, and what is worse, preventing him from making a more congenial choice for his study.

Apart from extensive reading there are two other conditions of success in a literary education. All the greatest writers of literature were men who were deeply interested in the *doings and feelings* of their life. It would be hard to indicate the influences which may be brought to bear upon a boy in order to stimulate the *doing* aspect of his life. But it may perhaps be noted that a dull secluded, boarding-school life does not provide a boy with the same opportunities as close contact with the domestic and communal life of his people. Next to *doing* comes *feeling*. A necessary factor in a literary life is an intense self-consciousness or at any rate a keen sensibility to all the things of the world that surround a man. This keen susceptibility ought to be so far developed as to make the impulse to literary expression irresistible.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

American Literature.

Out here in India the student of literature has very scanty, if any, knowledge of American literature, past or present.

Anything which tends to give us a fuller and truer knowledge of the growth and the fine products of American literature is, therefore, most welcome. The article

under review; which appears in the *Saturday Review* partly serves this purpose. Those of our readers who want to have fuller information on the subject are referred to *A History of American Literature*. [Edited by W. P. Trent, T. Erskine, S. P. Sherman, and C. Van Doren. Vol. I. Cambridge University Press, 15s net.] We read:

The early national literature of the United States begins under new influences. Up to the Revolution, intercourse with Europe, so far as literature was concerned, was of a very limited nature. Addison and Steele were the models which writing in America proposed to itself, long after essay writing was extinct here, and poetry was as belated in its acceptance of new forms and impulses, while the drama, though very sensitive in recording the life around it, did not produce anything worth preserving before the Civil War, though several American plays were transferred to London with some success. The new influences were those of revolution on religion, and of the Romantic Revival on letters.

As religion was the one intellectual interest of provincial America, and the Bible its main reading, it was in religious experimental thought that the intellect found its most congenial exercise. Thus a world-wide movement found a peculiarly favorable forcing ground in New England. Alcott, Parker, and Margaret Fuller, and in a wider sense, Emerson, the greatest name in the American Literature of the nineteenth century, are names of European reputation. The Romantic Revival, with Scott as its protagonist moulded imaginative literature in prose and verse. Longfellow and his contemporaries apart, the output of verse is small, and its quality mediocre. Bryant is the only verse writer of any account, and, though he has lines of haunting beauty, they are side by side with lines so ulamusal as

Why so slow,

Gentle and voluble spirit of the air?

In prose Washington Irving, Fenimore Cooper, and Herman Melville are authors of European fame, the charm of whose writing, in their various degrees, never fails. Irving was, in fact, the first American writer to win a public outside his own country, first because of his subject matter, which won him a hearing not only in England but on the Continent but, still more for the graceful suavity of his style and the whimsical turn of his mind. Cooper has attained distinction in two directions, he has written perhaps the finest Indian stories in literature, and the best sea stories in the world, free from the excesses which deprive Marryat of that honor, and not equaled by any later writer. His stories of American domestic life are marred by an undertone of controversy, and his novels of European society are almost beneath contempt. Herman Melville stands in a class by himself, allied on the one hand to Borrow, on the other to Laurence Oliphant. *Moby Dick*, though no one could speak of it as one of the great stories of the world, would hardly be given up for any other book of its size. *Omoo* and *Typee* are universal favorites: but some of his other works, such as *Mardi* or *The Confidence Man*, are whimsicality carried to the verge of impossibility.

... A Child's Poems.

The *Liberator* publishes a bunch of poems from the pen of Elsie Stackhouse, the daughter of the English explorer Stackhouse, who was lost on the *Lusitania*. She is, we are told, only fourteen years old. We like the following verses best.

MY GARDEN.

E'en if I were in Heaven, I again
Would come to see my garden after rain,
And smell the warm, wet mould beneath the grass,
And see the butterflies pass and pass
From flowers to grass and back again to flowers,
And all the things in England after showers.

WISHES.

Oh to be something else than I am—
(Bread and jam, bread and jam!)

Oh to know something else than I know—
(Lawns to mow, lawns to mow!)

Oh to love someone else than I do—
(I love you, I love you!)

Recognize Russia.

Writing under the above title in the pages of the *Liberator* (New York) John Keed has a good word for the Bolsheviks, whose government is based, we are told, "on the almost universal will of the Russian masses." The writer pleads for the recognition of the Soviets by the Allies on the following grounds.

The saving of Russia was the Bolshevik revolution. If that had not happened, the German army would now be garrisoning Moscow and Petrograd.

At Brest the Russians were not supported by the Allies, and for that reason were forced to accept the German terms. Not only that, but they are wholly abandoned now, and by the pressure of Japan in Siberia, greatly weakened in the heroic struggle they are carrying on against the armed might of the Central Powers.

For the Russian Soviet Government is at war with Germany—has been at war with Germany since last summer. It stands to reason that this is so. The Soviet ruling powers are Socialists, and as such, enemies of capitalism, and most of all, enemies of the German Imperial system, the arch-exponent of militant capitalism. They have been fighting Germany with the strongest weapon in the world—propaganda—the only weapon against which the sword is ultimately powerless. This propaganda, not only among the German troops, but also in the interior of the country, is remarkably successful. Austria is ready to crack open because of it, and during the Brest-Litovsk negotiations the entire eastern front of the German troops permeated with it to such an extent that the force into Russia had to be made up largely of volunteers from western front. As for the war-prisoners in Russia, they are deeply infected by Bolshevism, and many thousands of them are enrolled in the ranks of the Russian Red Army against their own peoples.

The Red Army is rapidly being organized—as Lenin says, “not for defense of nationalistic interests, or Allied aims . . . but to defend the world’s Socialism.”

The latest moves of German diplomacy indicate that the Imperial Government is not at all anxious to attempt the military invasion of Soviet Russia.

But just as the Soviet Government considers the German Imperial Government its worst enemy, so Germany well knows that Soviet Russia on her flank is mortal to her military autocracy. By every means, by commercial and financial pressure, by capturing the food-supplying countries of the South, Germany is attempting to destroy the Soviets. At the time of the advance into Russia, Prince Leopold of Bavaria, in an armistice order, said, “Our aim is not annexation . . . but the restoration of order and suppression of anarchy threatening to infect Europe.” And if this “restoration of order and suppression of anarchy” can be accomplished by Japanese intervention, so much the better for Germany. For Germany fears not military force; she fears not a Japanese army in Siberia, nor a bourgeois republic in Russia—whose power of propaganda among German

troops would be as limited as that of the French Republic. Soviet propaganda, incredibly contagious, is the only thing that Germany fears. Allied recognition of the value of Soviet propaganda would be a blow at Germany.

The Soviet Government of Russia is there to stay; it is based on the almost universal will of the Russian masses. At the present moment it is being attacked on one side by the Germans, and on the other side by all sorts of bourgeois and reactionary movements based on the Japanese in Siberia. The threat of active, serious Japanese intervention, besides, hangs over it like a storm-cloud. When Central Russia was famine-stricken in the past, food could be got either in Ukraine or in Siberia. Now the Germans have Ukraine, and counter-revolutionary hordes are over-running Siberia. Russia is being starved from both sides. Its ability to make war on Germany is crippled by this and by the possible necessity of making war upon Japan.

Soviet Russia will not re-enter the war as an ally of the Allies; it will defend itself against the capitalist world.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE TREASURE OF THE MAGI: A STUDY OF THE MODERN ZOROASTRIANISM by James Hope Moulton, D. Litt. (London), etc. etc. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1917.

To those who are interested in Zoroastrianism the name of Dr. Montton, the author of the “Early Zoroastrianism” (Hibbert Lectures for 1912), is not a new one. He is reputed for his writings on this subject. The account of his unfortunate death as related in the foreword is really very pathetic and it is to be much regretted that he could not survive to see his present volume in printed form. His present work is divided into two books, in the first of which the author after describing in some detail the contents of the Avesta, has traced the gradual development of the religion preached by Zarathustra during the various periods of its history, beginning from the Gathas to the later Avesta; and in the second, he has criticised the religion and the modern community of the Parsis in their various aspects as Dr. Dhalla has done in the last chapters of his excellent work “The Zoroastrian Theology” though from different point of view in many cases. The book under review forms one of the volumes of the *Religious Quest of India Series* edited by Drs. J. N. Farquhar and H. D. Griswold, who have very frankly and clearly stated at the very outset the motives by which the writers of the series are actuated in their work. One of these two motives is as follows in the words of the editors; “They seek to set each form of Indian religion by the side of Christianity in such a way that the relationship may stand out clear. Jesus Christ has become to them the light of all their seeing and they believe Him destined to be the light of the world. They are persuaded that sooner or later, there age-long quest

of Indian spirit for religious truth and power will find in Him at once its goal and a new starting point.” And so Dr. Moulton concludes his present work with the following observation: “Parsis themselves being witness, the possession of a high ideal of religion in the Gathas has not availed to make them a religious people.” And they have been found not to have resented “the Christian speaker’s (Dr. Moulton’s) plea that their own Prophet and the act of their own Magi in the olden time point unmistakably to Christ as the Crown of their ancient faith.” Thus according to him “the conspicuous failure” of their religion “speaks eloquently of the supreme need of man” and evidently, that man is no other than Christ! Yet there are many things in the book which the Parsis should take into their serious consideration.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE Vol. I. *From the Earliest Times to the Death of Shivaji*, by C. A. Kincaid, C. V. O., I. C. S., and Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis. Demy 8vo. pp. 302. With illustrations and maps. Cloth Rs. 7. (Oxford University Press).

To study the history of the Marhattas one had to go to the scarce and antiquated volumes of Grant Duff published nearly a century ago. Remarkable as it is that work is marred by all the defects and blemishes that characterise every pioneer work. Mr. Ranade’s attempt was brilliant but fragmentary and tantalising. It was reserved for the collaborators in the volume under review, to present for the first time, a complete history of the Marhattas who played such an important part in that epoch of transition from the Mediaeval to the Modern history.

of India. The genuine historic intuition of patriotic Ranade has supplied the keynote to the present reconstruction of Marhatta history. The "unrivalled collection of Marhatta papers" by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, has supplied a wealth of fresh materials. Hence we get for the first time a work at once thorough in its survey, penetrating in its critical insight and elevating in its noble inspiration. What is needed to make the work a useful handbook for scholars is the publication of a source-book of the history of the Marhattas, with the important original documents both from the Moslem and Marhatta archives carefully edited so that sober students of history might study the subject critically and form their opinions independently. As it is, the history is both instructive and illuminating for general readers, from the rise of the Bhoslas (ch. xii) to the death of Sivaji the great (ch. xxiii). The earlier chapters, where the authors are merely summarising the results of the works of other scholars, are halting, conventional and lacking in freshness of vision and interpretation. A separate chapter, describing and discussing in detail Sivaji's noble polity, illustrating the constructive statesmanship of the great king, would also have been welcomed by every student of Indian history.

WARREN HASTINGS IN BENGAL 1772-1774, by M. E. Monckton-Jones. With appendixes of hitherto unpublished documents. Volume IX. 1918. 8vo. (9x6). Pp. XVI+360, with two portraits and a map. 12s. 6d. net. (Oxford University Press).

The world of controversy raging round the figure of Warren Hastings lends a sort of a legendary charm to the personality of the first Governor of Bengal. Carelessly careless selection of state papers, palpably partizan pamphlets and "made to order" biographies have combined with occasional studies in genuine historical criticism to produce impressions at once curious and conflicting: "Hastings, a demon or a demi-god"—that was the subject for discussion in the debating society of Anglo-Indian critics for a long period of time. Then came a period of pseudo-scientific presentation of Hastings' history and the parading of "state papers" explaining away every miscalculation and misconduct of Hastings. Thus the very humanity of this highly human merchant-governor has been explained away!

This human side of Hastings, with all his strength and imperfections, has been sought to be depicted by Mr. Jones in his valuable monograph. The extremely human struggle of Hastings with the vulgar opportunism and planless, heartless exploitation of his English contemporaries has been vividly described. His constructive statesmanship in reorganising the Revenue and Judicial administration, his genuine sympathy for the poor persecuted peasants and his firm faith in the capacity and potentiality of the native population—these, according to the author, were the distinguishing marks of Hastings, the Empire-builder. The enthusiasm of the author in the subject is genuine and his interpretation refreshing. Had he but surrendered the orthodox Anglo-Indian theory of infallibility, his study would have been more sound and complete from the standpoint of sober history.

KALHAN.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS.

(i) Volume xvii. Part i. Matsya Puranam. Chapters 1-128 pp. xv+360+cbi. (Nos. 79-84. January to June 1910).

(ii) Volume xvii. Part ii. Matsya Puranam. Chapters 129-198. pp. 200. (Nos. 88-90. Oct. to December 1916). Price Rs. 4-8.

(iii) Volume xvii. Part ii. Matsya Puranam. Chapters 199-291 (Nos. 91-93. January to March 1917). Pp. 201-370+xvii. Price Rs. 4-8.

The whole book has been translated by a learned Talukdar of Oudh. The translation is very close to the original.

The first part of this book was reviewed in the Modern Review of October, 1916 (p. 435).

The book is an important publication. It is one of the oldest Puranas and should be studied by the students of comparative mythology, sociology, Folklore and religions. There are ten appendices (106 pages) in the book. These are very learned and valuable and are indispensable to students of the Puranas.

MAHESHCHANDRA GHOSH.

BENGALI.

I have read with pleasure Mr. Surendranath Das Gupta's *Tattvakatha*, a Bengali brochure which seeks to give, in simple Bengali, some idea of the quest of Truth, as it was conceived from the standpoint of Hindu Philosophy,—in the fashion of the People's Books that are in vogue in English and other occidental literatures. The brochure is written in an easy conversational style, which however has a verve and glow of its own. To interest the man in the street in abstract speculation must seem to be a well-nigh hopeless task, but Mr. Das Gupta has succeeded in divesting himself of all technicalities, and this little book is an indication of what might be done in Bengali literature in the way of an elementary literary treatment of philosophic ideas and problems. I may express a hope that the writer will pursue his experiments in this line, which is a highly interesting, and promising one.

BRJENDRANATH SEAL.

GUJARATI.

JNATI SUDHARNA (જાતિ-સુધારણા), by Shirdas Champay Bhimji and Liladhar Hariram Bhimji, of Cutch Netra, printed at Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage K. N. Sailor Press, Bombay. Paper Cover pp. 108. Unpriced (1918).

The writers of this small book hail from Cutch and belong to a community known for its orthodoxy. The evils of the caste system, however, have so prominently been impressed upon them that they have been moved to put down their thoughts on paper, and the book deserves to be read more for the spirit it typifies than for anything else. We are sure the racy language in which they have exposed social evils would help their object most.

PRANAYA MANJARI: પ્રેમ ગીતા પ્રણય મંજરી : પ્રેમ ગીતા by Padrakar, printed at the Savaji Vijaya Press, Baroda. Illustrated Paper Cover pp. 21. Unpriced (1918).

This dainty little book is in its get-up keeping with the subject that it has rhapsodised: "Love is God: God is Love." This is the young versifier's text: and he has let himself go unrestrainedly. Love (પ્રેમ) is made to do duty in every stanza of this book of verses; and not everywhere successfully.

STRIYONI RANGBHUMI (स्त्रीयोनी रंगभूमी) by Mani-tal Chhaharam Bhatt, printed at the Granthodaya Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound, pp. 306. Price Re. 1-8-0 (1918).

The practised pen of Mr. Bhatt has clothed a very trite subject with great interest on account of the way in which he has approached it. The great necessity of educating our women and the real field of their work are so vividly impressed by him on the mind of the reader, and so pleasantly too, that if the readers happen to be women, they are sure to take the lessons conveyed to them to heart. Bombay life, as passed in its *Chawls* and *Malas* by its hundreds of female inhabitants is capable of being diverted into useful channels, and the writer shews one of the ways in which it can be done.

MANAV SHASTRA SERIES NO. 1. (मानव शास्त्र सौरीस : मनुक विद्याना सामान्य सिद्धान्तो) by Girdhar-lal Govindji Mehta, printed at the Vidyasagar Press, Jamnagar. Paper Cover pp. 16. Price As. 4. (1917).

By intense study and practice Mr. G. J. Mehta has specially qualified himself to write on the subject of Phrenology. This small pamphlet is but introductory of his larger work on Phrenology, which is yet unsurpassed in Gujarati. To those who are interested in the subject, no better guide can be had, in our language.

K. M. J.

SANSKRIT.

SANSKRIT RAJMARGA OR THE ROYAL ROAD TO SANSKRIT GRAMMAR VOL. I by Mr. Rajaram R. Shastri. Pages 94. Price as 10.

This is a companion reader to Bhandarkar's Sanskrit series. Whatever the merits of Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's two Sanskrit Books used as text-books in most of the Government High Schools in the Bombay Presidency may be, the grave defects they possess are (1) that they convey instruction to beginners of Sanskrit Grammar through the medium of English, which is as new to the learners as Sanskrit. The result is that students understand neither language and mostly rely on memory in learning rules of grammar without understanding their meaning or application. (2) Too many details are given about the changes the words undergo in their formation, so that even teachers pity the lot of boys whose power of retention is thereby unnecessarily taxed. Neither of these defects is cured by the book under review which professes to having made the way of the learner. If memory has to be taxed any way, why not in the name of Heaven tax it in learning by rote ready-made forms of Sanskrit words rather than in learning their formations? Considered from this practical point of view the book cannot be said to be a success.

V. G. APTE.

MARATHI.

SWAMI VIVEKANAND YANCHE CHARITRA OR THE LIFE OF SWAMI VIVEKANAND, VOL. V by the late Mr. B. W. Phadke. Price 14 as. Publisher—Ram Tirtha Karyalaya, Girgaon, Bombay.

The fourth volume of this series was noticed in

this Review last year. The present volume has a melancholy interest for its readers in as much as its author Mr. Phadke, a promising Marathi writer and devoted admirer of Swamiji, died lately, leaving the work of completion to his friend Mr. Mandlik, who has closely followed the line laid down by his departed friend. The work is a creditable performance.

SAJJANGAD AND SAMARTHA RAMDAS by Mr. G. C. Bhate, M. A., Professor Fergusson College, Poona. Pages 127. Price 12 as.

It is an interesting and thoughtful publication. It consists of three parts, the first of which is devoted to the description of interesting experiences of the author in his trip on bike to the historic place, Sajjangad, sanctified by the residence of the Saint Ramdas. The second part of the book gives a succinct summary, with profuse quotations, of the Saints' immortal *Dasabodh*, and the third part which is of a controversial nature refutes one long-prevalent belief about the relation between Ramdas and Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire. It is believed by the generality of Marathi readers that the inspiration for founding the Maratha Empire came to Shivaji from Ramdas, and assiduous attempts have been made by certain writers to instil and confirm this belief without having any undoubted proof of historical document in its support. Prof. Bhate has assailed their position with boldness from the vantage ground of a newly discovered letter written in 1672 which unmistakably proves that Shivaji had the first interview with Ramdas in that year and not in 1658 or at some earlier time as is alleged by some people. The proof is so convincing that it must now lay the dust of the controversy for all time unless some more reliable evidence to the contrary is forthcoming.

It is a matter of much regret that the author has not shown an equally good sense and discrimination in drawing inferences from *Dasabodh* about the relations of Ramdas with other saints of his time as well as about the mission of Ramdas' life. That Ramdas tried to dissuade the *वारकरी* people from the worship of Vithoba and to win them over to the worship of his favourite deity Rama is an allegation which is hard to substantiate. Neither history nor tradition supports it. That a sage like Ramdas could entertain any the least animosity against Vithoba, the deity of the *वारकरी* sect or show partiality for the Brahmin caste at the expense of other castes is to ascribe a too narrow vision and insularity to the saint which is hardly credible.

The book, on the whole, is quite a welcome addition to the present day Marathi literature and will serve to awaken in Marathi readers that faculty of discernment which is a necessity in these days. It is a good proof of the growing historical sense among Marathi writers.

V. G. APTE.

HINDI.

GRIHADAIVI by Babu Suraja Bhanu Vakil and published by Babu Jyoti Prasad, Editor of the *Jnan Pradip*, Darband. Demy. 16 mo. pp. 85. Price—As. 3.

Books of these types give individual views of the duties of females deduced mostly by practical experience. They are much better than any second-hand

information on the subject. All these views and the hints based on these are good in their way and must do a great deal in the direction of benefitting those for whom they are intended. The book under review would certainly be very useful and considering the paucity of books for women in Hindi, it must have considerable encouragement.

• **SACHITRA AITIHASIK LAIKH** by *Babu Rajkumar Goenka*. Published by the Hindi Pustak Agency, 126 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 89. Price As. 6.

These are some notices on historical subjects based mainly on some ancient writings. Things having antiquarian interest have been notably dealt with. The way in which ancient books were kept by a firm in the year 1787 and the observations thereupon, are interesting. A letter sent by Maharaja Ratna Singh of Bikanir to Lord Auckland, the facsimile of which has been given and the comments thereon would be similarly readable. The get-up is excellent.

• **NARIRATNAMALA, PART I**, by *Babu Girija Kumar Ghosh* and to be had of him at *Katra, Allahabad*. Crown 8vo. pp. 109. Price—As. 7.

This is a collection of short biographies of nine famous heroines of India. We cannot but very highly commend the author on this publication. The language is flawless and the descriptions bespeak the author's skill. The lives have been narrated in the form of so many novelettes. It may be a very suitable prize book for students in girls' schools. The biographies deal with the lives of Damayanti, Padmavati down to Nurjahan and Ahalyabai. The story of Padmavati depicts graphically the ancient glory of Rajput culture and moral standard.

• **SABHYATA KA ITIHAS** by *Pandit Prannath Vidyasankar* and published at the *Star Press, Allahabad*. Crown 8vo. pp. 164. Price—As. 12.

This gives a sociological and historical sketch of the way in which civilisation has advanced. The book is an adaptation of a well-known English publication on the subject and it will certainly be a real acquisition to the Hindi Literature. The Gurukul of Kangri Haridwar to which Pandit Prannath belongs has made itself famous by notable publications of books, the subjects of which had not been touched formerly by Hindi writers.

• **BHAROTIYA SHASAN PRABANDH SAMBANDHI SADHARAN KI AVAIDANPATRA** by *Mr. Sri Prakash, B.A., L.L.B., Bar-at-Law*, and published by *Gyanmandal at the Lakshmi Narayan Press, Benares City*. Crown 8vo. pp. 264.

This is a translation of the principal portions of the Reform Scheme as published in English by the Government. The other portions which have been considered to be not so important will be published later on by the author. This publication in Hindi so soon after the original publication bespeaks the energy and adventurous zeal of those by whom the author has been helped. The translation is faithful and at such a momentary period of Indian constitution, there is no doubt the book will prove immensely useful. A list of English vocabulary of important terms with their Hindi translations and equivalents has been added.

• **PRAIMOPHAR KAI KHIKHIYAI PHOOL**—

A list of the works of the "Love and Life" Series published by *Kumar Devendra Prasad, Allahabad* together with notices thereon in the Press.

• **BHORMANDAL KAI PRANI**, published by *Shreenath Shah, Shamaram, Durgakund, Benares*. Demy 8vo. pp. 78. Price—As. 8.

These are descriptions of strange animals and the descriptions have been suited to the imagination of infants. Efforts have been made to make them specially interesting and entertaining. There was a want of books like these specially suited to the tastes of young children and the book will certainly remove the want. The manner of description will appeal to children and the author is to be congratulated on the way in which he has adopted his work to the necessary requirements. Certain stories have the characteristics of Aesop's fables.

• **KAISER** by *Pandit Hari Raghunath Bhagwat, B.A.* and translated by *Pandit Lakshmidhar Vajpai*. Crown 8vo. pp. 91. Price—As. 10. Published by *Mr. P. N. Patvardhan, 652, Sadashiv Peth, Poona*.

This is a sketch of the life of the German Emperor and there is much originality in the description. Many unknown features of the Kaiser's life have been narrated. The book is one of a series of the Vishwavyanmala Series. The get-up is very nice and the book is bound with thick board.

• **ABRAHAM LINCOLN** by *Pandit Lakshmidhar Vajpai*, published by *Messrs. Diskhit and Dwivedi, Daraganj, Allahabad*. Crown 8vo. pp. 190. Price—As. 8.

The author is well-known to the Hindi readers and the book under review upholds his reputation. The life of the famous President of America has been very ably narrated in it, the language and style being good.

M.S.

THE SECRET NAME

In the inscriptions left by mankind on the walls of time I cannot find the name I seek.
When I lay me down to sleep it is that it may be revealed to me in my dreams.
When I wake in the night it is to meditate on that which eludes all words.
Day bringeth the phantasms of the senses, the puppet-play against the Eternal Light.
And all we are and do are for ever blinding, as the thousand colours of far-off worlds
blend into the glory of stars.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Archaeological Department.

I.

The Note on the "Importance of Archaeology and duty of the Publicists" (published in the last issue of the Modern Review) calls for some comment from one who takes interest in Archaeological work. There were no Indian Superintendents nor a large number of Indian Assistants for some years since the reorganisation of the department in 1902. But now all Assistants are Indians and only half the number of Superintendents are non-Indians. This does not bear out the accusation that the settled policy of the department has been to exclude Indians. Dr. Thomas, the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*, draws a small annual honourarium of twelve hundred rupees only. He is not the Government Epigraphist that distinction is now held by an Indian, Rao Shahib Krishna Sastri. The work of reediting the Asokan inscriptions has been entrusted for the first time to a competent Indian scholar. Dr. Vogel is "manufacturing (?) an epigraphist for India in Holland" not in the person of a foreigner but in that of another distinguished Indian scholar now in England. The system has worked since 1902, with this decided leaning towards the employment of competent Indian scholars. And if X is not satisfied with the results a large share of the blame must rest upon the shoulders of his own countrymen. Archaeology is bound to be one of the 'transferred subjects' under the Reform Scheme. It is therefore necessary for us to be accurate in our information before any wholesale condemnation is publicly pronounced in the way in which "X" has done.

S. R. A.

II.

May I be permitted to offer a few words of protest against some of the statements in the Note on Importance of Archaeology and the Duty of our Publicists in the October number of your Review. If this Note represented the views of any private correspondent* one might not care to take any exception, but since it appears under editorial responsibility the views do call for a protest on certain points, particularly having regard to the fact that we have all learned to greatly value your editorial comments for their independence, impartiality and strict adherence to truth, against which unfortunately some statements in the Note in question appear to me to offend. I may say at once that I fully agree with much that has been said in the "Note" with reference to the thesis put forward by Dr. Spooner which has been critically examined by many scholars and pronounced to be untenable or at least disproved for the present. But the views of an officer are quite distinct from the materials that he collects, which may be interpreted by different schemes in different ways and the value of the work of the Archaeological department has to be judged by the nature and extent of the materials they have been able to collect however much one may

* They are the views of a correspondent, though they appeared among our "Notes," as the initial "X" shows.—Editor, M. R.

differ from them in the mode and manner in which these materials should be read interpreted, and presented. To what one takes strong exception is the rather sweeping statement that since 1902 the Archaeological Department has worked with no satisfactory results. I do not know if the author of the "Note" is aware of the nature and difficulties of archaeological work in India and whether he is familiar with the works achieved by the French archaeological commission in Indo-China and of the Dutch Archaeological commission in Java. If he knew them, he would not have ventured to offer such wholesale condemnation of the works achieved by the Archaeological Department in India. Any one with any slight acquaintance with archaeological labours in other countries cannot but offer praise for the extent and output of the work attained in India since 1902. The works of conservation alone and the strenuous labour that they have entailed are worthy of the highest tribute. We Indians are apt to undervalue the works of conservation and restoration which spell such heavy strain on the resources of the department and leave very little time or money to devote to works of research and excavations. If we knew the story of the struggle for apportioning funds from the Finance Department we could realise why the results are so less "satisfactory" than one would otherwise expect. In other countries the work of the official archaeologist is supplemented by the efforts of private societies, individuals and universities which finance archaeological expeditions to famous sites and subsidize the publication of expensive monographs embodying the results of such expeditions. In this way many valuable monographs on archaeological works in Indo-China have been published by private subscriptions. The American universities have spent enormous sums of money in sending archaeological missions to Greece, Italy, Egypt and Crete. And if the Archaeological Department in India is not illuminated every year by many new and brilliant discoveries the fault lies not so much with the Department as with the resources at its command. The materials collected require to be studied, classified, interpreted and published by and with the help of a large number of scholars, each expert in his own subject, but for which no funds are at present available.

Nevertheless, the various works of excavation, e. g., those at Sarnath, Kasia, Sahr-i-balol, Kanishka's Stupa, Nalanda, Taxila and Sanchi have yielded "satisfactory results" of great scientific value in elucidating the history of India. The "Note" seems to be unfair in ignoring the works rendered by the Indian officers of the archaeological department. The work of Mr. Daya Ram Sahani in arranging and cataloguing the Sarnath finds is of real merit. The materials collected by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar for the study of Mediaeval Hindu Temples in Rajputana is of great value. We should also be proud of the works of Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri in the field of South Indian Epigraphy. The writer of the "Note" is undoubtedly on surer ground when he says that very few Indians have been associated with the work of the Archaeological Department and there is no

These are crying themselves hoarse for Home-Rule. I will continue to display a cultivated apathy to the importance of the subject and I hope the "note" will attract the attention of our patriots and public men.

The note seems to suggest that there is quite an army of Indian enthusiasts burning to further the progress of archaeological studies in India. How I wish such suggestions were true, but unfortunately they are not. We have only one Jayaswal and one Haraprasad, but even dozens of them will be helpless without the support of enthusiastic public interest, and what is more, adequate funds to finance their studies.

There are many points raised in the note which require long discussions from which I refrain for the present. I shall only add that the post of the Government Epigraphist is being given permanently to an Indian and not to Dr. Thomas.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.
22nd October, 1918.

are anxiously looking forward to the day when the progress of archaeology in India will be organised and directed by Indians alone, for however efficiently the work may be done by Europeans it will be done in a far more efficient way by competent Indians. Unfortunately public interest in Indian archaeology is almost nil for the present and many of

PRICE AND TRADE CONTROL IN ANCIENT INDIA

At no other time in human history has economic distress consequent upon war been brought out in more lurid light than during the present world war. The misery which is experienced throughout the world shows how commerce and communications have made the various parts of the world interdependent upon each other so that economic disturbance in one part is easily transmitted to the other parts, just as the diseased condition of any organ of the human body affects the entire system. Restricted transport has dislocated trade. Diversion of industries to war requirements has diminished the supply of food products. Both these together with the greed of the opportunist tradesmen desirous of profiteering have contributed to the inflation of prices. The result is that the poor and middle classes are hard hit, so much so, in their despair the poorest classes have resorted to reckless looting. Want of food products has further diminished the sustaining power of the middle classes already poverty-stricken, so that abnormal physical conditions having caused an outbreak of epidemic, mortality also has run high. All these sufferings would not have been suffered in vain if they would at least open our eyes to recognise our present economic helplessness and to husband our future resources. At such a critical juncture it may be worth our while to examine what our ancient

Hindu civics have ordained to guard against such conditions even in normal times.

Yagnavalkya enjoins on the king the duty of fixing the market price of goods. (Book I, S. 251). It was to be done according to Manu once in 5 days or once in a fortnight in the presence of merchants. The merchants were bound to sell their commodities at the price fixed by the king together with the profit allowed for each commodity. It was not open to them to fix any price they liked.

The margin of profit was fixed not arbitrarily but with due regard to the condition of the market and the nature of the commodity. It also varied according as the produce was of indigenous manufacture or of foreign import. The profit for commodities produced in the country itself was 5 per cent. of the cost price and 10 per cent for foreign goods imported from other countries (Yagnavalkya, Book I, S. 252). This rate of profit however applied only to cases of sales effected soon after manufacture or receipt from foreign countries. If there was any long interval between the date of manufacture and the date of sale, the profit was regulated as to allow for fluctuations in the market in the meantime and for loss of interest on the capital (Mitakshara). In the case of foreign goods, to the actual price was added the expenses of transit and toll

(Yagnavalkya, Book I, §. 253). The profit was fixed by the king at 5 or 10 per cent after calculation of actual price as stated above.

Any merchant who in combination with others intentionally sold at a higher or lower price than that fixed by the king with a view to derive greater profit to the prejudice of others was liable to punishment (Yagnavalkya, Book I, S. 249). This prevented not only unhealthy competition among merchants themselves but also rendered exploitation of the trader at the expense of the consumer impossible. Simi-

Such was the state of the Hindu states thereby regulated. Under these conditions there has been no scope for the cornering or the creation of trusts which enrich the moneyed capitalists and crush the poor wage-earning classes.

B. GURU RAJAH RAO.

THE CODE OF FAVOURITISM

THE problem of favouritism is as old as human nature. Every page of human history is full of it. Every chapter in the biographies of rulers is painted with its workings. Every account of the activities of political bodies furnishes examples of its existence. That quality of the human mind, namely, seeking after self-interest, is directly responsible for its growth. It does not require any array of arguments or any stretch of imagination to realise how favouritism arises. There are certain ties which bind men to certain classes of communities more than they do to others. These ties are of common race or origin, common history or tradition, common ideals or understandings and common colour or civilisation. When once you identify yourself with a particular class or community, then your interests, your professions, your spheres of work, your ideals and ambitions have a qualified scope, and you become a qualified being. Your groove of action is narrow. The activities of your mind are partial, not universal. You are a man of likes and dislikes. You are seeking after your own safety and welfare. The moral basis of your tendencies and resolutions is narrow. In one word, you are selfish.

2. It is the state of man's mind which gives rise to favouritism amongst individuals and also amongst their groups and associations for various purposes of life. The guiding principle which underlies

favouritism is the desire for self-stability or group-stability and self-advance or group-advance. Though this principle remains the driving force, the objects and activities of favouritism are many and everchanging. Those which help and promote its welfare and progress are preferred to those which hinder and obstruct them. It is always time and place which indicate their value and utility. They have no permanent value in themselves.

3. It is an interesting study in a country like India to know the activities and objects of favouritism, and I wish to deal here with the rise of politically favoured classes, their maintenance, their value, their specialities, their place in national economy and culture, and the differential treatment shown to them in all things of political importance.

4. India is a place where men have chosen to form separate associations for every different principle or mode of life they represent, or for every different social or moral religious or philosophical doctrine they follow, or even for every place they inhabit. This instinct or tendency for circumscribed and exclusive life has resulted in the growth of a great number of sects, castes or communal groups, and consequently has given rise to conflicting interests and ways of thought, and to a great difference in the level of importance of each of them in the structure of Indian political life. Their past history has also

increased or lessened their importance in this life.

5. It would be helpful to the discussion and elucidation of this subject to classify peoples in India according to the political importance attached to them by the governing class. This classification will be somewhat as follows if we make two divisions or groups; one that of the favoured, and the other that of the not-favoured.

Favoured group. Not-favoured group.

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| (1) Europeans (whites). | Indians (coloured). |
| (2) Christians. | Non-Christians. |
| (3) Eurasians. | Indian Christians. |
| (4) Mahomedans. | Hindus & others. |
| (5) Parsis, Jews, etc. | Hindus. |
| (6) Non-Brahmanas. | Brahmanas. |
| (7) Illiterate and uneducated (masses). | Educated. |

6. The sovereign power in India is the British. It is foreign in race, language, culture and affinities. Its centre of attraction is obviously elsewhere. Its prime interests in India are always those of its own stability and permanence, its pecuniary advantages and commercial profits, its prestige and power. All that leads to these, all that supports these is to be planned and executed. Altruistic considerations are secondary and inferior in importance.

7. The governance of India is based in all its working on a fixed policy. Political utility is its maxim of work. You will not find an even balance held between the peoples in India, nor an equality of treatment meted out to them. They are tickled or teased, favoured or vilified, according to their political importance. It is not the numerical strength of a community, it is not its professions of loyalty or its love of order and peace, but it is its usefulness as a political weapon, it is its value as a political body which determine its fitness to receive some favoured treatment, some preferential grants and boons. The cost of these last may be borne by any other community. The determining question is not who pays, but who is to derive advantages. The distributor is supreme. The payer is submissive. He must pay without any protest or representation. The distributor has the right or the strength to enjoy the benefits or to distribute them amongst his favourites. The payer can only murmur whispers fruitlessly, the distributor doing his work

without remorse, without hindrance or with impunity.

8. The truth of the above remarks will be borne out by a further analysis of the importance of each community as seen from the treatment and favours it receives from the governing body.

9. First of all come Europeans. It is in their, and their interests alone, that this whole show of an Empire is carried on, that the cry of a "white man's burden" is raised, that this sweet talk of an Imperial Preference is started. Everywhere their rights are far greater than those of others. In all Government departments their status, power and emoluments are high, but their responsibility to the tax-payers is practically nil. Their words are generally carried out as laws, and their actions very often taken as rights. You have to obey implicitly what they order. They will regulate all the practice and procedure, even if you are at all allowed to discuss the adoption of any principle. All social and religious laws, all commercial and industrial enactments, all political and educational acts will be drawn up by them. They are the masters and you are the servants. Ultimate decisions on points of law will be recorded by them. The spirit of your culture must give way before their interpretations. All places of importance, of power, prestige, all sinecure places, all posts carrying high salaries, all departments which increase useful knowledge, which raise status, which are pecuniarily advantageous are allotted to this favoured class. The head of every institution, of every department is recruited from that class. All facilities for travel, trade and tour are provided for them. Every attempt is made to furnish them comfort and opportunity so that they may be able to exploit India to their own advantage. All laws are relaxed in their favour. Special mild laws are enacted in their interests. They are exempted from the Arms Act. The Indian Penal Code diminishes its rigour towards them. The Press Act does not interfere with their work. Law bends before them. Procedure and judge's discretion furnish safety valves for their escape. There is no other class equal to them in political importance. For their education separate commodious, well-equipped and well-staffed schools will be built and maintained. They will receive every kind of training, mental and physical, making them fit for a good citizen's work.

Proportionately very large grants would be made for their education, irrespective of money they contribute as taxes. Every one of them will be made literate. Their social and religious needs and cravings will be cared for and satisfied. Poverty will not be allowed to visit them as far as possible. All required qualifications will be easily relaxed or broken in order to make them accommodation in well-salaried posts.

10. The ruling class considers its own stability, permanence and vested interests to be safe and to depend mainly on their (Europeans') proper maintenance. They must be flattered and kept pleased by giving them greater advantages, more facilities, and superior powers and status. To displease them would be to destroy the purpose of this political structure. But is the value of their maintenance for our sake so great as to necessitate all this favouritism? Indians are loyal to the British connection in their own interests. They are able to manage many branches of administration if only allowed to do so. What at present is performed by that class will be performed equally well by us. We are sure and certain about it. Moreover it will be done less expensively. If Britain's purpose in India is to train us for self-government, then even if we be a little inferior in our abilities and work, it is in our interest that we should be allowed to carry on the work of the country without any interference. Help us, and guide us, not check us or hinder us in our advance. The pampering of the European class at our cost is evidently detrimental to our larger and permanent national interests. It is a danger to our advance in Self-government. Its existence has left no scope for the development of our virtues and qualities. It mars our growth by its desire and opportunity to determine the administration and policy of our country. We are made to move only in a circumscribed area under constant checks and limitations. There is no scope for the free growth of our inherent individual and national tendencies and character. This alien element in the structure of our national activities goes against the grain of our culture. We are heavily losing every day by being kept away from a life of political responsibility. Our self-respect and self-confidence, two great qualities of a people, have suffered heavily. Thus we

find that at a great cost to us, in law, in getting posts, in the administration of justice towards them, in commercial undertakings and trade, in mining operations and railways, they receive all the possible advantages and facilities in every part of India, for the simple reason that the Government officers are their kith and kin.

11. Let us now see what favourable opportunities they enjoy in commerce and trade. India is a great market for the products of European industries. The policy of laissez faire, the organised destruction of indigenous industries during the East India Company's regime, and foreign commerce and the European advance in scientific machinery, appliances and chemistry have killed the Indian competition in manufactured goods and industries. The want of technical and scientific education, the lack of facilities for studying at the great organisations of industrial factories and mills have taken away Indians from the chief source of producing wealth, namely industries. The possession of raw materials, the existence of cheap labour and of Indian money in Government and European Banks are only utilised by foreign capitalists, whose profits are enhanced, the other factors costing less. Indians for want of capital, co-operation and scientific knowledge are unable to utilise the richness of the materials and the cheapness of the labour. For want of a national government the indigenous industries and foreign commerce are not able to develop on any sound or progressive lines. European capitalists find India a safe market for investment and for further immense profit, the so-called British capital being really accumulated in India out of abnormal profits. Their interests are scrupulously secured first. They are encouraged to exploit India and to reap advantages in money and comforts. Railways afford them facilities in transmission of goods. Banks give them money on low rates of interest for their industrial undertakings in India. They secure big contracts and earn good commission. All the carrying trade with other countries, all the passenger traffic are done by European companies. They reach directly the cultivator and earn also the middleman's profit. Government officials who have large works to be executed entrust them to European firms. Many of the great agricultural industries of India, e. g., Jute,

Indigo, and Tea, pour their enormous profits into their pockets. Almost all the mining operations of the country are carried on by the European companies. Private Railways are practically owned and managed by them. The Navy has place only for them. The artillery is practically entrusted to their charge. Commissions in the army are still practically issued to them only. Higher offices in these departments are reserved for them alone.

12. Exchange is made as favourable to them as possible, even at the cost of the stability of the Indian Currency and monetary system. Facilities for the transmission of money from England to India or *vice versa* have been afforded to English merchants at the cost of Indian money and of unsettling the Indian treasury.

13. Then there are some religious institutions, the bishoprics of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other places maintained at the cost of the tax-payer—a practice which militates against and transgresses the professed principle of religious neutrality. Religious convents, colleges and schools started by Christian Missionaries receive grants-in-aid for their work. The activities of the Salvation Army are fostered by grants of land and money. And there are many other ways in which this Gospel of favouritism works. But this is in short the code of favouritism applied fully to and enjoyed continuously by those who are first in political importance.

14. Now we shall take the community of Christians which includes Eurasians first and Indian Christians next. Perhaps in their heart of hearts these people are not liked by Europeans, most probably because they imitate apishly European forms of dress, language, food etc., and there are other reasons also for the same. But this class of people are held in greater importance in political favouritism. Its code embraces them more sympathetically and distributes favours amongst them more liberally than amongst the remaining communities. Look at the care taken for their education. They are allowed to enlist as volunteers. Greater consideration is shown in giving them posts. Railway platforms and engines are their monopolies. Higher police services, Pier posts are becoming their preserves. Railways afford greater convenience and separate compartments for their travel. Every station

reserves comfortable waiting rooms and makes other accommodations for their use. Comparatively inferior qualifications will secure them places undreamed of by others. They are a counterweight against the political aspirations of Indians. By favouring them abnormally they are made permanent hirelings to be used in times of necessity for the good of their masters. Their eyes are turned away from India, their centres of affection lie outside.

15. I shall now come to the Mahomedans. There is a great gap and fall between this community and those already mentioned in point of favouritism. They belong to a religion historically opposed to Christianity and to Christians. There was no love lost between the followers of the two different but militant faiths. In their struggle for conversion of "infidels" and acquisition of territory they crossed swords on many a battlefield in every country for any trivial dispute. But in India they came to possess greater political importance in the eyes of a portion of the ruling class. In the valuation of Hindus and Mahomedans as the two chief communities of India, Hindus were discarded as less useful because greater in number, more patriotic at first, and with aspirations centred in India and for India. Though now to the permanent good of India the Mahomedans have changed their angle of vision and are following practically the same lines of work as the Hindus, they were considered until recently to hate Hindus as being their interiors, and subjects in the past, as infidels or kafirs in religion. Hence they were thought to be a good weight and weapon against Hindus in whatever the Hindus demanded or wanted to achieve. The past glories of their kingdoms in India, their ideas of being foreigners in the country, their western look towards Arabia and Persia, their civilisation, and their interest elsewhere all this was calculated to keep them apart from the people of the country. In valuing them politically as an asset for the stability of the British rule they were thought to be more weighty and useful.

16. The education of Mahomedans is receiving separate care. Exclusive and non-national tendencies shown by a section of them are fostered. The militant spirit and turbulence displayed by some classes of them are not looked upon with disfavour so long as these flow along well

understood channels. In legislative councils they have received separate electorates in addition to their share in the general electorate. They are now being given separate representations in municipalities and local boards, though great statesmen and foresighted patriots know that the principle of separate, communal representation is disastrous to the development of a strong polity for India and India's harmonious political future.

17. The treatment of other favoured groups is similar, but minor in character and less in importance. It is not worth our while to describe it here.

18. Very few will deny the truth of the description given above of the principles and workings of political favouritism in India. Of the many factors which go against our national interests, this Gospel of favouritism, this reign of partiality and injustice are the most prominent. Hence we have to know their workings so as to be able to find out ways to minimise their adverse influence.

Amfaoti,
Berat.

S. V. PUNTAMBEKAR.

INDIAN WOMEN OF TO-MORROW

BY MISS KRISHNABAI TULASKAR.

EVERY one, specially the educated, knows that the history of woman has begun in all the great countries of the world. At present India may not be great politically, but certainly she is a great country which has contributed a most important and solid share to the civilisation of the world. In such a country of one of the most ancient civilisations, we are glad to see that the woman has commenced to make and write her own history. Wise and sincere workers must catch this time to help the cause of those who form the most precious part of humanity. To help women is to help the world in various ways, because the forming of a happy home, a useful and healthy society, and a strong nation, depends upon its women. It will not be exaggerating to say that any type of generation we produce will take its characteristics according to the type of womanhood in that generation. Now India is entering upon a new era of enlightenment and it behoves its women to keep with the times and avail themselves of the new favourable conditions offered for their progress. Giving them along proper and reformed lives, making them feel the great responsibilities that lie before them and the part they are called upon to play, will prepare them for doing their part faithfully and intelligently. By nature,

woman is very different from man, and though man is working very hard to alleviate human sufferings, it is woman alone who can root out these miseries completely when she works with her heart and soul.

The ignorance which prevails among the women of India of their own power and influence is the great obstacle in the way of their doing their share of the work. The tender heart of a woman is touched very deeply at the sight of suffering humanity; she readily gives her sympathy and is willing to do whatever she can for them. The work of European women in the present war, in which their countries are engaged in a death struggle against one another, affords splendid example of unparalleled self-sacrifice. The Indian woman does not lack this spirit of self-sacrifice. She shows it in even a greater degree, because her outlook in life is very different from that of the woman in the West. Her sweet and gentle nature, a very sympathetic and loving heart, a highly spiritual outlook of life, her persistency in carrying out moral ideas of which she is convinced, her delicate mind, and her remarkable spirit of self-sacrifice, all these qualities make of her a superb type of womanhood which not very many countries are fortunate to possess. But our women do not know their own

qualities, the influence they can exert and the great position which belongs to them in the home as well as in the world. Several of the excellent qualities like fidelity, generosity, &c., at present ill-informed and misdirected, if trained and used with discrimination will form powerful factors in the reform of the home as well as society.

The long subjection in which our women have been kept in entire ignorance of their own excellent qualities and the systematic oppression of their natural growth, have dulled their imagination and they are quite unconscious of the high mission they have in life. To them their life's work consists only in waiting upon man, serving him faithfully and being ready to bend at his slightest pleasure.

With our advanced thinking our attitude and notion regarding the relation of man to woman is entirely changed, and with that the relation of man to woman is no longer the same. Man and woman are two component parts of one life whether in the home, the community, the nation or the world at large. Is it right then that the development of half of the human race should be neglected or half heartedly attended to? Can humanity make any real advance and be really happy while one of its halves is lying paralysed in ignorance and steeped in misery? If we wish that India should make any solid and real progress based on higher principles of life, let then her women receive the fullest consideration and let them come forward to take their right place and responsibilities. The social and spiritual health of the country can be only preserved and real regeneration of India in all spheres of life will be only achieved when her women will take their proper place in the new India of to-morrow. We are sometimes tempted to take some very poor satisfaction in the idea that we are educating our women and are trying hard to improve their lot. But the education that we have given them in the past and are giving even at present has done very little to enlighten their minds nor has it made them any much better than before. Even this poor education has not reached all; and where it has reached, all that it has done is to make them only more intelligent workers at home and better ministers to the wants of their brothers or husbands. But we must be far more sincere and honest when

we take up the cause of our women. Their education must be based on the new educational conceptions and advanced methods. In India the term education means making a person better and more intelligent animal by the acquisition of ready-made facts. The educated man feels that he is more civilised than his fellow being who has no education and that he will be able to earn better and live more decently. True education is much more than this. It is unfolding the mind, leading out all latent, noble and humanly qualities in man and building up his character. It means a clear and intelligent mind. Its aim is self-expression through self-realisation. Its further aim is to make the man a self-sufficient being and a useful member of the Society. Right education must help a man to find out his proper place in life and prepare him to fit himself in that position.

The living interest in the social, intellectual, religious, and political activities, which we find lacking in India, will be supplied when our women will understand them intelligently and co-operate with men heartily. To help them do so the old and defective system of education of women must be changed and based afresh on newer and healthier conceptions. Their educations must be such as to make them more useful members of the society. Until recently the ideal of the Indian woman had been to get married and live within the four walls of her home ministering to man's necessities and going through the drudgery of life cheerfully and bravely. Her vision seldom extended beyond this. Married life is certainly the highest expression of human joy and happiness but it should not be forgotten that even there man and woman should join hands in loving partnership and share the responsibilities of that life equally. Neither in the home nor elsewhere, however, woman in India has yet received her proper recognition. On account of some economic considerations and other physical advantages man has assumed a superiority over woman, and she out of a deep sense of self-sacrifice has submitted to it willingly without complaint. But what is the noblest expression of God's love she must have the fullest scope to grow and develop herself, not merely that she may demand her happiness and comforts in life, but that she may grow fully according to

her nature and in that growth realise the beauty of her existence and shed its bliss and lustre in her home and outside. She does not need to be taught only to give herself willingly and do sacrifice for others. That is woven in her nature, and consciously or unconsciously she has never swerved from it. Her tender nature makes her take interest in helping humanity. But what she particularly needs is broadening her outlook and realising that society is nothing but an enlargement of the home and whatever affects the latter must affect the society. She will then feel responsible for all civic matters which affect both equally. In America for instance women take a keen interest in public matters, feel concerned in the existence of social evils, even outside their homes, and boldly handle such questions as smoking, drinking, adulteration of food, bad treatment of the children in the factories, etc. Men always try to remove these evils but it is women alone who can lay effective campaigns against them and root them out successfully. In America sex prejudice has almost disappeared, and men and women have joined their hands in co-operation for the common good and are laying their lives jointly and intelligently on the altar of duty towards humanity. There is no longer found that distrust in the opposite sex which is the great obstacle to social progress in any country. This want of confidence is due to our wrong notion of the relation between the sexes, and has no basis in any solid and healthy convictions. If children are brought up with higher ideals and in pure and natural relationship, they will behave towards each other as brothers and sisters with mutual trust and love.

While taking into account the peculiar temperament of our women which may ripen into a fruitful life, their special qualities must be cultivated by education. The new education which our women should receive must suit her temperament and make her conscious of her own capacities. Her intellectual training must help her unfold her latent faculties which are to be cultivated to some useful ends. It must help her find out her proper place in life and in social fabric and make her a self-sufficient and cultured human being and an efficient worker in society. If India of to-morrow is to produce women worthy

of her name the system of education of women must undergo a complete change. They should not be made to go through a mere mode of intellectual grinding as we have provided for men, and stuff their minds with manufactured ideas of others. All our special institutions for women or those where co-education is allowed will not help the cause of our women so much as was hoped for, as long as they work with a blind devotion to inefficient methods of education. We want women who will bring about a regeneration of the home, the society and the nation on healthy and higher principles of life. First they must understand their wider moral relation towards each other so that they can give their sympathy and help to all. They must be able to cast out all social restrictions which blind the mind and degenerate the moral character. They should know many of the evils and immoralities which are practised under the name of religion and must administer their generosity and kindness wisely and in an organised form.

The saddest thing we notice in India is the disrespectful and mean attitude of man towards woman. Even the so-called educated class is not free from this blame. We grieve to see in all public places and streets the way that our women of higher as well as lower classes are treated. For their selfishness and self-satisfaction men treat women no better than human animals. These evils can only be remedied when women are educated intelligently so that they will stand for their rights and better treatment at the hands of the other sex. Then they will teach their children and brothers to respect a woman and receive her on an equal footing. In America for example if a woman gets into a street car which is crowded any man will at once offer his seat no matter what the colour of her skin is, black or yellow or white; the police too in the street will treat her most politely.

There is another fact which accounts for man's assumed superiority over woman and that is the economic dependence of the latter on the former. Let woman be economically independent of man and man will at once change his attitude towards her as he has done in the West. Her economic independence and her intellectual training will give her the right place in society. Apart from these considerations

our women feel keenly their dependent position and live a miserable and unhappy life. The society which allows that half of its members should be deprived of their rights and simple comforts of life is morally rotten. Only the right education of our women will remedy this evil.

In America there is no line of activity or department of business which does not include women workers and seek their help and co-operation. When women join any work of social reconstruction it is bound to be successful. By their personality and sincere efforts every social movement becomes a living force for the betterment of humanity. The influence of a woman is very inspiring, and with her help man can achieve much in bringing about better social condition, and lead humanity in its onward march of progress. Our men must change their attitude towards women not with a sense of patronising them but by receiving them as equals in life and helping them to make their life more useful not for man's own self-aggrandisement but for helping the suffering and neglected humanity. Various social organisations and clubs where men and women can come together without the least constraint and on perfect equality will help to bring about this attitude. There both will freely exchange their thoughts and find out the means whereby they can help and work together for the neglected and unfortunate section of our people.

They must play their part ably and intelligently in the educational and political work of reconstruction as well. If they themselves are enlightened and if their ideas are broadened they will be the proper persons to take up the work of the coming generation. The patient, kind and loving temperament of women make them better teachers than men in handling the delicate child-mind. The impression received and the kind of turn given to the innocent and tender child-mind has a permanent effect than any help which can be given later in life. In America nearly half of the teachers are women in the public schools. In America women are employed on a large scale in colleges and universities, an interesting sight to see women teachers and men students paying their homage to women teachers and looking up to them, and

drinking at the same fountain of knowledge.

The employment of women as teachers will also give them work which will improve their economic condition as well. The economic independence of woman, the raising of their status and their intelligent co-operation will help to bring about a better understanding between the sexes and each will help the other in the cause of humanity, and when men and women are working in perfect harmony and co-operation then there is greater hope for rapid progress. Then civic matters will not be entirely left in the hands of men who cannot see all the sides of every question which affects life. Many of the social corruptions will be removed and life will be made much happier and nobler than before. The resources and energies of men and women will be better organised and utilised and all the poor in society will have their share of blessings. National activities will receive great inspiration and living interest and women will contribute their share in the national regeneration of the country. When women have received broad and liberal education whereby their minds get truly cultured they will fill their place nobly. Their enthusiasm and earnestness will bring success more easily and men will not loath to seek their cooperation but on the other hand will appreciate it better.

It is evident then that for imparting true education and culture to our women, an entirely new system must be introduced based on a rational and proper estimate of their qualities and capacities and a full realisation of their mission in life. In this new system of education the one most important thing which requires particular emphasis in India is the physical development. The mental sloth, the moral blankness, the dull vision and general inability of action which are in abundant evidence in our people are due to weak physique. When the woman herself is not in a fit condition of body, her children will be weaklings who cannot meet the stern demands of national duty and self-sacrifice; and no nation can be strong as long as its men and women are not healthy and vigorous. Every woman must consider it a sacred duty in bringing up her child to help it develop a healthy and strong physique. If women are healthy in body then they will also have a

healthy intellectual growth which will bring a rich and valuable contribution to the national life. Physical training, right cultural education, wider knowledge of sociology and the social sciences, vocational training, knowledge of domestic economy, and economic provision before and after education are some of the points to be considered in the education of the women of to-morrow.

Women so educated will form fitting companions to men in their work for the national cause. India will then earn quickly her proud position amongst the nations of the world and will shed that spiritual light which will illumine the path of stumbling humanity, and that peace which will bring it real happiness. Let then the cause of women's education be

taken up in all the earnestness and the spirit of a sacred duty. If the India of to-morrow is to prosper materially and spiritually then no longer can she tread the old beaten path of the last several centuries. Her men and women must unfold their life in all its departments and bring to the world the gift of their spiritual living. Then will they work not as individuals of a merely larger group like a nation, for whose welfare only they feel responsible, but their sympathies will extend to other nations also for their motto will be "above all is humanity". By their silent but effective work they will carry the message of peace, love and brotherhood to the world and restore to India her place as a spiritual mother of the world.

NOTES

Lord Morley on Detention without Trial.

Now that hundreds of men, deprived of liberty without trial, have been living as state prisoners in jails or detenus interned in villages, for years and as it is apprehended that detentions without regular trial may be made by legislation a permanent feature of the Indian administration, it may be of interest to know what Lord Morley thought of such repressive methods. In the present century these methods were resorted to in this country for the first time when he was Secretary of State and Lord Minto Viceroy of India.

A prefatory word or two seems necessary. A perusal of Viscount Morley's *Recollections* leaves the impression on the mind that he looked at and administered Indian affairs rather as a politician who considered what was expedient and what would not greatly offend members of parliament and enrage Anglo-Indians than as a statesman guided by Liberal or Radical political principles. We say this because the observations of Lord Morley on deportations may be, in the present temper of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy and non-officials, dismissed as the vapourings of a doctrinaire politician. But what

ever he may have been in other capacities, he was certainly not a doctrinaire as India's Secretary of State. A doctrinaire Radical would not have pronounced, as Lord Morley has done, the following eulogium on Lord Curzon's Indian administration. "The old system had never been worked with loftier and more beneficent purpose or with a more powerful arm than by the genius and indomitable labour of Lord Curzon."

Before we proceed to give some extracts, bearing on deportations and deportees, from the weekly letters addressed by Lord Morley to Lord Minto, as printed in the former's *Recollections*, we shall draw attention to some opinions of Lord Morley expressed in that work. He expresses "aversion" to "the quackery of the violence dissembling as love of the people." The executive and the police were well to bear this phrase in mind when they have to deal with crowds who make them pause before they can be bayoneted or shot. He also makes house-searches and confinement as state prisoners a frequent occurrence. It is usual to suspect "philosophical revolutionaries, and

tors" "pestilential." In one of the letters to the Viceroy occurs the following passage:-

• And here let me warn you that it is a lifelong way of mine not to be afraid of either of two words: "philanthropist" is one, and "agitator" is the other. Most of what is decently good in our curious world has been done by these two much-abused sets of folk.

The almost invariable bureaucratic practice in India is to back up the executive and the police, whether they be right or wrong. The author of the *Recollections* says:

Suppose the designs of the extreme men are as mischievous, impracticable and sinister as anybody pleases. Call them a band of plotters, agitators, what you will. Is that any reason why we should at every turn back up all executive authority through thick and thin, wise or silly, right or wrong? Surely that is the very way to play the agitator's game. Everybody warns us that a new spirit is growing and spreading over India; Lawrence, Chirol, Sidney Low, all sing the same song: "You cannot go on governing in the same spirit; you have got to deal with the Congress party and Congress principles, whatever you may think of them: be sure that before long the Mahometans will throw in their lot with Congressmen against you," and so forth and so forth. That is what they all cry out.

This was written in June, 1906. In a letter written in December next year, referring to what happened at the Surat Congress, he said: "it means, I suppose, the victory of Extremist over Moderate, going no further at this stage than the break-up of the Congress, but pointing to a future stage in which the Congress will have become an Extremist organisation." We may incidentally observe that "Moderate" and "Extremist" are relative terms. Those among us who are called Extremists are moderation itself compared with the Czecho-Slovaks and Poles whom the Allies have agreed to treat as independent belligerent nations. We are called extremists because though we wish to remain within the British Empire our very moderate demands are felt as an encroachment upon the preserve of the British bureaucrats and exploiters; and the Czecho-Slovaks and Poles are to be treated as independent belligerent nations because their insurrection and fighting are directed against the Austrians and the Germans.

On August 26, 1909, Lord Morley wrote to the Viceroy:

Your long extract from B— to you is really of great interest. It is surely as satisfactory as anything that we can expect in these turbid days. My diagnosis of the dangerous elements underground seems very just and sound. But he should certainly

be warned not to count on deportation as a weapon to be freely resorted to; and as for "legislating on the lines of the Irish Crimes Act," it is pure nonsense. He seems to refer to Forster's Act (not Balfour's of 1887), and that was about the most egregious failure in the whole history of exceptional law. If I know anything in the world, it is the record and working of Irish coercion since 1881, and the notion in the present parliamentary circumstances, and with me of all men in the universe as Secretary of State, of our being a party to a new law authorising "detention without trial" is really too absurd to be thought of. The venerable Regulation of 1818 is not easily swallowed, and a new version of it is a dream that a shrewd man like B— should be too wide awake to nurse in his head for a single minute. However, he evidently will not be in a hurry to stir for new engines of repression if he can possibly help it.

In another letter occurs the following passage;

The question is the Future. 'Tis like the Czar and the Duma. Are we to say, "you shall have reforms when you are quiet. Meanwhile we won't listen to a word you say. Our reform projects are hung up. Meanwhile plenty of courts-martial, *lettres de cachet*, and the other paraphernalia of law and order." People here who have been shouting against the Grand Dukes in Petersburg for bullying the Duma, will shout equally vociferously against you and me if we don't in our own sphere borrow the Grand Duke policy.

That deportation is inconsistent with radical principles Morley knew very well. Hence he wrote to the Viceroy:

Deportation is an ugly dose for Radicals to swallow; in truth if I did not happen to possess a spotless character as an anti-coercionist in Ireland, our friends would certainly have kicked a good deal. As it is, if a division is forced after my speech, we shall have against us the Irishmen, most if not all of the Labourmen, and a fair handful of our ordinary rank and file. This may put me personally into something of a whole; for I don't see how I could carry on, if I found myself opposed by a majority of our own party. However, we need not say good-morrow to the Devil until we meet him.

Morley freely expressed the opinion that some high officers of Government in India required to be placed under restraint. He wrote:

"And now, by the way, that we have got down the rusty word of 1818 [Act for deportation], I wish you would deport — and — [two officials]. What do you say? I should defend that operation with real verve."

At present also there are certain high officers of Government who require badly to be deported,—if only to England.

After the "villainy of the bombs, the revelations connected with the bombs," as Morley puts it, he wrote:

The ex-Anglo-Indian official, with plenty of time on his hands, and a horrible facility of penmanship, flies to the newspapers in most lively vociferation, above the familiar signatures of "Iniquis olim," "One

who knows," and so forth. They more sensible and more serious are the various orders of Money-Changers, who are interested in Indian loans of all kinds. That they should watch us with anxious eyes is in the natural order of things; and so it is that they should curse us for want of Vigour and all the other fine words in that specious vocabulary. Well, I'm as much for Vigour as they are, but I am not going to admit that Vigour is the same thing as Pogroms. When I read of the author (or printer) of a "seditious pamphlet" being punished with seven years of transportation, I feel restive. I have ordered that the pamphlet and proceedings shall be sent to me, and it may prove that I have been misinformed. I hope so. Then — is said to have sentenced some political offenders (so called) to be flogged. That, as I am advised, is not authorised by the law either as it stood, or as it will stand under flogging provisions as amended. Here also I have called for the papers, and we shall see. — said to me this morning, "You see, the great executive officers never like or trust lawyers." "I will tell you why," I said, "tis because they don't like or trust law: they in their hearts believe before all else the virtues of will and arbitrary power." That system may have worked in its own way in old days, and in those days the people may have had no particular objection to arbitrary rule. But, as you have said to me scores of times, the old days are gone and the new times breathe a new spirit; and we cannot carry on upon the old maxims. This is not to say that we are to watch the evil-doers with folded arms, waiting to see what the Devil will send us. You will tell me what you think is needed. I trust, and fully believe, that you will not judge me to be callous, sitting comfortably in an arm chair at Whitehall, while bombs are scattering violent death in India; while men like — are running risk of murder every hour for year after year upon the frontier; while all sorts and conditions of men and women are enveloped in possibilities of hideous horrors like those of fifty years ago. [How greatly exaggerated all this is. Ed., M.R.] All I can say is that we have to take every precaution that law and administration can supply us with; and then and meanwhile to face what comes, in the same spirit of energy and stoicism combined in which good generals face a prolonged and hazardous campaign.

The letter dated August 26, 1908, is very important, and must be quoted in full.

I am still loitering in Scotland, but every day's post brings me away to India, and even if the post failed, native activity of mind would suffice to carry me off in solitary and reflective hours to the same delectable region.

Having paid myself that handsome compliment, I at once hasten to balance it by a word or two on matters where I am dogged and impenetrable. You warn me against "disapproval at home of severe sentences," and you draw me a vivid picture of the electric atmosphere of the daily life around you, and of the dangerous inflammation of racial antipathies. Vivid — but I am sure not a single shade too vivid for the plain facts. I wish you would in your next letter tell me the end of the story of the young Corporal who in a fit of excitement shot the first Native he met. What happened to the Corporal? Was he put on his trial? Was he hanged? I cannot but hope our Cuzon for his famous affair with the 9th Lancers, so far as I have correctly heard the story. If we are not strong enough to prevent

Murder, then our pharisaic glorification of the stern justice of the British Raj is nonsense. And the fundamental question for you and me to-day, is whether the excited Corporal and the angry Planter are to be the arbiters of our policy. True, we should be fools to leave out of account the deep roots of feeling that the angry Planter represents and stands for. [We do not understand this. Editor, M. R.] On the other hand, is it not idle for us to pretend to the Natives that we wish to understand their sentiment, and satisfy the demands of "honest reformers," and the rest of our benignant folk, and yet silently acquiesce in all these violent sentences? You will say to me, "These legal proceedings are at bottom acts of war against rebels, and locking a rebel up for life is more affable and polite than blowing him from a gun: you must not measure such sentences by the ordinary standards of a law-court; they are the natural and proper penalties for Mutiny, and the Judge on the bench is really the Provost-Marshal in disguise." Well, be it so. But if you push me into a position of this sort — and I do not deny that it is a perfectly tenable position, if you like — then I drop reforms. I would not talk any more about the New Spirit of the Times, and I will tell Asquith that I am not the man for the work, and that what it needs, if he can put his hand on him, is a good, sound, old-fashioned Eldonian Secretary of State. Pray remember that there is to be a return of these sentences laid before Parliament. They will be discussed, and somebody will have to defend them. That somebody I won't be. Meanwhile, things will move, or may move, and we shall see where we stand when the time comes. —, writing to me by the last mail, says this: "If the situation took a turn for the worse, I wonder if you would support me in the deportation of two or three dangerous men?" etc. I have replied to this cool demand for a number of blank *lettres de cachet*, given under my hand, to be filled in at discretion, by saying that "no resort to this proceeding must be taken without previous reference to me, with a full statement of the case." I am writing this in Scotland away from official archives, but if my memory is right, I attached the same condition about deportation in regard to the G. of I. itself. *A fortiori*, to Bombay, Madras, or any other local Government. However, I fervently hope that things will not take a turn for the worse. Anyhow, it is silly to be in such a hurry to root out the tares as to pluck up half your wheat at the same time. If we have any claim to be men of large views, it is our duty not to yield without resistance to the passions and violences of a public that is apt to take narrow views. Clemency Canning was a great man after all.

The public impression in Bengal continues, in spite of the Rowlatt Committee's Report and Chandavarkar Committee's Memorandum, that the prevalent policy of detention and imprisonment without trial has resulted in rooting out more wheat than tares. If the Rowlatt Committee's recommendations are embodied in a permanent statute, then woe for the wheat! In recent years hundreds of men have been deprived of liberty without trial, but there was no Secretary of State like Viscount Morley to demand that "no resort to this

proceeding must be taken without previous reference to me, with a full statement of the case." We are also reminded in this connection with what he wrote on August 23, 1907, "I see that—says that this drastic power of muzzling an agitator will save the necessity of "urging deportation". He must have forgotten what I very explicitly told him, that I would not sanction deportation except for a man of whom there was solid reason to believe that violent disorder was the direct and deliberately planned result of his action.' How many persons have been imprisoned as state prisoners in recent years in full consonance with the ground stated above?

In a letter dated June 7, 1907, Morley says, 'since deportation began, I am often wounded in the house of my friends—"shelving the principles of a life time," "violently unsaying all that he has been saying for thirty or forty years," and other compliments of that species. This from men to whom I have been attached and with whom I have worked all the time!' The same letter contains a passage which enables us to understand why no voice has been raised in Parliament against the deprivation of hundreds of persons of liberty without trial, in what Morley calls the Austrian or Russian manner. Describing an interview with Ibbetson, ex-Satrap of the Panjab, Morley writes:—

"He agreed with me that if deportation is to be used, it ought to be a quick and unconditional stroke. But he thought deportation without condition or choice would do good. To this my reply was that if prosecution failed, then we could go forward to deportation with a clear conscience. [It can not be said of a single case of deportation that it was resorted to because prosecution failed. Ed., M.R.] The plain truth is that if there were any solid and substantial reason for believing India is drifting into a dangerous condition, and if that can be decently established, then—so far as opinion in Parliament and the country is concerned—we can do what we please."

Britishers are woefully ignorant of Indian affairs. It is quite easy for Anglo-Indian and other interested scare-mongers to tell Britishers that India is drifting into a dangerous condition, and that is not unoften done. When "British justice" disappears, and the case charged with the name of justice can do what we please, the remedy for the methods in India can be nothing but "the sense of justice"; the remedy

lies only and solely in complete self-government for India.

A passage from the letter dated May 27, 1909, is worth quoting.

"A pretty heavy gale is blowing up in the House of Commons about Deportation, and shows every sign of blowing harder as time goes, for new currents are showing. On the last fusillade of questions at the beginning of the week, a very clever Tory lawyer, F. B. Smith, a rising hope of his party, and not at all a bad fellow, joined the hunt, and some of the best of our own men are getting uneasy. The point taken is the failure to tell the deportee what he is arrested for; to detain him without letting him know exactly why; to give him no chance of clearing himself. In spite of your Indian environment; you can easily imagine how taking is such a line as that, to our honest Englishmen with their good traditions of legal right; and you will perceive the difficulty of sustaining a position so uncongenial to popular habits of mind, either Whig or Tory."

The letter dated August 12, 1909, contains the information that "Our own orthodox rank and file do not understand indefinite detention." A previous letter of that year dated May 5, informed the Viceroy that "some 150 members of Parliament have written to Asquith protesting against Deportation. Asquith will give them a judicious reply, but you will not be able to deport any more of your suspects—that is quite clear." In more recent years, no "pretty heavy gale," or even a light breeze, has blown up in the House of Commons about deportation, nor have any group of members of parliament protested against the detention of hundreds of suspects without trial, partly because of the pre-occupation of the war and partly because Britishers have grown callous and accustomed to Austrian and Russian methods. The same year 1909, on January 13, the Secretary of State wrote a letter to the Viceroy, which lays down principles which, if observed in recent times, would have prevented much injustice. We quote a paragraph.

One last word about the eternal subject of Deportation. I chanced to spy a sentence the other day in a letter of — (not to me) which ran as follows: "I have not the slightest doubt of his [Native's] very dangerous influence as an organizer, and of his sympathy with acts of violence." I confess that it alarms me that a capable man like him should suppose that the fact of his having no doubt of another man's sympathy with something constituted a shadow of a justification for locking him up, without charge or trial. You may take my word for it, dear Viceroy, that if we do not use this harsh weapon with the utmost care and scruple—always, where the material is dubious, giving the suspected man the benefit of the doubt—you may depend upon it; I say, that both you and I will be called to severe account, even

by the people who are now applauding us (quite rightly) for vigour. It is just some momentary slip in vigilance that has often upset applecarts and damaged political reputations, if reputations matter.

There are passages in the *Recollections* which go to show that Lord Morley sanctioned deportation only as a temporary and very exceptional measure, and that he did not like it. The following paragraph taken from a letter dated November 5, 1909, is one such :

I won't follow you into Deportation. You state our case with remarkable force, I admit. But then I comfort myself, in my disquiet at differing from you, by the reflection that perhaps the Spanish Viceroy in the Netherlands, the Austrian Viceroy in Venice, the Bourbon in the two Sicilies, and a Governor of two in the old American Colonies, used reasoning not wholly dissimilar and not much less forcible. Forgive this affronting parallel. It is only the sally of a man who is himself occasionally compared to Strafford, King John, King Charles, Nero, and Tiberius.

Another letter, dated January 27, 1910, is not less outspoken: We will quote the whole of the extract given in the *Recollections*.

This brings me to Deportees. The question between us two upon this matter may, if we don't take care, become what the Americans would call ugly. I won't repeat the general arguments about Deportation. I have fought against those here who regarded such a resort to the Regulation of 1818 as indefensible. So, *per contra*, I am ready just as stoutly to fight those who wish to make this arbitrary detention for indefinite periods a regular weapon of government. Now your present position is beginning to approach this. You have nine men locked up a year ago by *lettre de cachet*, because you expected their arrest to check these plots. For a certain time it looked as if the *coup* were effective, and were justified by the result. In all this, I think, we were perfectly right. Then you come by and by upon what you regard as a great anarchist conspiracy for sedition and murder, and you warn me that you may soon apply to me for sanction of further arbitrary arrest and detention on a large scale. I ask whether this process implies that through the nine *detenus* you have found out a murder-plot contrived, not by them, but by other people. You say, "We admit that being locked up they can have had no share in these new abominations; but their continued detention will frighten wildoers generally." That's the Russian argument: by packing off train-loads of suspects to Siberia we'll terrify the anarchists out of their wits and all will come out right. That policy did not work out brilliantly in Russia, and did not save the lives of the Trepoiffs, nor did it save Russia from a Duma, the very thing that the Trepoiffs and the rest of the "offs" deplored and detested.

On February 3 following Morley wrote :

"Your mention of Martial Law in your last private letter really makes my flesh creep. I have imagination enough and sympathy enough, thoroughly to realise the effect on men's minds of the present manifestation of the spirit of murder. But Martial

Law, which is only a fine name for the suspension of all law, would not snuff out murder-clubs in India, any more than the same sort of thing snuffed them out in Italy, Russia, or Ireland. The gang of Dublin invincibles was reorganised when Parnell and the rest were locked up and the Coercion Act in full blast."

We will conclude with an extract from the letter dated December 18, 1908.

"One thing I do beseech you to avoid—a single case of investigation in the absence of the accused. We may argue as much as we like about it, and there may be no substantial injustice in it, but it has an ugly continental, Austrian, Russian look about it, which will stir a good deal of doubt or wrath here, quite besides the Radical Ultras."

The British Government in India has, however, recently made so much progress towards Austrianism and Russianism that in all cases of detention without trial it has been made the invariable practice to investigate in the absence of the accused, and an ex-Judge and a Judge of the Bombay and Calcutta High Courts have brought forward specious arguments in support of this procedure. What is the next development?

Are Caste Electorates feasible and practicable in Bengal?

Caste electorates for the Hindus are demanded not by the Hindu castes themselves but by the Europeans of Bengal. The Europeans and Eurasians are numerically very small, and are each divided into more than a dozen castes which they call denominations, as the following table will shew :—

Denomination	Europeans	Eurasians
Roman Catholics	5,300	12,100
Anglicans	14,300	7,700
Armenians	700	0
Baptists	600	500
Congregationalists	100	100
Greeks	200	0
Lutherans	200	0
Methodists	500	400
Presbyterians, etc.	2,700	900

Europeans include Germans, Austrians, Bulgarians and Russians.

If caste electorates must be introduced upon the Hindus against their will, they should not denominational electorates be accepted by the Europeans? The suggestion has produced separate priests and grounds, etc. It is a caste which have the burning ground. Hindus. Nor can it

the Hindu castes do not intermarry; Europeans and Eurasians of all denominations do as a rule freely intermarry.

Caste electorates are impracticable for the Hindus, because most of the castes are numerically so small as not to be entitled to an entire member. If 50 elected members be thrown open to eighteen millions of Hindus living in rural Bengal, a caste ought to be 400,000 strong in order to deserve one full member. So all castes which number less than 400,000 people must remain unenfranchised. If two or more castes be clubbed together to make up 400,000 people and become entitled to an entire member, the very object with which separate caste electorates are advocated in the place of a general electoral roll on the basis of territorial units, will be defeated.

Caste electorates are impracticable in Bengal for the prime reason that every caste is scattered over nearly all the Districts of the Bengal presidency. We shall take the case of the Namasudras, of whom so much political capital has been sought to be made by the Europeans of Calcutta. They number about 1,960,000 people and are scattered over all Districts of Bengal, excepting Chittagong Hills, and more than 5,000 are to be found in 20 districts. They cannot be brought together to polling stations without dragging them far away from their homes and encouraging false personation.

SRINATH DUTT.

Professor Newman on India's Destiny.

The following extracts from Prof. F. W. Newman's *Memoirs* will be found interesting:

"It is rare indeed that an Englishman looks at India as Francis Newman looked at it fifty years ago—probably longer—he put his finger on exactly the spot which today is the crux which most puzzles and baffles politicians. In social and intellectual questions his were the clear-sighted, far-focussed eyes that reached beyond the measures of most men's minds. He saw clearly, fifty years ago, that India was drawing ever closer and closer to an inevitable terminus. That she was beginning to recognise, every year more definitely, her ultimate destination—was beginning to realise, too, that her foreign rulers were aware also of that terminus, but were not very anxious that she should reach it. Nay, were practising rather jogging her elbow to prevent her becoming conscious of the direction in which the tide of things was drifting.

Nevertheless it is becoming more and more clear to every one who really studies the question that things are not what they were fifty years ago: that a critical juncture is drawing

ever nearer and nearer—a juncture which inevitably will mean great changes for the governed and the governors.

"Even the slow-moving East does move appreciably in half a century, when centres of education are doing their best to train Indians in European ideas of civilisation, in European ideas of government, and of the authority which learning gives. We cannot expect to educate and yet leave those we educate exactly where we find them; for with education comes invariably, inevitably, the growth of ideas planted by it,—their growth, and no less invariable fruition. To show someone all that is to be gained by reaching forward, and then to expect him not to reach, but to remain quiescent, is the act of a fool.

".....It is true that we have done much—very much for India.....we have lifted her up—yes, but here is where the mental shoe pinches—we have insisted on preventing her from reaching her full stature. We have trained her sons to be able to work side by side with ourselves in various official duties; and then when they are desirous—as is indeed only the inevitable consequence of their education—of entering the lists side by side with Englishmen, they find there is no crossing the rubicon which officially divides the two nations.....

"Whenever the question of co-operation and sympathy comes up, as from time to time it does, between Englishmen and Indians, whether it is fifty or sixty years ago, in Newman's day, or now in the year of grace 1909, with a few honourable exceptions, the answer is identically the same. It is practically an unknown quantity. The East and West have not really met. Still the ranks of the service are absorbed by Englishmen; still, as all educated Indians protest, the "true centre of gravity for India is in London"; still India is unrepresented in...Customs, Post, Survey, Telegraph, Excise, &c., and also in the commissioned ranks of the Army; still, because district administration is to all intents and purposes not in existence, there is no compulsory education for boys and girls, though most educated Indians are very strongly in favour of it."—*Memoir and Letters of Francis W. Newman*: by I. Giberne Sieveking. London, Kegan Paul, 1909, Chap. XVI.

The Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

In continuation of what has been written on this subject in the February number of this review, the following will be found interesting. At the head of chapter XV of *Empire in Asia: How we came by it: A Book of Confessions* by W. M. Torrens, M. P. (Dubner and Co; 1872), the following is quoted from Lord Cornwallis' Minute on Land Settlement, dated 10th February, 1790:

"Bengal is one of the most fertile countries on the face of the globe. . . Its real value to us depends upon the continuance of its ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe, to give considerable assistance to the treasury at Calcutta, and to supply the pressing and extensive wants of the other presidencies. The consequences of the heavy drain of wealth from the above causes, with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittance of private fortunes, have been for many years past, and are now severely felt by the great diminution of the current specie, and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon

the cultivation and the general commerce of the country. A very material alteration in the principles of our system of management has therefore become indispensably necessary, in order to restore the country to a state of prosperity, and to enable it to continue to be a solid support to British interests and power in this part of the world."

Mr. Torrens comments on the above as follows :

"That the primary sentiment which influenced the framing of the Bengal Settlement was not the prosperity of the country, is clearly indicated by the passage quoted at the head of this chapter from the elaborate minute drawn up by the Governor-General. Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, the first of which provinces had, under native rule, been designated as 'the paradise of nations,' were only valuable as they were able to supply the holders of India stock with large dividends, to support an expensive government, backed by an army of occupation, and to recoup a treasury exhausted by wanton and wasteful wars elsewhere. Maladministration by encroaching power had sapped the financial resources of the country, and damaged the whole machinery of revenue."

As for the moderation or otherwise of the assessment, the following is the opinion of Torrens :

"The permanent land assessment of the Bengal provinces was ten-elevenths of the assumed rental, a calculation only based on a mere rough and ready valuation, that was presumed to fall considerably short of the actual rental and value, though how far no care was taken to ascertain. *Such a charge upon a bonafide value would have been indeed ruinous and preposterous* (italics ours) ; but the real value of the land was two or three times greater than the nominal one for assessment."

The valuation, for the purposes of the assessment, was commenced in 1787, and completed in 1789, and Mr. Holt Mackenzie in his report said :

"Our settlements were made in haste, on general surmises ; on accounts never believed to be accurate, and never brought to any clear test of accuracy ; on the offers of speculators and the bidding of rivals ; on the suggestions of enemies ; on the statements of candidates for employment, seeking credit with the Government by discoveries against the people (italics ours) ; on information of all kinds, generally worthless....."

The valuation might under such circumstances be inaccurate, but it was hardly likely to err on the side of leniency towards the assesses. Mr. Sidney Low, in his book, *A Vision of India* (ch. xxii), says that by the Permanent Settlement Indian zemindars were given all the rights of English landlords with regard to the land, but that "in the rest of India, the mistakes of the eighteenth century legislators, hidebound in the traditions of English real-property law, were avoided." It will thus appear that the status of Indian zemindars in the permanently set-

tled districts is not different from that of English landlords.

The following opinions also on the permanent settlement of Bengal will be found interesting :—

"They [the landlords] are made to feel in a score of ways that their presence is an offence to a Government which exists for the 'protection of the people,' and so they are subjected to all sorts of imposts and restraints. They are forced to give terms and conditions to their tenants which the Government steadily refuses to those ryots who hold land direct from itself. Government officials tell of the exactions which the zemindars take from the ryots, and how but for the intervention of the Government they would make the lot of the peasant unendurable ; and yet, strange as it may seem, I did not meet a single case of a cultivating ryot, and I met hundreds of them, who did not prefer to hold his land from a zemindar rather than hold it direct from the sircar. There is a human element present in the one case which is wholly absent in the other." (Keir Hardie, *India*, p. 94).

"An enormously wealthy class (?) of zemindars has been created, and the custom of official bleeding by offering them C.I.E.'s and other decorations for subscriptions to the hobbies of collectors and Lieutenant-Governors has grown up as a substitute for the more direct way of obtaining public revenue by a land assessment." (Ramsay Macdonald, *Awakening of India*, Pop. Ed., p. 98).

The gradual extension of the Government Khas Mehals is also encroaching on the permanently settled tracts.

Seeking the Gratitude of Foreign Rulers, and Patriotism.

The Indian Daily News writes :

Says the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.—"It is a historical fact that it was with the help of the Bengalees that the early English settlers made themselves masters of Bengal and Behar." Were we a Bengali, we should be ashamed to boast of the fact—if it is a fact.

Exactly. But did the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* "boast of the fact" ? Perhaps the *Patrika* wanted to excite the gratitude of the foreign rulers of the country. But even for that purpose one would shrink from mentioning such a "fact". It is immaterial for our present purpose to discuss whether it is a fact.

Ideal Governors for Ireland and for India

Lord Morley writes in his *Recollections*, Vol. II, p. 232, "I have often told you of my wicked thought that Strafford was an ideal type, both for governor of Ireland in the seventeenth century, and governor of India in the twentieth. Only they cut off Strafford's head, and his government has been in mighty peril ever since.If a man's har-

for riot? Have they not police enough? If not police, what then has become of the "obligatory garrison"?

Freedom and Subjection.

There are many civilised countries, including the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in which, many newspapers write recklessly, with an utter disregard for truth; they write violently, sometimes inciting men to use force; they write in such a way as to set class against class; they attack the government of their country virulently. But there are no press laws there like those existing in India. The plain and main reason of this difference is that India is looked upon and governed as a subject country, with the intention that it should be so governed as long as possible. What an Englishman in power would tolerate if it came from a British editor "at home" or in India, would enervate him coming from an Indian editor.

We do not plead that editors should be chartered libertines. What is wanted is that only when they are thought to have actually offended, they should be openly tried and punished or acquitted.

The beauty of our press laws is that even before a man has offended or thought of offending, he may be, as many have been, called upon to deposit some money as security for good behaviour. What still further heightens this beauty is that this is done solely at the sweet will of the executive. The man who is imagined to be a would-be culprit is given no hearing. No doubt, editors are mightily pleased and their self-respect is immensely increased when they find themselves thus classed with the criminal dregs of society. Another beautiful feature of our press laws is that when a printer removes his business to a new address, or when the place of publication of a newspaper is changed, the printer or the publisher is liable to deposit a sum of money as security. Many printers and publishers have had to do this. The most beautiful feature of the press laws is that when the money deposited as security has been forfeited to Government, a nominal remedy lies in an appeal to the High Court, but not one of the few appeals hitherto made at very heavy expense has been successful. The illusory character of this remedy was thoroughly exposed by Justice Jenkins, late Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, in the *Comrade*

case. So the press laws have made the irresponsible will of the executive supreme.

Printers, publishers and editors should be treated just like other men. They should be free to pursue their respective avocations so long as they do not offend. But if Government must needs discriminate against them, they should have a hearing, with the further right of appeal, whenever security is demanded, increased, or forfeited. This is the least that can be tolerated.

Indians are not a more criminal or turbulent people than the inhabitants of other civilised countries where there is no Arms Act like that which exists here. In these civilised countries there occasionally occur rebellions, riots, armed robberies, murders, &c.; but the people are not permanently disarmed, as Indians practically have been. The cause of this difference is to be sought in our subjection. All other causes alleged are mere cant. In our disarmed condition we suffer both from lawless men and wild animals. It is imaginable that by making the arms laws very stringent and by extraordinary watch kept over manufacturers of arms in India and on their imports, both law-abiding and law-breaking men may be kept deprived of arms, though this has not yet been found practicable. But wild animals have natural weapons of which they cannot be deprived; they can only be exterminated,—of which there is no sign yet. So we must continue to run the risk of falling a prey to wild men and wild animals. Men unaccustomed to self-defence and conscious of a feeling of helplessness cannot but grow timid. This is emasculation. As Europeans and Eurasians can and do have arms freely, the juxtaposition of armed and disarmed sections of the population makes the former arrogant, violent and reckless and the latter unmanly and timid. The remedy does not lie in requiring both sections of the people to take out licenses before being able to purchase arms. For that would simply be a nominal equality. Magistrates would freely grant licenses to Europeans and Eurasians, and refuse them almost as freely to Indians. Nor is this a mere assumption. The press laws are meant both for Indian-owned and British-owned newspapers, but has a single British-owned paper suffered, in spite of the rabid writings of many of them, as against the hundreds of Indian-owned papers which have suffer-

ed. or been handicapped? The real remedy has often been suggested by the Congress and the Moslem League. It will also naturally suggest itself to the highest servants of the crown when by granting internal autonomy to India they are able to slake off the suspicion that the first use of arms which the people would make would be to rebel against the British Government.

The Pioneer has given currency to the rumour that the Government of India would soon place before the Imperial Council a Bill drafted on the lines of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee. There is no doubt that Government are in a position to pass such a Bill. There is even every probability that the majority of nominated and elected Indian members would vote for it,—whether from reasoned and honest conviction, or from lack of real statesmanship, or from absence of the requisite degree of love of civic liberty, or from nervousness, we cannot say. Our clear opinion is that such a Bill is not only not required, but that its results would be harmful. Where the real remedy is citizenship, masterful men are disposed to find a substitute in Coercion. Coercion and Crimes Acts have failed in Italy, Russia, Ireland, &c. But the Anglo-Indian bureaucrat believes that as India is a peculiar country and as Indian nature is different from human nature elsewhere, "lawless laws" are bound to succeed here. However, supposing that success is attained, the question would be, at what cost?

Morley, as quoted before, speaks of the risk of plucking up the tares and the wheat indiscriminately. The risk is very real. But Anglo-Indian bureaucrats can afford to take the risk with a light heart, because the human wheat plucked up would not be any of them. But curses have a curious way of coming home to roost.

One of the serious problems for statesmanship to solve is how to repress crime and at the same time to keep up and foster the civic spirit. In free countries, nothing is done, except temporarily, which is likely to impair the civic spirit. Therefore statesmen in free countries have found successful remedies for increasing turbulence and crime in widening the bounds of freedom, as the previous and subsequent history of the many Reform Acts in Great Britain show. But in subject countries the pre-occupation of the rulers

is, not how to keep up and foster the spirit of citizenship, but how to keep the people in subjection, miscalled maintaining order. Therefore repression looms larger in their eyes than measures for enfranchising the people. A compromise in the shape of Coercion-cum-Conciliation also occasionally suggests itself to them. It was tried during the Morley-Minto regime, but with what consequences? Repression is thought of as a main weapon only because the rulers have not either the heart or the courage or the faith in human nature or the statesmanship to make the Reforms adequate. The futility of a small dose of Reform plus a big dose of Repression is patent to all students of history and of human nature.

In Ireland there have been during the war greater rebellions and conspiracies than in India. There are also no Arms Act and press laws in Ireland. But nevertheless no Rowlatt Committee have sat there to suggest "lawless laws" as a permanent feature of the laws of the land. The Defence of the Realm Act is not to have a permanent place in the British or the Irish statute book, but the Defence of India Act may have such a place in the Indian statute book. What is the reason? The reason is to be found in the almost complete freedom of Ireland and the almost complete subjection of India.

The arguments for repressive laws are hard to meet. If they fail, it is urged that they would succeed if made more drastic and stringent, and so should they be made. If they succeed, it is argued that they should be perpetuated, as, if they were abolished, crime would again raise its head.

Extermination of Mr. P. J. Mehta.

Mr. P. J. Mehta is a wealthy and public-spirited citizen (or should we not say "subject"?) of Rangoon. He is the secretary of the Burma Provincial Congress Committee. His importance in the public life of the province was recognised by Sir Harcourt Butler by his nomination to sit on two committees to deal with vaccination and with the grievances of deck passengers to Burma. He is an anti-vaccinationist. But that is neither sedition nor rebellion. He wrote a dissenting minute to the report of the deck passengers' grievance committee. But that is a thoroughly constitutional act. He stood up for Mr. M. K. Gandhi against

unjust criticisms of Sir Reginald Craddock. But Mr. M. K. Gandhi is not an outlaw. Mr. Mehta has formed a social service league. But that also is thoroughly constitutional. All his activities have been above board, open and constitutional. Wherein, then, lay his offence that he should have been ordered to be externed within 24 hours,—and that, too, at a time when he lay in a precarious condition in hospital after undergoing a serious operation? Sir Reginald Craddock ought to tell the public why he has passed such an order. The Defence of India Act has given him the power to do what he likes. But it has given him no power to compel people to believe that whatever he does is just and necessary. Public opinion cannot be coerced or controlled; it cannot even be influenced in his favour unless he condescends to give reasons. And in the long run public opinion is a power even in India and Burma.

He has stopped the circulation of some Indian papers in his province, as Sir M. O'Dwyer has in the Panjab. But these are confessions of failure to govern in an enlightened manner. Criticisms which are allowed to be circulated in other provinces may have been prevented from circulating in the Panjab and Burma, either because the governors of these two provinces are more autocratic and touchy than the governors of the other provinces, or because the administrations of these two offer more points of criticism than those of others. Another reason has been assigned as regards the Panjab, viz., that the nature or the education or the want of education of the Panjabi is such that criticism which is innocuous elsewhere would be productive of dangerous consequences there. Panjabis have rightly repudiated this untrue suggestion. But were it true, it would only mean that the Panjab Government had not been able to educate and make the Panjabis reasonable as the other provincial governments had done with regard to their charges. Should a similar argument be adduced in support of the Burma Government, the reply would be similar to the above. For the nature of the Panjabi and the Burman is fundamentally the same as that of other men.

The order of externment passed on Mr. Mehta shows the dangers of perpetuating the provisions of the Defence of India Act. A public-spirited man may be subject-

ed to civil death by means of such an Act. The dangerous and arbitrary character of these provisions have also been conspicuously brought out by the conviction and imprisonment of four members of the social service league at Rangoon who are alleged to have told some coolies to stick out for higher wages than they had been getting. The ground of the conviction is said to be that these four gentlemen were by their action obstructing the prosecution of the war. But in Great Britain and the Dominions there have been, during the war, numerous strikes for higher wages, including one of London Policemen; but those who stuck out for higher wages only got better terms, not imprisonment; nor were their advisers and advocates in the press and on the platform brought to trial and deprived of liberty. So what is not an offence in a free country is a crime in a subject country.

The retrograde, dangerous and barbarising tendency of permanent repressive laws can be understood by members of legislative bodies, if they have sufficient statesmanship, sufficient love of civic freedom, and sufficient imagination to realise the miseries and moral and material loss of those who undeservedly suffer from such laws. But probably many legislators do not believe that any persons have suffered unjustly. Were we of that opinion, we would still object in theory to the punishment of men without due trial, on account of the greater probability of innocent men suffering therefrom than if the usual judicial procedure were followed.

No one should wish that the real character of laws on the lines of the recommendations of the Rowlatt Committee should be brought home to our legislators by the undeserved internment or deportation of some of their near and dear ones. But there may be some among them to whom a pin-prick applied to their bodies is a greater grievance than sword-cuts on others' limbs. If such there be, may they be blessed with gifts of greater sympathy and imagination!

Supersession of two Municipalities in Bengal.

The commissioners of the Burdwan and the Hughly-Chinsura Municipalities have been superseded by the Bengal Government for one year. The orders of the Government in the two cases are quoted below.

BURDWAN.

5. After the most careful consideration, the Government of Bengal have come to the conclusion that the maladministration of the Burdwan Municipality is a grave public scandal which cannot be allowed to continue. It has been clearly demonstrated that the Municipal Commissioners have abused their powers and proved themselves incompetent to conduct the administration of the Municipality; and, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, it is only by their supersession, in exercise of the special powers of control vested in Government, that the administration can be reformed and the interests of the rate-payers safeguarded. The Governor in Council is, therefore, constrained to declare by this order, issued under section 65 of the Bengal Municipal Act, that the Commissioners of the Burdwan Municipality are incompetent to perform their duties and have abused their powers, and he directs that they be superseded for a period of one year with effect from the date of the publication of this Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette*. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 66 of the Act, the Governor in Council further directs that all the powers and duties of the Commissioners shall, during the period of supersession, be exercised and performed by the District Magistrate of Burdwan.

HOOGHLY-CHINSURA.

16. After the most careful consideration, the Government of Bengal have come to the conclusion that the Municipal Commissioners have persistently made default in the performance of their duties and have proved themselves incompetent to conduct the administration of the Municipality. They have been treated for years past with great patience, but have deliberately neglected the warnings and instruction given to them; and the Governor in Council is reluctantly forced to decide that temporary supersession is necessary in the interests of the rate-payers themselves.

In these circumstances, the Governor in Council declares by this order issued under section 65 of the Bengal Municipal Act, that the Commissioners of the Hooghly-Chinsura Municipality are incompetent to perform and persistently make default in the performance of their duties, and he directs that they be superseded for the period of one year with effect from the date of the publication of this Resolution in the *Calcutta Gazette*. In exercise of the powers conferred by section 66 of the Act, the Governor further directs that all the powers and duties of the Commissioners shall, during the period of supersession, be exercised and performed by the District Magistrate of Hooghly for the time being.

As we are not aware of what the commissioners of these municipalities have to say in self-defence, we are unable to consider the charges preferred against them. If they have a case, they ought to publish a statement signed by all of them in reply to the Government Resolutions.

There is an impression abroad that, like the publication of the Rowlatt Committee's report at the present juncture, these Resolutions superseding municipalities are part of a bureaucratic campaign against the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform

Scheme, their object being to show that as Bengalis are unfit to manage their local affairs even in such advanced districts as Burdwan and Hooghly, it would be unwise and premature to entrust them with larger powers of self-government. It has been also surmised that if Sir S. P. Sinha had been in charge of the local self-government portfolio instead of the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan, the supersession of these municipalities would not have taken place. We cannot say how much of truth there may be in such suppositions.

From the Government Resolutions it would appear that the affairs of Burdwan had been more grossly mismanaged than those of Hooghly-Chinsura.

Though for want of information we are unable to examine the charges against these municipalities, we may say that taking them to be true, less drastic remedies than supersession ought to have been tried. For instance, official chairmen and secretaries might have been appointed. If it were thought that official chairmen and secretaries could not bring about a change for the better in the administration of the two municipalities with the co-operation of or in spite of the obstruction of the present body of commissioners, Government could have ordered a fresh election of commissioners, disqualifying the present ones for re-election.

As indicated above, we are unable either to defend or to condemn these municipalities outright. But that out of more than a hundred municipalities in Bengal these two have been singled out for supersession, would go to show that these had been less efficiently worked than the others. Their fate ought to be a warning to others. And when municipal government is restored after a year to these towns, the rate-payers ought to be more careful in the selection of commissioners and in keeping them up to the work.

Taking it for granted that they have failed to do their duties, wrong conclusions ought not to be drawn from such failure. It ought not to be concluded either by our own countrymen or by outsiders that Bengalis are unfit to manage municipal affairs. In the vast majority of municipalities they have succeeded tolerably well. But even if there had been failure in the majority of municipalities that would not prove any inherent incapacity. Lord Durham's Report states

Canada, now the foremost of the self-governing British Dominions, on the eve of her obtaining self-government,

"In the rural districts habits of self-government were almost unknown and education is so scantily diffused as to render it difficult to procure a sufficient number of persons competent to administer the functions that would be created by a general scheme of popular local control."

Who would have thought at that time that self-government would ever be successful in Canada? The Filipinos have received fully responsible self-government within 18 years of the American occupation of their country. But only 11 years ago, Governor General Smith in his message of October 16, 1907, to the inaugural session of the Philippine Legislature summed up conditions as follows:

"In many of the municipalities the expenditures of public money have been unwise, not to say wasteful. In 88 municipalities out of 685 the entire revenue was expended for salaries and not a single cent was devoted to public betterments or improvements....."

"Two hundred and twenty-six municipalities spent on public works less than 10 per cent. Such a condition of affairs is to be deplored, and the commission was obliged to pass a law within the last few months prohibiting municipalities from spending for salaries more than a fixed percentage of their revenues."

Redlich and Hirst's book on *Local Government in England* contains extracts from the report of a parliamentary commission, dated 1835, regarding the municipalities and boroughs of that period, from which a few sentences may be quoted:

"In general the corporate funds are but partially applied to municipal purposes, such as the preservation of the peace by an efficient police, or in watching or lighting the town, &c.; but they are frequently expended in feasting, and in paying salaries of unimportant officers. In some cases, in which the funds are expended on public purposes, such as building public works, or other objects of local improvement, an expense has been incurred much beyond what would be necessary if due care had been taken."

The same book states that the parliamentary commission referred to above reported in 1835 regarding local bodies that "revenues that ought to be applied for the public advantage are diverted from their legitimate use and are sometimes wastefully bestowed for the benefit of individuals, sometimes squandered for purposes injurious to the character and morals of the people." Such a deplorable state of things could not prevent local government from flourishing in England in the course of time.

Frequently it has been officially stated that District Magistrates are

terribly overworked, and that is also one of the main grounds on which the partition of districts has been advocated and carried out. It is, therefore, curious to find the overburdened District Magistrates of Burdwan and Hooghly entrusted with the working of two of the biggest municipalities in Bengal. Could not a better way be found? Is it certain that, because the Bengal Government are not likely to find fault with the work of their own Magistrates, therefore municipal work is sure to be carried on by them efficiently?

Presidentship of the coming Congress.

Mr. B. G. Tilak, who was elected to preside over the coming Delhi Session of the Congress, having left for England and signified his inability to accept the office, it has become necessary to choose another president. We think in the circumstances Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is the fittest man to preside. We hope he will be unanimously elected.

The Reform Committees.

Government have appointed the two committees to consider and report on the question of electorates and the franchise and the question of dividing "subjects" into "reserved" and "transferred." Self-determination required that the people of India should appoint the committees; it required that the committees should consist entirely of Indians elected by their countrymen; it required that, as the next best thing, the majority of members should be elected Indians; it required that in any case Indians, however or by whomsoever chosen, should form the majority; it required that whether Indians were in a majority or in a minority, they should represent the main shades of constitutional political opinion in the country. The nominations do not satisfy any of these requirements. Therefore so far as India is concerned, self-determination is a word which may be taken as not uttered by any British or Allied statesman. Reuter ought not to have cabled this myth out to India.

So far as Musalmans are concerned, the Moslem League represents the articulate Muhammadan political opinion of India. There has not been any secession from the Moslem League as there has been from the Congress. But Government have not appointed any Musalman who represents the views of the Moslem League. The

Musalman, which is we believe the only existing English organ of Indian Musalmans, writes thus about the two Muhammadan members of the two committees :

"Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was never a politician and he himself acknowledged when he left India, on his appointment to the India Office, that politics was a thing in which he was more or less a novice. Moreover, the Muslims think that the political views of the gentleman, if any, are not in consonance with those of the community."

"Khan Bahadur Moulvi Rahim Baksh presided at the Rawalpindi session of the All-India Mohamedan Educational Conference and this was the first time that we came to know of him. If a person is not widely known, that does not however disqualify him for membership of a responsible committee. So far as we are aware, Moulvi Rahim Baksh's politics also is not of the right sort. He does not share the views of the progressive section of his community and accordingly the latter has scarcely any confidence in him."

The Hindu members belong to the group of politicians who have seceded from the Congress. As the Congress includes both Home Rulers and a considerable body of Moderates, and as the seceders consist only of the remaining Moderates, the Congress may be justly presumed to represent the majority of educated and politically-minded Indians. And it is this class of Indians, represented by the Congress, which Government have entirely ignored.

For all these reasons the constitution of the committees must be pronounced unsatisfactory. Practically they are packed committees.

We cannot say whether the Indian members will or will not act with the welfare of India as their only object in view. There is no positive evidence to show that they will be swayed by personal considerations. But at the same time one need not assume that they all will be or have been able to resist official blandishments. It is best to hold judgment in suspense.

President Wilson's September Speech.

The speech delivered by President Wilson in the last week of September, on the eve of the opening of the United States fourth Liberty Loan, was a most momentous one. We give below a few extracts from it.

The issues at these—Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of the peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force? Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purposes and interests? Shall the people be ruled and dominated even in their

own internal affairs by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice? Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress? Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it and they must be settled by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with the full unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest. This is what we mean when we speak of permanent peace, if we speak sincerely and intelligently and with the real knowledge and comprehension of the matter we deal with.

India is keenly interested in the answer which the British cabinet may give to these questions asked by Dr. Wilson. He clearly expressed the opinion that there must not be any compromise with avowed principles.

It is of capital importance that we should also be explicitly agreed that, no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. There should exist no doubt about that. I am, therefore, going to take the liberty of speaking with the utmost frankness about the tactical complications that are involved in it. If it be indeed and in truth the common object of the Governments associated against Germany and of the nations whom they govern, as I believe it to be, to achieve by coming settlements a secure and lasting peace, it will be necessary that all who sit down at the peace table shall come ready and willing to pay the price, the only price that will procure it, and ready and willing also, to create in some virile fashion the only instrumentality whereby it can be made certain that the agreements of peace will be honoured and fulfilled.

That price is impartial justice in every item of settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed, and not only impartial justice, but also satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is the League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, whereby the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part on the word of outlaws and only upon that word.

The essentials of peace were stated by Dr. Willson authoritatively as representing the U. S. Government's interpretation of its own duty with regard to peace, as follows :

Firstly, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays favourites and knows no standards, but the rights of the several peoples concerned.

Secondly, no separate or special interest of single nation or any group of nations can be the basis of any part of the settlement not consistent with the common interest of

Thirdly, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

Fourthly, and more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as a power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

Fifthly, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of passions that produce war. It would be an insincere, as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite binding terms.

The president of the United States explained very frankly and clearly why he felt it necessary to restate American war aims and to describe again the essentials of peace.

I have made this analysis of the international situation, which the war has created, not, of course, because I doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom we are associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose, but because the air every now and again gets darkened by mists and groundless doubting and mischievous perversions of counsel and it is necessary once and again to sweep all irresponsible talk about peace intrigues, weakening of morale and doubtful purpose on the part of those in authority utterly and, if need be, unceremoniously aside and say things in the plainest words that can be found even when it is only to say over again what has been said before quite as plainly, if in less varnished terms.

As I have said, neither I nor any other man in Governmental authority created or gave form to the issues of this war. I have simply responded to them with such vision as I could command, but I have responded gladly and with the resolution that has grown warm and more confident as the issues have grown clearer and clearer. It is now plain that they are issues which no man can prevent unless it be wilfully. I am bound to fight for them and fight for them as time and circumstances have revealed them to me as irresistible as they stand out in more and more vivid, unmistakeable outline and the forces that fight for them draw into closer and closer array and organise their millions into more and more unconquerable might, as they become more and more distinct to the thought and purpose of peoples engaged.

It is the peculiarity of this great war that while statesmen have seemed to cast about for definitions of their purpose and have sometimes seemed to shift their ground and their point of view, the thought of the mass of men, whom the statesmen are supposed to instruct and lead, has grown more and more unclouded and more and more certain of what it is that they are fighting for. National purposes have fallen more and more into the background and the common purpose of enlightened peoples has taken their place.

Counsels of plain men have become on all hands more and more straightforward and more unified. Counsels of sophisticated men of affairs, who

still retain the impression that they are playing the game of power and playing for high stakes. That is why I have said that this is a people's war, not a statesmen's. Statesmen must follow the clarified common thought or be broken.

I make that to be the significance of the fact that assemblies and associations of many kinds made up of plain workaday people have demanded, almost every time they have come together, and are still demanding, that the leaders of their Governments shall declare to them plainly what it is exactly and what it is not that they are seeking in this war and what they think the items of their final settlement should be.

They are not yet satisfied with what they have been told. They still seem to fear that they are getting what they ask for only in statesmen's terms—only in the terms of territorial arrangements and discussions of power and not in terms of broad- visioned justice and mercy and peace and satisfaction of those deep-seated longings of oppressed and distracted men and women and enslaved peoples, that seem to them the only things worth fighting a war for, that engulfs the world.

Perhaps, statesmen have not always recognised this aspect of the whole world of policy and action. Perhaps, they have not always spoken in direct reply to the question asked, because they did not know how searching these questions were and what sort of answers they demanded. But I for one am glad to attempt the answer again and again in the hope that I may make it clearer and clearer, that my one thought is to satisfy those who struggle in the ranks and are, perhaps, above all others, entitled to a reply, the meaning of which no one can have any excuse for misunderstanding, if he understands the language in which it is spoken or can get someone to translate it correctly into his own. And I believe that the leaders of Governments with which we are associated, will speak as they have occasion as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose, with regard to the means by which a highly satisfactory settlement of these issues may be obtained.

President Wilson said that he made this analysis of the international situation not because he doubted whether the leaders of the great nations and peoples with whom the American people were associated were of the same mind and entertained a like purpose. This was said quite like a faithful and generous ally. And this ought, therefore, to have been responded to in a fitting manner by the leaders of the British and other allied nations. But Reuter has not cabled to us either the views of the British press or the views of the British ministers and other statesmen on Dr. Wilson's speech. This is significant for two reasons: on other occasions Reuter invariably cables out the opinions of the British press whenever a British statesman or allied statesman makes an important speech; the second reason is that Anglo-Indian papers like the *Englishman*

have openly written against Dr. Wilson's speech. It is also significant that no British minister has yet acted up to the suggestion of the American president contained in the following sentences of his speech :

"And I believe that the leaders of Governments with which we are associated, will speak as they have occasion as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope that they will feel free to say whether they think I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose, with regard to the means by which a highly satisfactory settlement of these issues may be obtained."

"Union for Freedom."

The Review of Reviews for May contained the following paragraph :

An important Congress of the representatives of the subject races of Austria took place last month in Rome. The Congress lasted two days, and had the support of many leading Italian politicians, foremost amongst them being Signor Bissolati. England, France and America were represented by Mr. Wickham Steed, M. Franklin Bouillon and Mr. Nelson Gay. An important resolution was passed unanimously, setting forth the views of the oppressed nationalities in opposition to the Germano-Magyar hegemony and recording the following significant agreements between the Italian and Jugo-Slav representatives :-

"1. That the unity and independence of the Jugo-Slav nation is recognised as of vital interest to the Italian nation; and reciprocally.

"2. That the liberation of the Adriatic Sea and its defence against all present and future enemies is of vital interest for both nations.

"3. That territorial controversies shall be settled in a friendly manner on the basis of the principle of nationality, and in such a way to be defined at the conclusion of peace as not to injure the vital interests of the two nations."

The Polish representatives added a declaration asserting that they considered Germany to be the principal enemy of Poland; that the Poles see in the movement of the people for freedom against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy one of the principal conditions of their independence from Germany.

The insurgent Czecho-Slovaks and Poles have since been recognised by the British and their allies as independent belligerent nations. This is undoubtedly right. But if Rome, where the representatives of the subject races of Austria met, were situated in a country in alliance with Austria, these representatives would have been tried and punished as conspirators, as some Indians were tried and punished in San Francisco. That, we believe, is international law. However, as we are not an independent nation, it may be thought presumptuous on our part to write on international law;—the Bengali proverb forbids the humble ginger-seller to be curious as to shipping news. Neverthe-

less, one may ask, why if it be proper for the subject races of Austria to look to England, France, Italy and America for help to become independent, it should have been considered disgraceful on the part of Mr. S. Subramania Iyer to appeal to President Wilson to help India to obtain, not independence, but only *Home Rule within the British Empire*. Of course, from the point of view of their rulers, all subject races who seek freedom are traitors. But what makes the conduct of a seeker of Home Rule unworthier than that of a seeker of independence?

The note extracted from the Review of Reviews speaks of "the oppressed nationalities" of Austria-Hungary. We do not personally know in what particular manner they are oppressed. But this we know that they have far greater political power than Indians, and that they are more educated and richer, too. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report says that "the immense masses of the people [of India] are poor, ignorant and helpless far beyond the standards of Europe." (para. 131).

The Present Economic Situation.

The prices of the necessities of life have been already abnormally high for some time past. The failure of the rains in many regions has made the situation very serious. In many districts prices of food-stuffs are much higher than during previous famines. But Government have not declared famine in these regions yet.

Sir George Lowndes and large numbers of other Anglo-Indians think that India has not been hit as hard by the war as the belligerent countries of Europe. It must be admitted that our sufferings are not comparable with those of the Poles, the Belgians and other inhabitants of regions where fighting has actually taken place. But it must also be admitted that in Great Britain no class of men are in such dire straits for food and clothing as very large masses of men are in our country. Have any British men or women committed suicide because of the want of a piece of rag sufficiently long and broad to cover their nakedness? England ought never to have asked for and accepted "free gifts" of 150 crores and 67½ crores rupees from such a poor country as our own. During previous famines, only the price of foodstuffs went up, the prices of necessities did not rise much be-

normal. The conditions are much worse now. So the consequences of any outbreak of famine in the immediate future are almost unthinkable in their appalling character. Let us husband our resources, for ourselves and for others, for bad days, should they unfortunately come.

Stopping of Self-rule Deputations.

We have been officially told that the place of Indians now is in India, and that at the proper time they will be allowed to send deputations to England. Yes, at the proper time. When the enemies of Indian reform have thoroughly poisoned the minds of the British public, when the draft of the Indian Reform Bill is ready, when the Reform Committees here have submitted their reports, when, briefly speaking, the whole thing has become something like a settled fact, and when probably the peace terms have been drawn up without their being any authorised representative of India at the Peace Table, Indian deputations may be allowed to proceed to England to plead a lost cause. That would be in entire accord, too, with the spirit of President Wilson's September speech, and, of course, of self-determination.

However, better late than never.

A Generous Gift.

We are glad to say that another English gentleman has sent us a cheque for Rs. 5,000 for the relief of distress caused by the high prices of cloth and other necessities. He writes:—

"I am much distressed at the conditions which, I understand, prevail in many parts of Bengal, and of the inability of the peasantry to secure either proper food or clothing, and I feel it the more because I hold myself a few shares in one of the Jute companies which have been paying large dividends. I enclose a cheque for Rs. 1500 and would ask you to spend it, for the relief of the suffering, in any way you may think best."

We cordially thank the donor for his generous gift. The sum has been placed at the disposal of the Sadharan Brahm Samaj, which has been engaged in relieving suffering for months past.

"A Brahmin Oligarchy."

In a previous issue we have shown that the establishment of Home Rule in India cannot lead to the country being ruled by

a Brahmin Oligarchy, disproving the assertions of Lord Sydenham and other enemies of India. We will give a few more facts in support of our position.

The total population of India is 315,156,396, out of which only 14,598,708 are Brahmins. So Brahmins form a very small minority of the population. But mere numbers may not signify much. People may become dominant by means of wealth, education, and martial qualities. Let us therefore see what the comparative position of Brahmins is in these respects. Brahmins are not the only "warlike race" nor even one of the chief "most warlike races" of India. At present, with the exception of a few sub-sections of the Brahmins in a few provinces, Brahmins do not enjoy any reputation for martial qualities. Hence, there need not be any apprehension of Brahmin supremacy founded on fighting capacity. Then, as regards wealth, the Brahmins as a class have never been wealthy, at least not wealthier than many other more numerous classes. Education has next to be considered.

The total number of literates in India is 18,539,578. The total number of Brahmin literates is 2,335,122. Which means that out of 185 lakhs of literates, 23 lakhs are Brahmins. But it may be contended that mere literacy is not of much importance, it is literacy in English which is the passport to power, position, distinction and wealth. Let us, then, consider the figures for literacy in English. The total number of persons literate in English in India is 1,670,387, of whom 333,368 are Brahmins. That is to say, out of about 17 lakhs of literates in English a little above 3 lakhs are Brahmins.

The above facts and considerations apply to India as a whole. Let us consider the position of the Brahmins in the Provinces.

In no province do the Brahmins form the majority of the population; in every province there are one or more Hindu castes more numerous than Brahmins—not to speak of non-Hindu sections of the people. But the possibility of attaining dominant position depends on the percentage of literacy, and particularly on the percentage of literacy in English of the various castes. In the Census Report these percentages are given. From these statements we find that the Brahmins are either so backward in educa-

tion or so insignificant in numbers, in the provinces of Assam, Baluchistan, Burma and the N.-W. F. Province, that there is no mention of them in the figures given for those provinces; that Brahmins do not occupy the first place in education in Bengal, Behar-Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar, the Panjab, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh; and that it is only in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies that they hold the first place, not of course in point of the number of literates, but as regards percentage of literacy. And in the latter presidency Brahmins are beaten by others in Gujarat and Sind. Let us now place before the reader a tabular statement:

Provinces.	Total Literates.	Literate Brahmins.	Total literates in English.	Brahmin Literates in English.
Assam	326566	40359	35296	6092
Bengal	3522044	472342	494499	129223
Behar				
Orissa	1419138	256332	79182	12423
Bombay	1372826	59798	202454	10818
C.P. & Berar	496236	107796	46102	16209
Madras	3093560	408626	274625	93748
Punjab	774845	114853	109101	11564
U. P.	1618465	551518	136616	20209

[In the above table the figures for Burma and N. W. F. Province have not been given; as the number of Brahmin literates there is insignificant.]

It will appear from the above table that in no province is the majority of literates or the majority of literates in English Brahmins.

The franchise will be given to people either according to property qualifications or according to educational qualifications or both. If the possession of property were made the sole qualification Brahmins would occupy a low place in the electorates. Even according to educational qualifications they will not have a predominating position in any province. But even if Home Rule led at first to an oligarchy of some sort that would not be anything unusual. Sir D. Rees asks on the subject of the "Brahmin oligarchy": "Were there no Whig oligarchies in Britain? Will a stage be skipped in India.... Why jib so at the oligarchy? Wait till the masses object." In reviewing Prof. Ramsay Muir's "National Government: Its Growth and Principles. The culmination of Modern

History (Constable. 8s. 6s. net);," *Times Literary Supplement* of July 1918, writes:—

In the middle of the eighteenth century no government existed in England; it was in ways very imperfect; the power was in the hands of a small group of aristocratic families, but, none the less, as was felt and known at the time, no Government could maintain itself in a country unless it was really in accordance with public opinion, not only of the comparatively few who had the right to vote, but of the great mass of people who in fact were never reluctant to make their views and their power heard, if necessary by violence and rioting.

It is, therefore, mere pharisaism to object to an oligarchy in India. But repeat, as we have conclusively shown, that there is not the least probability of an oligarchy being established in India.

Persons Killed by Wild Animals and Snakes.

A statement has been given in the *Gazette of India* of the number of persons killed in each province of British India by wild animals (specifying the principal kinds) and snakes in each year from 1913 and 1917. We give below the total for 1913 and 1917:

Province	Number of Persons killed by animals in	
	1913	1917
Madras	308	568
Bombay	20	34
Bengal	293	341
U. P.	137	166
Punjab	10	24
Burma	59	81
Bihar & Orissa	546	655
C. P. & Berar	125	158
Assam	102	138
N.-W. F. Prov.	2	6

In every province more men have been killed in 1917 than in 1913. Have men grown weaker, and more timid in every province? Or it may be the wild animals have advanced in civilisation at a faster rate than the men; for, the power of a mark of civilisation. A more probable explanation may perhaps be found in the number of licenses for arms issued in each year and the total number of such licenses in force in each year. This will be found in a table given in a subsequent note.

The number of men killed by snakes each year in each province has also been given in the *Gazette*. The first table given below against the name of a province

As the number for 1913, and the next figure for 1917. Madras, 1695, 1452; Bombay, 1406, 1527; Bengal, 4491, 4393; United Provinces, 5166, 6481; Panjab, 899, 957; Burma, 1044, 1873; Bihar and Orissa, 1940, 5885; C. P. and Berar, 1155, 1524; Assam, 167, 151; N.W. F. Province, 29, 25. So snakes also have not begun, on the whole, to take a smaller toll of human lives than before; as in the whole country 21,770 persons were killed by snakes in 1913, and 23,918 in 1917.

Number of Wild Animals and Snakes Destroyed by Men.

We give below a few figures from the official return of the number of wild animals and snakes killed by men.

Provinces.	Wild animals killed in		Snakes killed in	
	1913	1917	1913	1917
Madras	2238	1898	.....	.....
Bombay	3471	2937	37396	25035
Bengal	2858	412	17134	1205
U. P.	2659	2640	5310	4999
Panjab	3080	492	3080	15026
Bihar-Orissa	1550	1046	16784	9171
C. P. & Berar	1902	1564	1265	728
Burma	5311	5873	16222	16398
Assam	1988	1490	1981	322
N.W. F. Pro.	90	44	595	396

It will be found that in most provinces the number of wild animals and snakes killed by men in 1917 was less than the number killed in 1913. 24,630 wild animals were killed in India in 1913, and 19,476 in 1917. 90,186 snakes were killed in 1913 in India and 73,968 in 1917. It is thus discouraging to find that wild animals and snakes are killing more men in the country than before whereas men are killing smaller numbers of wild animals and snakes than before.

Number of Licenses for Arms.

The total number of licenses for arms in force was as follows in the provinces and years noted below. We omit the smaller provinces, as in the tables in previous notes.

	1913	1917
Madras	47511	45509
Bombay	15231	13563
Bengal	26961	8042
U. P.	22952	6357
Panjab	13876	6219
Burma	7390	8051
Bihar and Orissa	12799	11247
C. P. & Berar	16070	15511
Assam	12046	13114
N.W. F. Provinces	5517	7717

In most provinces the number of licenses in force was smaller in 1917 than in 1913. This is particularly conspicuous in the case of the United Provinces, Bengal, and the Punjab. The country has been practically in a disarmed condition for a long period. These provinces have been further disarmed more than the others. What is the reason for the disarmament of each of these provinces and of the country as a whole? That the country as a whole is being gradually disarmed will be clear from the following figures showing the total number of licenses in force in India in each year from 1913 to 1917:

1913	182412
1914	176779
1915	167242
1916	137183
1917	136707

Let us now see how many licenses were granted in 1913 and 1917 in the different provinces.

Province	1913	1917
Madras	3096	4302
Bombay	2727	1888
Bengal	3230	392
U. P.	3162	594
Punjab	1636	1279
Burma	1330	1201
Bihar and Orissa	753	531
C. P. and Berar	7613	4903
Assam	216	305
N. W. F. Prov.	1805	3625

The number of fresh licenses issued has been reduced in a most glaring manner in Bengal and the United Provinces. "The most timid" province could be trusted with the smallest number of fresh licenses in the country. Yet the Governor of Bengal asked the people of Mymensingh what they had done in the way of fighting political dacoities and other revolutionary crimes, knowing that in 6 years the Bengal Government had reduced the number of licenses from 26961 to 8042, and that in 1917 it had issued only 392 licenses as against 3230 in 1913. In two provinces the number of licenses issued in 1917 was larger than in 1913. The reason for this greater favour shown to them is not apparent. However, taking the country as a whole, the number of fresh licenses issued each year has gone on steadily decreasing except for one year. The figures are given against each year: 1913—25627; 1914—23016; 1915—19975; 1916—20577;

1917-19316. These figures combined with those for the total number of licenses in force in each year, given before, afford one explanation of the increasing helplessness of Indian human beings in the presence of wild animals, as also of the increasing destructiveness of the latter.

The area of British Indian territory, according to the census of 1911, is 1,093,074 square miles. 136,707 licenses for this area works out at about one license (and presumably one fire-arm) for every 8 square miles. The population of British India is more than 244 millions. For the protection of these myriads; there are about one-eighth of million licenses. This means that there is probably one fire-arm for the protection of about 1786 persons.

The total number of towns and villages in British territory, as given in *Statistics of British India, Educational*, for 1911-12, is 584322. We can therefore safely say that in at least three villages out of every four there is no one licensed to carry or use arms.

"Against Home Rule."

Mr. N. S. Raman, Secretary, Sahodara Sangham Office, Cranganore, has sent us a leaflet entitled "Against Home Rule." We quote the first three paragraphs.

One of the Taluqs of Cochin State is Cranganore, a place of immense historical significance from very ancient days. Nearly four miles in extent, this place is inhabited by divers communities, the Nairs, Brahmins, Ezhavas and Muhammadans. The Ezhavas, the Valans, the Pulayas, and other sub-castes number more than eight thousand, and they are commonly grouped under the depressed classes. There are few men who have received English education among them; but they can be proud of many men who have attained mental culture through Sanskrit learning. They are physically very strong and stalwart; they eke out their living by honest professions and various kinds of manual labour. In point of cleanliness, even their deadly foes will admit that they are far advanced.

Many crude and strange practices which have clothed the essence of Hinduism in a veil of obscurity, are being observed in these parts with all their superstitious rigidity. The detestable custom of distance pollution which has even marred the social harmony, and which caused the great Swami Vivekananda to give Kerala the opprobrious epithet of the lunatic asylum, has got a very strong hold on the minds of the higher caste Hindus of Cranganore. The use of even public roads is seriously denied to the so-called low caste Hindus. Some of the public Schools are closed to their children; consequently they are allowed to be drowned in gross illiteracy. Even in some of the bazaars they are strictly prohibited to enter. Smarting under the humiliating oppression and the vilest type of tyranny

of the so-called higher castes, more than eight thousand poor souls are dragging on a precarious existence. They are beaten black and blue along the public roads. Many a horrible scene of open violence and high-handedness is daily witnessed all over Cranganore. Such deeds of flagrant injustice are hardly recorded in the pages of history, and the only modern parallel that can be drawn is the manifold sufferings of the Indians in South Africa. The poor victims subjected to the galling yoke of the so-called higher castes remain inarticulate; therefore no attention of a Gandhi or Gokhale could be drawn to their cause.

The crying grievances of more than 300,000 members of the depressed classes in Cochin State were brought to the notice of the authorities concerned, by means of petitions and deputations but why an effective remedy is not yet proposed is beyond comprehension. However they are driven to despair and their only hope of gaining social salvation lies in their embrace of Christian or Muhammadan faith.

This is very painful and humiliating reading. The social tyranny to which attention has been called here cannot be too severely condemned. The Cochin State cannot of course make the "holy" Brahmins and others treat the "depressed" classes as their social equals, but it is its bounden duty to remove all civic disabilities. For instance, public roads and public schools should be as much at their disposal as of others. The "higher" castes should recognise the common humanity of these classes. It is surprising that worms, reptiles, pigs and dogs can use public roads, but not these sisters and brethren of ours. Do the "holy" Brahmins of Cochin feel "polluted" if they see a dog or a pig or a cat or a mouse or a fly or a mosquito or a cow or a goat at the distance of a few inches, feet or yards from them?

The ill-treatment of the depressed classes is not an argument against Home Rule; it ought rather to incite these classes to obtain political power so that they may be able to improve their own conditions. The leaflet itself mentions the sufferings of Indians in South Africa. But these Indians have never said that their sufferings were an argument against self-rule in South Africa; on the contrary they wish to improve their position by gradually obtaining citizens' rights. The Negroes in America are in some respects treated as badly as and in some respects worse than the "depressed" classes in Kerala. (Vide "Towards Home Rule," Part I.) But they do not contend that for that reason the republican form of government should be abolished. On the contrary, they want more political rights than they have got, so that they may cease to be oppressed.

they are fighting most loyally and enthusiastically in the present war along with their white fellow-citizens. Our "depressed" sisters and brethren should follow the same policy.

• Stationing of Military in Madura.

In the course of the trial of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu in Madura for alleged sedition crowds gathered about the court premises, and there was some shooting and bayoneting by the police. Military have also been stationed in Madura. *The Commonwealth* has published a dispassionate and well-reasoned article on the affair by Mr. A. Rangaswamy Aiyar, in which the writer says:—

The Government of Madras has declined to accede to the request of the citizens of Madura voiced at a public meeting presided over by Mr. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, one of the leading gentlemen in the city, for the appointment of an independent body to enquire into the matter of bayoneting and shooting by the police on the 27th of last month by which some were injured and two died, and which took place on the second day of the trial of Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu for alleged sedition. The refusal of the Madras Government to institute such an independent tribunal to enquire into the whole matter is an unfortunate circumstance which must detract considerably from the weight and authority which must attach to any other kind of enquiry like the one which is going on at present. Mr. Addison, the present Collector of Madura, is as good a district officer as it is possible to get in these times and as would be desired in any district, calm temperament, tactful, conciliatory, and capable of entering into and understanding the aspirations of a freer life on the part of a race different from his own, and deserves the high praise of the Madras Government that it has the highest confidence in him. But in a matter where serious allegations are made against the police including its higher ranks in the district, and when there has been recently a panic in the minds of the authorities and some of the English residents in the city—which led to their assembling the members of their families in the premises of their English club strongly patrolled by the military or those undergoing military training, about the time the above occurrence took place—it is evident that persons locally selected for making the enquiry cannot be supposed to be free from preconceived notions and prejudices in the estimation of the public whose satisfaction, it must be conceded, is one of the main objects of such an enquiry, whatever be the esteem or respect to which the persons making the enquiry may be otherwise entitled.

The District Magistrate is also practically responsible for the policing of the district, and hence an investigation by him into the doings of the police cannot but be looked upon as to some extent partaking of the character of an accused conducting his own trial.

Mr. Aiyar shows conclusively that the

food-riots in Madras Presidency were not at all due to political agitation, as officially alleged. He also says that the crowd which had gathered during Dr. Naidu's trial was not responsible for any excesses. "The only excesses that were manifested were the bayoneting and the shooting of innocent men in the crowd, and the injuries and deaths caused thereby, which were certainly not excesses for which the people are responsible." Considering all the circumstances the writer concludes:

Under the above circumstances, the location of sepoy and soldiers in Madura City has no justification. It is said that the Municipality has been directed to defray the cost of maintaining these sepoys; and the warrant is much less for any punitive action against the citizens of Madura, if it turns out to be such. Gathering of sympathetic crowds during a State trial in India does not betoken any serious state of affairs affecting public tranquillity as they do in European countries where mobbing, rioting and breaking of windows are often the outcome of more serious results do not ensue. But in India they do not mean anything more except that the crowds are prepared to sit and wait for a number of hours, as a token of sympathy and interest on the part of many and as a *Tamasha* on the part of the rest. The location of the military in Madura City at the present time can only be an artificial demonstration coming into existence *ex post facto* that the situation in Madura was so serious and of alarming proportions as to justify the bayoneting and shooting of innocent men.

Therefore there is all the more reason for the whole situation being enquired into by independent and impartial agency unconnected with local prejudices or predilections.

Report of the Imperial Council Committee on the Reform Scheme.

Most of the suggestions or recommendations made in the report of the Imperial Council Committee on the Reform Scheme make for progress. The Notes of dissent of the Indian members are on more progressive lines than the body of the report, with the exception of Mr. Sunder Singh's note, who urges special representation of the Sikhs on the same lines as of the Mussalmans. Nor do we think it necessary on general grounds to allow separate representation to the Indian mercantile community, though we admit its necessity as a counterpoise against the special and separate representation given to European merchants. We do not understand why the special representation of the landholders has been recommended to be increased from 2 to 6. Two is quite enough. The more special representation is given to particular classes, the less representation there would be of the mass

of the people and the greater would the injustice be to them.

Burma wants Political rights.

It is quite right and natural that the people of Burma should wish to share in the constitutional progress of the Indian Empire. The Upper Burma public recently discussed the Reform Scheme at a public meeting held in Mandalay on the 8th ultimo. It was said at the meeting that the Secretary of State, who did not visit Burma during his mission to India, did not get the opportunity to have all the facts about Burma placed before him. Burmans were superior to the Indians in many respects; viz., the absence of any caste system, social advancement and the high percentage of literacy. Burma had one of the best seaports in the Indian Empire. Her hidden mineral wealth, her valuable forests and the large amount of revenue collected annually in Burma all combine to testify Burma's fitness to enjoy the same political rights and privileges as the other major provinces. The meeting regretted the allegation made in the Report that Burma's desire for elective institutions was not developed. The memorials submitted to the Secretary of State and His Excellency the Viceroy bear ample testimony to the fact that Burma did desire elective institutions. Throwing open the public service more widely to Indians (Burmans in the case of Burma) would not mean, as suggested in the report, the replacement of one alien bureaucracy by another race and perhaps another. The people belong to another race but by no means in a more backward stage of political development. Burmans at the time in the past did rule an Empire and there is no reason why they should be unable to rule themselves when the same democratic principles as have been extended to the British Colonies inhabited by white people, come to be extended to India and Burma.

Several resolutions were passed at the meeting, their special feature being the ensuring of the proper representation of Burmans, and the safeguarding of their interests.

A Mother's Cry.

Srimati Dakshayani Dasi, mother of Babu Jyotishchandra Ghosh, has again sent a memorial to the Viceroy. As the reader is aware of the history of the case, it is not necessary to summarise it from the memorial. In the 8th paragraph, the mother respectfully submits:—

(i) That her son Jyotish is lying for about a year and a half in the same awful condition of absolute stupor with insanity.

(ii) That at Berhampore though proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding have been made for him, arrangement as to proper treatment have not been adequate; and the best medical treatment available in Bengal has not been accorded to him.

(iii) That a change in the environment of detention, in order to remove the "stressful situation" and a change in the system of treatment ought to be made now without any further delay.

(iv) That in order to awaken his consciousness he should be placed in a condition where he may feel that he is no longer under restraint and where familiar stimuli may act upon him.

(v) That every attempt should now be made in these directions at any cost so that his life may, if possible, be saved; for, human life has a value of its own and the responsibility for it is no less grave.

(vi) And that lastly she has a right to know the causes of his present moribund condition and insanity and the Government are morally bound to explain them.

"In consideration of the above, your Excellency's humble Memorialist, a heart broken and aggrieved mother, most fervently prays that Your Excellency would be graciously pleased

(i) to order his immediate removal to Calcutta with proper arrangements as to nursing and feeding there;

(ii) to place him, under the necessary supervision of the Government, in a condition where he may feel that he is no longer under restraint;

(iii) to allow Your Excellency's humble memorialist and her relatives to live with him, so that he may feel that he is in a familiar environment and under constant attendance and care of his near and dear ones;

(iv) to make arrangements as to place him under the Ayurvedic System of Medical treatment (in which she has much faith);

(v) and to hold a thorough investigation into the causes which have brought about his present awful condition.

We support this prayer most strongly.

Acknowledgment of Donation.

Babu Ramananda Chatterjee, Treasurer, Bankura Sammilani, begs to acknowledge with thanks the following donation in addition to those acknowledged last month:—

Mrs. Kumudini Ganti Rs. 22-12-0